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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1928

CONTENTS

	Page.
Kindred Sayings on Buddhism—C. A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A., D.Lit., Chipstead, Surrey	1
The Mission of George Weldon and Abraham Navarro to Aurangzib—Harihar Das, B.Litt., London	19
The Voluntarists' Conception of Personality (<i>A Critique</i>) —A. K. Majumdar, M.A.	27
Lord Lister and the Renaissance of Surgery—Edgar L. Gilcreest, M.D., University Hospital, California	49
The Sense of the Incomplete—H. D. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Dacca University	55
The Gardener of Heart (<i>Poem</i>)—Mohinimohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta	69
Some Observations on Jain Manuscript Miniatures—P. S. Nahar, B.A.	70
The Portuguese Colonial Crisis—V. de Braganca Cunha, Bombay	73
Kinship (<i>Poem</i>)—Cyril Modak, Jubbulpore	82
Recovery and Consolidation of Indian Power in India— Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., New York	83
The Orchard (<i>Poem</i>)—Leland J. Berry, Birmingham	89
Rigveda, the Only True Veda—Dwijadas Datta, M.A., Comilla	90
My Creed (<i>Poem</i>)—Terésa Strickland	96
A Stray Thought—Rashranjan Basu, M.A., B.L.	98
REVIEWS :	
The Indian Constitution—Political	100
Sun Yat Sen O Vartaman Chin—P. C. B.	101

CONTENTS

	Page.
REVIEWS :	
Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India—	
Historicus	247
Memoir of the Life of the Late Nana Farnavis—Maratha ...	248
The Mahatma Letters to A. P. Sinett from the Mahatmas	
M. and K. H.—Viola Irene Cooper	250

OURSELVES :	
The Late Dr. Pasupatinath Sastri	253
Professor Paul Brühl	254
Mahendranath Prize	255
A Munificent Donation	256
University Readers	257
Deans of Different Faculties	257
Dates of Different Examinations	257
The Kedarnath Banerjee Medal	258

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1928

CONTENTS

	Page.
The Annual Convocation :	
H. E. The Chancellor's Address 	259
The Vice-Chancellor's Address 	265
W. B. Yeats—Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A., Professor, Calcutta University 	277
Labour, Property and Tariff Policies in Statesmanship and Political Ideals—Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A., Postgraduate Department, Calcutta University ...	292
The Lost Road (<i>Poem</i>)—Leland J. Berry, Birmingham ...	317
Ranjit Singh and the British Government—Narendra- krishna Sinha, M.A., Professor, Midnapur College ...	318
Desire (<i>Poem</i>)—Cyril Modak, Jubbalpore 	326
On Modernising Spinoza—Sarojkumar Das, M.A.; London 	327
Mukundaram and Other Poets of the Chandi Cult— Tamonashchandra Das Gupta, M.A., Postgraduate Department, Calcutta University 	341
The Royal Commission for India and the Responsibility of Indian Nationalists—Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., New York 	351
The Vision (<i>Poem</i>)—S. H. Jhabiyala, Bandra, Bombay ...	371
REVIEW :	
Paper Currency in India—B. Ramachandra Rau 	372

CONTENTS

OURSELVES :	Page.
The Late Baron Sinha of Raipur	377
The Late Dr. N. K. Dutt	379,
Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee	379
A New Ph.D.	380
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal	380
The Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize	380

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1928

CONTENTS

	Page
Prose Style—Lionel B. Burrows, B.A., District Magistrate and Collector, Bengal	1
Education For Peace—Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., New York	23
Light in Darkness (<i>Poem</i>)—Mohini Mohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta	26
A Stray Thought—Rash Ranjan Basu, M.A., B.L. ...	29
Historical Studies—J. P. Bulkeley, M.A., I.E.S., Director Of Public Instruction (<i>Officiating</i>), Burma	30
A Full-Moon Night (<i>Poem</i>)—Rai Bahadur C. C. Mukerji, B.A., C.S., Secretary, Board of Revenue, Bihar and Orissa	48
On Modernising Spinoza—Saroj Kumar Das, M.A., London	49
In Nubibus (<i>Poem</i>)—"Dew Drops"	71
Some More Early Indian Visitors to England—Harihar Das, B.Lit., London	72
Juvenile Crime—Augustus Somerville	74
W. B. Yeats—Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A., Professor, Calcutta University	81
Communal Representation—Kazi Mahabbat Ali, Muslim Hall, Ramna, Dacca	103
The Inland Bills of Exchange—B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Calcutta University ...	113
The Offering (<i>Poem</i>)—Byram K. Talookdar, Bombay ...	121
REVIEWS :	
A History of Hindu Political Theories—Historicus ...	122
Communism vs. Individualism in Lands: An Italian Theory—Benoy Kumar Sarkar	122
India By Air—S. N. Sen	125

CONTENTS

	Page
OURSELVES :	
Dates of Different Examinations ...	127
Results of Law Examinations, January, 1928...	127

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1928

CONTENTS

	Page.
Universities And Politics—Sir Michael Sadler, K.C.S.I.	129
Awake, My Soul Awake (<i>Poem</i>)—Leland J. Berry, Birmingham	139
The Desert Speaks (<i>Poem</i>)—Lily S. Anderson ...	140
W. B. Yeats, III—Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A., Professor, Calcutta University	141
Is Freud A Psychologist—Alexander Goldenweiser, Ph.D., Professor of Anthropology, New School for Social Research, New York	168
An Allegory—Terésa Strickland	181
The Tempest (<i>Poem</i>)—Byram K. Talookdar, Bombay ...	184
Egotism—N. K. Venkateswaran, Trivandrum ...	185
On Modernising Spinoza—Saroj Kumar Das, M.A., London	188
Some Moral Holidays—H. D. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Head of the Department of Philosophy, Dacca University ...	201
A Pilgrimage To The Excavation Site at Paharpur— Kshitishchandra Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Rajshahi ...	231
The New Contents of Sovereignty, Democracy and Nation- hood—Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., Post-Graduate Department, Calcutta University	241
Youth Movement And Students' Association—The Editor- in-Chief	254

CONTENTS

	Page
REVIEWS :	
Antiquities of Indian Tibet—Historicus' ...	283
 OURSELVES :	
The Late Mr. Sasanka Mohan Sen ...	284
The Late Mr. M. N. Basu ...	284
The Nagarjuna Prize for 1927 ...	285
The University Moslem Students' Association ...	286

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1928

CONTENTS

	Page.
Calcutta Memories—Francis H. Skrine, I.C.S., (Retd.) F.R.Hist.S., London	287
What is Technical Education—L.D. Coneslant, Prin- cipal, Patna Engineering College, Patna ...	297
Brahmanism and Science—Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta	309
The New Contents of Sovereignty, Democracy and Nationhood II—Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A., Post- Graduate Department, Calcutta University ...	315
A German Invader of the English Stage in the Early Decades of the Nineteenth Century—U. C. Nag, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Dacca	331
Secondary Education in Bengal—Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Calcutta	343
Peace (Poem)—Leland J. Berry, Birmingham ...	360
W. B. Yeats, IV—Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A., Professor, Calcutta University	361
The Chariot (Poem)—Cyril Modak, Jubbulpore ...	373
Hindu Philosophy in the Making—Kunjatal Datta, M.A., <i>Kavyatirtha</i> , <i>Vedanta-Sastri</i> , Sylhet	374
Evolution with Special Reference to the Living and Non- Living from the Stand-point of Maya-Vada— Kamakhyanath Mitra, M.A., Principal, Rajendra College, Faridpur	379
Parted (<i>Poem</i>)—Leland J. Berry, Birmingham ...	390
REVIEWS :	
Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India No. 27 and 32—Historicus	391
The Commission and After—Historicus	392

CONTENTS

	Page
The Hindu Colony of Cambodia and Indian cultural influence in Combodya—P. C. Bagchi	393
Hindu Mysticism—Sisirkumar Maitra	397
OURSELVES :	
The Late Sisirkumar Ray	400
Asutosh Anniversary	401
Preonath Ghosh and Gagantara Dasi Medal	404
Results of I.A. & I.Sc. Examinations, 1928	405

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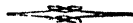
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1928



KINDRED SAYINGS ON BUDDHISM

IV

WAYFARING AND THE COMING-TO-BE

Does the title recall to anyone his youthful wayfarings? Such are present to me now. Child of English country life, to me the annual summer journey 'abroad' was a great event, great not least in this, that the return meant chiefly two things: altered perspectives and the sense of something different in *me* when studies were resumed. The home looked smaller, and so did much else. Music—it was my chief study—was grasped and interpreted in a somewhat bigger, wiser way, even if fingers and voice were 'out of practice.' The wayfaring had been a coming up against the New more impressively, more concentratedly than this was effected by life-at home. It had been a forcing-process for the young 'puruṣa' that was I. In response I had grown, I had become, I had come to be.

Others may have seen no change after those few or more weeks. But there are no two opinions about the change wrought in the traveller by greater, longer wayfarings. The woman, the man who returns is clearly not the same, especially when the journey has not been a mere drifting, but a purposeful matter of research, or even of pioneering. The change is not only in body

or mind. There it may be need repose; these may have grown in hardihood, in resourcefulness. It is the very man that is different, different in his outlook, his values, his self-expression. He has been in the world of the new. He has become more sensitive to what at home is not new, is even mouldy. He has widened and deepened his knowledge of the man-in-man, for whereas he has seen him under other conditions, in other bodily vehicles, amid other traditions, he has found under these the man, the fellow-man. He has found him as more worthy, more worthless. He has found him adapting those different conditions to life as he wills it to be. (Too often we word it the other way, speaking as if man adapted himself only, and were the mere creature of the conditions. But this is a wrong estimate, even of primitive village life.) And he returns with some impatience for the standpoints of the untravelled: the standpoint of the one language only, the one code of this or that, the ignorance of the unwonted, the dislike of the new, the narrower values. He has seen and has come to worth the man in the wider way of living. His wayfaring has made him a more-man. Possibly not altogether a more worthy man, but in either case, better man or worse, he has changed not only in body or mind, he mandates himself differently now, he has 'become,' he has come-to-be.

That man's life is a wayfaring—a Marga—is one of the greatest figures of human speech because it is so close to world-truth. Even were there no greater way of the worlds, wherein the man-in-man, the *puruṣa*, is literally a wayfarer, the figure would still be most apt. For the way implies choice of better or worse; wayfaring brings growing fitness in wayfarer; wayfaring brings the New, brings the further view, and heads for a Goal. To the superficial reader the figure of the Way (*marga*) may seem to stress but little the individual wayman, and to call up mainly the many. It would not be a figure of world-truth, if it were not of all. But it is curious how empty of comment on its significance for the individual is the literature of and on

Buddhism. I am not saying that man's growth towards saintship as a way, or that man's conquest over birth and death as stages in a *magga* are not prominent teachings. But I do say, that the doctrine of man as wayfarer in a way, taught as a figure, full of suggestion and picturesqueness, full of meaning and attraction for the Everyman to whom it was first worded, is lost sight of. And why? Because the Buddhist exponents have not as monks welcomed all that wayfaring means; and because *their* cramped use of the glorious figure has put non-Buddhist commentators off the scent.

Let us go further into this sentence, taking it in backward order. Writers on the Buddhist gospel have seen in its 'Magga' nothing more than one way of teaching among other ways. This, it is true, appears to have been one of the current secondary uses of the word. A good instance is in the *Tevijja Suttanta* (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, I, No. XIII). Two young brahmins are disputing whether any of the 'maggāni' (*sic*) taught in their schools is "the straight way, the thither-faring road leading...to companionship with *Brahmā*"? But the luminous reply ascribed to Gotama shows how, in his message, the 'way' was so much more than any course of teaching prescribed by him, or to be associated with his name. The 'magga,' for him, was *man's very life*. And it was this, and this alone that would always be guiding the man to the Highest (whom, never having seen he could not know), because the man, conceiving the Highest as the Best, would by persistently choosing to live his best, be ever becoming more and more like that Best. Worthy most truly is a word like this to stand beside that of Hosea: "then shall we know if we follow on to know"; and that of John the Elder: "Dearests, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that...we shall be like him...." It is probable that the Way has come to us so congealed in its rather unfortunate Eightfold uniform, and in that other formula of a 'Truth,' that our writers have not seen its true significance. It is when we cut these shackles off by

noting where, and how, 'way' and wayfaring survive in the records, when unhampered by them, that something of its original strength and significance stand out.

• Notice for instance the allusion in the very venerable Parāyana, last book of the Sutta-Nipāta. Here it is no detail of thought, word, or deed, here is no harping on 'ill'; here it is the forward way and the goal giving their name to the book :

He who would practise as the Teacher taught,
'Tis he may go from hence to the Beyond;
Yea, hence to the Beyond 'tis he may go
Making the WAY-incomparable to become ;
The way this is for going to Beyond,
And therefore is it Yonder-faring¹ called.

Nor in this brief sampling let us forget to notice what is generally overlooked : Gotama's name of 'caravan-leader' (*satthavāha*) :

Utthehi...satthavāha...vicara loke !

'Arise thou leader of the caravan and tour the world !'—

a name for Buddhas which we find again in two anthologies. I do not wish to stress this adjunct of the Way-figure much. The very pith of the parable was that each wayfarer should be himself *satthavāha*, 'bearer of the goods,'² the Good within him, and chooser of the Way. I bring it in to show the lingering dying tradition of the Way as once a great symbol of man's life, and not merely the ethical rune as which it is usually presented.

It may be said, why was it not picturesquely presented in the first manifesto, or 'sermon'? That it was so badly stated is to me a more convincing sign that that 'sermon' was a genuine first utterance, than if it had been as picturesquely

¹ *Parāyano*, Fausbøll's rendering is here feeble.

² *Sa-attha-vāha*.

given as are subsequent talks on roads. It was only when, as a new teacher of the many, Gotama spoke to this man and that of life as a 'way,' full of adventures unknown, unpredictable, appealing to the young, and having a wonderful Beyond, that he would himself come to see what a rich and strong appeal lay in it. I can see nothing unreasonable in the guess, that the swift success of his teaching among the many: the merchant and the land-tiller, the craftsman and beast-tamer, the woman and child, the hunter and bandit, was in part due to the fascinating and stimulating picture of man as wayfarer from the known to the unknown, of how welfare lay in getting further, of how getting further depended upon right wayfaring here and now. There was nothing wholly new in the figure. The way—*yāna* not *marga*—of the Fathers, and that of the Gods was an old Vedic idea. But this of the Magga was more than that; it was a bringing of life as travel, in Bacon's immortal words; "home to men's business and bosoms." And could the vehicle of the teaching have been the layman, could we have had in Ganges valley a little world of John Bunyans, teaching the notion of the 'pilgrim's progress' as the 'way through the jungle,' not so much with a load of sin to be discarded, as with an ever growing force of *attha*—of 'good,' of 'well'—to be carried along, we should not now be seeing the Buddhist dhamma so lamentably misrepresented as a gospel of 'ill,' of world as good for nothing, of not-man, not-becoming, as in its records it came to be, as in its monasticism it has continued to be.

Buddhist monks have been, and I believe are yet, pious pilgrims. The sadder it is and the stranger, to see how in the past they failed to worth the figure and the truth of the greater pilgrimage. But the lure of the roadway and even of the seaway still calls to man, even though, in his ostensible aim as pilgrim, he shows that he has missed the true call of his religion. But I fail, I repeat, to find any grasp, in the scriptures, of the Way as a parable of life. I would be frank about this,

no matter whether I shall thereby be judged as forcing 'parable' or figure on to a mere term of means or method only. There is one poem in the Piṭaka anthologies solely about the Way and one only: that by one Migajāla, and very eloquent it is. Here and there it shows real insight. In the first place it ignores the eightfold analysis; I mean, the 'limbs' are omitted. It just hints at how *magga* is not merely *samsāra*—and here I seem to have missed the point in translating, and am fain to amend. One of the rich, rolling compounds describing the Way is *sabbavattavināsano*, translated

' (through it)

All constant rolling on is razed away...'

This should have struck me as a terribly bad recommendation for a road, and it will have been just the utter atrophy of the Magga as a picture of life, and not as a mere rule of doctrine that made me blind. It should have been:

' All constant rolling *round* is razed away.'

In the monkish doctrine of Ill; *samsāra*, which in Gotama's day meant the flowing *on* of life from world to world came to be conceived as a round, an eddy, *āvatta*, *dukkhavatta*, with no indication of *parakkama*, going forward, *niyyānika*, faring away to. Negatively then Migajāla has got the idea of progress. The Buddhist idea was to get out of *samsāra* into *magga*. The sounder idea would be, thus:—"in the life-faring (*samsāra*), choose the *magga*, that is, the *right mode* of faring." But then the world-despairing idea of the monk was to bring life in worlds to an end. Life in worlds as the true, the only way of self-fulfilment, was not accepted.

The poem also speaks of act and cause in the Way, and rightly. The way was conduct, and the way was man in his acts *becoming the cause* of his progress—only Migajāla didn't see it. But he has a noble ending:

Mahākhemamāgamo santo pariyosānabhāddako.

‘Yea, to the mighty Haven doth it wend,
Holy (the faring), well (for thee) the End.’

And yet, for all that he conveys in his sonorous periods, there is nothing to show the very essence of the Way, nothing to keep the reader off from the idea, that here is a road along which mankind, like sheep, are being *shepherded* by Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha to salvation, nothing to show the reader that the Magga means a man’s so living, so walking as to be and do his best, *as himself the ‘sattavāha.’* But it is this, *and nothing but this* that makes of that famous Way-sermon, not a mere line of doctrine, not a mere code of good thought, word and deed, but a very religion, an inspired call to man from That who is both Source and End.

Nor is there anything in the verses to show an awareness that wayfaring in the ‘Path’ meant in the wayfarer a continual progress, becoming, growth. Words were not lacking here. There is praise elsewhere for the woman if she show ‘Ariyan growth’ (*vaddhi*).¹ Here and there the Anthology reveals yearning for, or joy in, progress. And we saw, in another Anthology, the intelligent disciple ‘creating’ (*bhāvento*), lit. making become, the Way he has chosen. There is nothing of this in Migajāla’s vision. For him the Way is a record of unworthy and dangerous things by it destroyed, with no grasp of the wayfarer as pioneer and adventurer hewing down obstacles in his own case, such as a Bunyan would have given us. And so it comes that the stately rhythms roll over and off us, leaving no deepened insight into this Way of the worlds, no conviction that here we have a man who knew himself as a high-spirited and hopeful carver-out of Magga in his own case.

Migajāla is no exception in this oversight. Indeed he is better than many, for he does hymn the Way, as no one else

did. But we seek in vain elsewhere for intelligent grasp of Way as meaning Dhamma, and of Dhamma as meaning Way. Dhamma, I repeat, is the seeing in life the 'ought,' the 'should be,' 'may be,' the 'to be.' And here lies also the force in the figure of the Way. But there is no possibility of the To Be coming to fulfilment in any man in this life only. It means many, many lives. It means a very great deal of Bhava, becoming. And the monk set himself against Bhava, set himself to win Nirvana by a cutting short of the long drawn out becoming. Herein, I believe, lay the root of his failure to worth in justice and honour, the great message of his founder.

As a general result of this dread in the coming to be, the emphasis in Buddhist teaching of the Way is narrowed down to (a) its being an avoidance of the extremes of self-indulgence and of asceticism—a merely negative setting—and (b) its being a set of eight dispositions in worthy living—a merely moral description. But that is not by any means all the worsening wrought in it by the failure to see the true meaning of life itself.

(c) It is significant that Buddhism developed no worthy word for 'life.' The fine word *jīva* we hardly meet with; *jīvitam* usually accompanies murder. The world-word for life which had come into use: *saṃsāra*, had come to have the sinister meaning in Buddhism which we should expect to find. *Magga* was meant to mean choosing aright and so coming to be, i.e., growing, in *saṃsāra*. Instead of that, the Way, as we saw, was not the improver, the developer, but the destroyer of *saṃsāra*.

(d) Again, already in the editing of that first sermon in a fixed wording, the Way with which it opens is dethroned from its central position, and made into a fourth portion only in the formula throwing the chief emphasis on Ill. This is editorial work, and not good as such. But its effects have been very great.

(e) Again, it was true, and worthy, to speak of the Messenger of the Way by the name, suitable to the figure, of *Sattha-vāha*, with its double word play of *sa-attha* (he with the goods) and *satthar* (teacher). But we must go back again to the ancient Sutta-Nipāta to find the *follower* also spoken of as a 'Wayman,' of the better or worse kind: 'way-victor, way-teacher, way-liver, way-corrupter.' Other books, the Majjhima school especially, see in the founder alone the Wayman: Way-shower; Way-upraiser. That each man, each woman was wayfarer, waymaker, wayworther, waychooser:—of any of this we find nothing. And it is only too consistent with the gradual dropping of the 'man' from the caravan, that in the Jātaka, in the figure of life's chariot driving, the charioteer is said to be 'the mind.'¹

(f) Again, with the Way of the worlds sinking to a set of dispositions for this life only, it was not surprising that the still preponderant belief in the worlds of pre- and after-life, coupled with imperfect grasp of them as opportunities of greater becoming should lead to the emergence of another Way: the Fourfold, or the Four Ways and Four Fruits. Here we see a new standard of weak faith brought in: life measured not by the so much of desire and will accomplished, but by the so much of the undesired worked off, *e.g.*, 'once only back to earth' remaining, and 'never back to earth.' What an outlook it is! outlook of the timid, the burnt child, the shipwrecked on the sands of time, the man who has given up. It has been a great disutility to the real message of the Way. It has drained from that a fit wording of the Way's Goal (for to its credit this later Way *is* a world way with a goal): And the real Way, thus blooded, has shrivelled up to being practically a Way of this earth-life only. So much so, that I have heard Europeans asking whether Buddhism taught survival at all, and I have read young Ceylon saying in print, that the Buddha taught, it was only this life that mattered, and that the 'other life' could take

¹ No. 544, 'Mahānārada-kassapa Jātaka.

care of itself. 'How have the founders of great religions not been crucified anew times without number !

(g) Lastly the unworthing of life as a progress, a growth, a development through the worlds, involved the worsening, the lowering of a word of incalculable value, a word the worthy representative of which in English bampers me here at every turn. I mean the word *bhava* and its causative *bhāvanā*. Here we have a word, or dual words, ready to India's hand when Buddhism arose, and fraught with no such worsened meaning as, e.g., *kāma* had come to have. *Bhava* is of the ancient Aryan word-treasure. *Bhāvanā* is of very much later growth. No Vedic book appears to use it. The citations of it in the Boethlingk-Roth Dictionary are only from mediæval Sanskrit works, save one reference to *Mahābhārata* XII. It was there for the using, if we may accept the *Piṭakas* as evidence, in Gotama's day. We find it in the Four *Nikāyas* ; we find it doing service for a meaning where the word 'will' is lacking :—contrasted with terms of intellectual procedure, such as ' what is to be understood,' ' what is to be put away by insight,' ' the strength of calculating,' these being so many and several methods to which *bhāvanā* is the contrasting complement. There are few words which I imagine Gotama will have used more readily, more earnestly. For as I have tried to show, his figure of the Way meant little; if it meant not that deeper progress which the traveller undergoes, progress in more than the mere matter of distance in space traversed. The Way is not merely a figure for man's life or lives :—*saṃsāra* expressed that. The Way is not merely a figure for an orderly shepherding of man's life ; *cariyā*, *ācāra*, and many other terms convey that. The *Magga* was a figure of man's nature, man's life in its bedrock essential, and that is a *bhava*, and a *bhāvanā*.

I will go so far as to suggest, that Buddhist early influence, yes, and Jain early influence too—the Jains also have *bhāvanā*—promoted the use of this word, a use in which it is very possible that early Yoga teaching gave them a lead. But the strong rich

meaning of the term *bhāvanā* (and *bhāvanam*), to which justice is done in the Dictionary just cited, is not as a rule well rendered by Sanskrit or Pali translators. The favourite words, are 'meditation,' 'reflection,' 'pondering,' for which in their proper place the texts have the fit terms. 'Cultivation' is given its turn, and this is much better, for cultivation, *e.g.*, of a tree, a field, without coming to be, without growth, without development, is as nought. Now there was no doubt in the Buddhist Commentarial tradition, that *bhāvanā* was not to be defined save in this way. Buddhaghosa expounds it thus :—" *Bhāveti* means one begets, one causes to arise, one causes to grow. It means that here (*i.e.*, in Jhāna). Elsewhere the meaning is modified by prefixes." ¹ Yet so little, for all this sound exegesis, do the scriptures bring to the front the vital connection between (a) the figure of man as wayfarer and (b) man as growing, as becoming in and through all his activities, that it was no more evident to me than it is yet to either Buddhist or writer on Buddhism. It was when I had, 28 years ago, to find a good word for *bhāveti*, *bhāvanā*, that the seed of the full significance—no more—was sown. A decade passed, and then not only Buddhaghosa, but Sāriputta came to foster the seedling. It was over the translation : *paññā bhāvitabbā* : 'wisdom (or insight) must be made-to-become.' ² So Sāriputta. Buddhaghosa had already for me brought to bear on *paññā* a very distinctive saying :—"wisdom having yearned wins to manifestation of the Way." ³ I was then compiling a Buddhist psychology, and the place of *paññā* in that very ragged garden of skandhas was an old difficulty. That *paññā* was *the man* in willing the new, the good, the better, man 'making *himself* become'—well, I was not yet so grown as to see that. None the less those two notable personages had shown me a true thing : that to come to know is an active

¹ Commentary on *Dhammasaṅgāṇī*, § 1.

² *Majjhima*, Sutta 43.

³ *Visuddhi Magga*. 437.

process of making to become. There can be no true study of the 'mind' of man where this is not kept well in front.

We are to-day getting ready to see, indeed we are backward if we do not see, more in *bhāvanā* than did any Indian cult of the past, whether it was Buddhist or another. The Buddhist saw a little more in it than any other. They will have forgotten or dropped out in their records many sayings of their founder, in which he showed the close bond between his Way and Becoming, between man the Wayfarer and man as grower, as progressive, as 'coming to be, as 'making to arise' (*uppādetar*). These things will happen—do we not see that it has happened in other creeds?—when the followers have not been big enough to rise to the level of their founder, and of his true soul-mates. But the tradition of the early teaching of that close bond still flickered in the life of the Order. And here and there we come upon an outcrop of it, as geologists would say. Very slight they are, but in view of the opinion about them obtaining among contemporary rival schools; they are far too much ignored.

Beside the allusions given above, I will quote a reply ascribed to that lovely woman, the lay-disciple Visākhā, partly because *bhāvanā* does not come into the formularized portion of the reply; partly because the English translation is not apt. Visākhā (*Vinaya Mahavagga*, VIII, 15) in describing the benefit she will reap if permitted to exercise further generosity, speaks of the joy, content and peace she will feel (so much is put into editorial formula); then goes on: "that will be to me a 'becoming' (or growth, *bhāvanā*) in moral sense, in moral strength, in wisdom." It has been translated 'an exercise,' but Visākhā is clearly speaking of effect, of fruit, of result of exercise. Now no one made finer response to the founder's teaching than she, and it is possible that she was reacting to the stress he will have laid on the *bhāvanā* of the man, that is, of the man-in-man.

Note, too, that she says "there will be in (to) 'me' a *bhāvanā*." It is true that her natural, direct speech is

editorially emended, and instead of *Visākhā*, we get 'her' split up into '*indriyas*,' '*balās*,' and '*bojjhangas*.' Here as elsewhere we see the decadent work, whereby the once natural converse between teacher and disciple is redacted into an expulsion of the 'man,' and a substitution of functions and processes. We may see this in the term *mano-bhāvanāyo* of the Suttas, used to denote the earnest liver, and by the Commentator Dhammapāla equated as '*mano-vaddhanāyo*,' 'he whose mind is growing.' We lose sight of 'he whose' in 'mind.' But a ray of light comes from the Dhammapadam, the anthology where the 'man' (*attan*) has, for some lost reason and in many a verse, been suffered to persist. "Better," we read, "is the homage paid for but one moment to him-of-the-self-that-has-grown (*bhāvit-attānam*), than a hundred years of sacrifice to the Fire at the cost of a thousand." The commentator glides lightly over the thin ice here, as he does elsewhere in passages affirming the *attā* (vide *passim*) ; he just parses by *vaddhit 'attanam* ; he does not give us makeshifts in terms of skandhas for the for him perhaps awkward word *attānam*. He merely repeats it ; indeed in the preceding verse, beginning with its emphatic '*attā have*' *jitaṃ seyyo*...he is concerned not with how one is to understand '*attā*' but only with the grammatical anomaly of *jitaṃ* for *jito*. Nor is he more explicit throughout the subsequent chapter called '*Attavagga*.' He is in fact seeing in the word nothing more than the linguistic convenience of '-self' as a reflexive affix. But the significance for us lies in this, that as an analytic paraphraser, he refrains from drawing any distinction between this usage and that reality (in his tradition a non-reality), which *attā* means here or anywhere.

One word more on *bhāvanā* :—Very noteworthy is the Buddhist choice and retained choice of the verb, when a word is needed to express man's activity in what, in my first article, I spoke of as 'more-will.' In other words, when the man who is seeking the more-worthy way is at work upon the new, the

unwonted, the abnormal, the word *bhāveti* is used. This was more especially when he was engaged in Jhāna and in the Iddhipādas. In the former, he was working to get rapt from both the outer world and from work of mind about it; he was seeking access by hearing (though this became dropped from the tradition) to another world: Rūpa or Arūpa. In the latter he was using will in an intenser degree to obtain an abnormal development or 'becoming' in himself: Very vigorous terms of effort are used in the will-training formulas called 'Right Efforts,' but not *bhāveti*. The use of the word in Jhāna is highly significant, for that which the man is 'making to become' is 'magga,' the Way, to another world. It is the meaning of the Way in the first sermon. You may translate it, for Jhāna, 'means of access' if you will, but it will mean the same. For Way is means of access and this after all is the greater meaning of life itself, the meaning of life for the 'man,' the 'man-in-man,' who is child not of this or that world only, but of all the worlds, of the Eternal. Jhāna was a forestalling the arrival by death at another world by a communing with it here and now, a search-light as it were, thrown upon the way ahead.

So much then at least remains in the Buddhist scriptures of a mandate on becoming and making to become, which dates, to my belief, from very early days, because it belongs to the full and true conception of what the WAY of the first sermon implied and involved. For I would say it once more—so has it been overlooked—'way' means progress, unfolding, coming to know, coming to be. This is the peculiar Buddhist emphasis lying in Way, more so than any external goal of fulfilment, any externally conceived share of consummation. For Dhamma if not 'anywhere,' Nirvana is not 'anywhere.' The Divine is within the man. But the full becoming of That is a long, long business, a long, long wayfaring.

And too much is it forgotten by modern Buddhists, that it was not as advocates of the Impermanent, or the Not-man that

mediaeval India held them to be in error. It was because they, the Buddhas, maintained the becoming of that which is from that which is not.¹ I am not taking up the foolish word-quibble here, which does not see, that given an eternal source, there can never be any time when it can be said 'nothing is.' I only refer to it to show how the tradition of *bhava* and *bhāvanā* will have lingered, even in the decadent Buddhist Sāsana of mediaeval India.

Why then do words so really fundamental in Buddhism as *bhava* and *bhāvanā* appear in the scriptures, the one with the condemned meaning of *Āsava* (canker) and *Ditthi* (speculative opinion), the other in so hole-and-corner a fashion that no writer on Buddhism gives due heed to it? I return to the answers given earlier in this my last chapter. The monk, because of his world-lorn theory of Ill, set himself against *bhava*, refusing to see in life and more life the given opportunity, the only possible opportunity, for that unfolding, that educating, that developing, that making to become, implied in the man's coming to maturity, to perfection. Starve, root out desire for *bhava*, he taught; get to the End as soon as possible, the end of all this appalling ill. He had no forward view. It was only in retrospect that saintly singers found food for joy. It was to satisfy a much later wave of longing that, in the Milinda, Nirvana is described as the City of the Ought-to-be, the holy Utopia.

And the 'man' too, the *puruṣa*, being starved out, rooted out, the process, the work of making-to-become, only retained worth by being transferred to the *ways* of the man: his faculties, his mind, his wisdom, his more-will, his rapt musing.

Had not this woeful blindness come upon them, had they clung to their Magga, to that for which it really stood, and not cut from their feet all that makes for the 'man's' life-way-faring, they might well have come to anticipate the centuries and have used their *vivatṭa*, the very word of 'evolution' itself.

¹ *Saṅkhyā-Kārikā* Nārāyaṇa on Gauḍapāda's commentary, Sutra IX.

The word is almost solely applied to the evolution and involution (*samvatta*) of world-change. But a near approach to its application to man occurs once in the line :

Thus by the evolution of the deed (*Kammavivaṭṭena*)
The man who spoils is spoiled in his turn.

Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Kosala, 2, 5.

So near were they and yet so far ! So near it would seem there came to those after-men of the Sakiyaputras :—

Daughters of Time, the hypocritic Days
Muffled and dumb, like barefoot dervishes,
And marching single in an endless file,
Bring diadems and fagots in their hands.
To each they offer gifts after his will,
Bread, kingdoms, stars, and sky that holds them all.
I in my pleached garden watched the pomp,
Forgot my morning wishes, hastily
Took bread and a few apples—and the Day
Turned and departed silent...

I too late

Under her solemn fillet saw the scorn !

Emerson.

With sorrow not with acrimony can we not also say of those followers, that they forgot the morning-will of their great Teacher, who taught the Way of man's coming to be; that they turned in fear from the nobler gifts in the hands of their Day; that they hid the man-in-themselves of the Greater Garden; that they rejected Bhava and preferred mere Anitya; that they 'took hastily' the bread of the little garden of the pleached lines of the cloister, seeing only danger and worsening in the wider work, the longer way that lay beyond the walls?

∴ Unworthy through the evolution of their 'man'-less tenet to reform the brahman tradition, and too wavering in their

faith in 'becoming,' in evolution, to build up a recreation of that tradition, they faded unhonoured, unlamented out of India. And in the daughter churches of Southern Asia, the children of the Mother-sāsana took over and fostered the belief in a Magga that was wilted, a man that was a mere complex, a Becoming that was only of 'dhammas,' states of mind, and an acquiescence in the social supremacy of the monk. We have evidence (such as it is, no more) in the Ceylon epics, that this was so from the first missionary campaign sent there. Of the ten 'texts' of sermons quoted, while the monk-ideal is stressed, *bhāvanā*, growth in holiness, is ignored, and the Central Message of the Way, the first 'sermon' is, almost as it were thrown in, *the last*! The first text, it is true, is of stories, but then the sermon was to the ladies of the court—good enough perhaps it was thought!

Ended now are these few Kindred Sayings, and may they find readers who are both critical and well-disposed. If I have had an uneven road to travel, it is firstly because the writer, using a language which has dropped its worthy word for *bhava*, writes of a mandate given in a language which never had a word for 'will,' secondly, because the writer, in dealing with what is now of the past, of the old world, has for theme that which was, that which is ever the New.

In many things have we given the lead to Europe. If in one century for instance, we wrenched off the shackles of despotism, France did so a century and a half later, Russia, Germany and Austria more than a century after that. Yet are we, if not in act, yet in word and code, lovers of the old, the established, the wonted. Significant herein is our heedless dropping, of all words, the word which most worthily expresses the coming to be, the New, emerging out of the old: *wairthan*, the *werden* wisely preserved in Teutonic tongues. We have to fall back on the weak word 'become,' which while it means the 'coming to be,' means no less the 'suitable.' India had of old, as the Teutons have still, the double wording of existence:

asti, *bhā*; 'to be, to become.' Whether in her many modern tongues she retains both, my ignorance knows not. The important problem for her and for us is : so to worth 'becoming' that either in fostering or in recreating we have a fit and worthy word for it.

That anyway is the heart and the aim of what I have here tried to say. That anyway is the very bond and kinship in these 'kindred sayings' :—Our will is the fundamental inner (or psychic) activity of the very 'man,' the *puruṣa*. In willing he is 'becoming' other than what he was. Hence as in a way 'new,' newer than before, he goes on to will the new, because he has gone on to 'worth' the new. And the newer, the better, the best he goes on willing is of and for the very Man. This is the Way and man the Wayfarer; and the End is not yet. This is the Way of man; this is the Magga of Gotama.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THE MISSION OF GEORGE WELDON AND ABRAHAM NAVARRO TO AURANGZIB

The mission of George Weldon and Abraham Navarro to the Court of Aurangzib was different in character from that of other English envoys. They were not directly sent by the authority of the Crown but by Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay. To understand the importance of their mission it is necessary to make a short retrospect of the circumstances under which these envoys were sent to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Great Mughal.

The last years of the seventeenth century had proved for the East Indian Company a period of incessant trouble which contributed largely to the decline of their commercial prosperity. These misfortunes were partly due to their own action, partly to the rivalry of other European nations and not least to the aggressions of the Mughal officials. The English merchants in all the Company's settlements came into constant conflict with the latter, who levied "illegal exactions on their merchandise, summoned them to their Courts of Justice and exposed them to other indignities." It became apparent to the authorities at home that they should adopt a strong line of action in order to get rid of their dependance upon the Mughal authorities, and in 1687 they determined to consolidate the affairs of the Company under a regulated administration. With that end in view a fleet was fitted out and King James's authority was obtained to empower the Governor, Sir John Child, to make peace or to declare war against the Mughal if no reparation were offered for the losses and insults endured by the Company at the hands of the Mughal officials. This attempt on the part of the English proved abortive, both in Bengal and Western India, owing to mismanagement and the climatic conditions of the country.

The Mughal Emperor had just completed his conquest of Bijapur and Golconda and subjugated the Mahrathas, so that circumstances turned in his favour against the English. Sir John Child was besieged in his own town and castle and the Mughal's admiral Sidhi reduced the place to great straits. The factories were attacked and the Emperor issued orders for the expulsion of all the English from his dominions. As Arnold Wright has pointed out in his book "Annesley of Surat and His Times," Sir John Child, who impersonated the war policy of the Company, became almost lachrymose at the disastrous results of the Company's war against the Mughal. Although the English bravely defended their settlements they were powerless before an enemy who outnumbered them. Child at last realised his blunder and on reviewing the circumstances, saw that he should sue for peace. Accordingly, he and his Council decided to send a mission to the Court of Aurangzib consisting of George Weldon,¹ Abraham Navarro, a Jew, and Mir Nazim, a local merchant having influential friends at the Mughal Court. President Child and his Council gave detailed instructions to the envoys, together with the articles of a *phirmaund* which they had drawn out as a guide for their negotiations at the Court. They pointed out in these instructions that, when the English first began to trade in the Mughal's dominions, they only paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. custom for goods to be sold at Surat and at all other ports of India; but no duty was paid for silver and gold, nor for any provisions imported or exported. The Company had lately suffered much from the hands of the Mughal officials, who had illegally extracted money from them. They reminded the envoys that

¹ Colonel George Weldon came of a well-known English family. His brother, Dom Bennet Weldon, was a Benedictine monk, who left an interesting account of him. George Weldon married Lady Susanna Child, who died on board the *Benjamin*, April 25, 1697, on her way back to England with her husband. Her body "adorned with jewels to the value of £500 sterling" was buried at sea the following day. The Colonel himself met with a tragic end off the coast of Mauritius on July 2 of the same year. See *A Chronicle of the English Benedictine Monks*.

in 1663 or 1664, when Sivaji and his forces plundered and partly burnt Surat, the English defended their factory and several times fought his troops in the streets of the town. The Emperor was so pleased with the brave conduct of the English that he reduced the custom duty to two *per cent.*, and exempted them from paying any custom duty for one year. In the year 1679 the Emperor suddenly resolved to levy a poll tax (*jizia*) on all people not of his own religion. As the English, the Dutch and the French refused to pay that tax on the demand by the Governor of Surat, the custom duty was raised to $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*, which was more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* ever paid in the Mughal's dominions. That imposition was a great grievance to all the European nations concerned, and specially to the English, who were the only people to import gold and silver. Directions were given to the envoys that no custom duty should be levied beyond two *per cent.*, and they must not yield on that point. The envoys were warned to be discreet about the spending of money for facilitating the negotiations, and not to be deceived by fair work and to be zealous in the interest of their king and country. The Council impressed upon the envoys "to be brisk and warm, as well as prudent, gentle and handsome, or you will have nothing done." They illustrated their injunctions by observing that

"a Dogg yt is hungry will Eye his master and attend him deligently when he is eating his victualls, but if his Master tosses him a bone away he is gone, after having gott what he looked for and attended for; And just such is ye nature of these people especially att ye Mogull's Court, where when they have served their own turnes away they are gone and leave you to another cranny yt he may gett something from you too, and soe you will be tossed from one hungry courtier to another till yor money is all gone, and have noe business att all done, and att last be laughed att for a foole." ¹

The envoys were further to state that the *Bunder* hitherto allowed had been lost, and that the English had only left for

their use a small warehouse standing near Surat in an inconvenient position. It was hoped that the Emperor would grant them a suitable piece of ground for that purpose.

The President and the Council further instructed the envoys to keep a diary of their journey and transactions, and make notes of the towns through which they would pass on their way to the Mughal Court, and of the languages, religion, coins, measures and weights; noticing also the various commodities available for sale, the fertility of the soil and its produce and the condition of the people under the Mughal Government. But, unfortunately, Weldon and Navarro disregarded this part of their instructions, for they do not give any substantial account of the country in their diary which might have thrown some additional light on our subject. The envoys were provided by the Council with a faithful interpreter in the person of one Noequeuedah Lolla, who would serve them at the Court to the best of his ability. They were also provided with presents for the Emperor; and a considerable amount of money for their own expenses and for the purchase of suitable goods for Europe. They were to insist in securing privileges for Bengal and the continual possession of Fort St. George and the town which they had enjoyed during the reign of the King of Golconda. The President and his Council trusted that the envoys would be able to finish their business with all expedition. They were further warned concerning the Dutch Ambassador at the Court and how they were to deal with him, as he was a "cunning shrewd man."

The envoys left Bombay with these instructions on December 10, 1689, for the Mughal Court, where they arrived just as the Emperor was removing his camp to Bijapore.¹ Before their departure Sir John Child sent a flattering letter to Aurangzib describing him "Lord of Beneficence and liberalitic, Solomon-like Throne, Epitome of Priesthood, Scanderberg-like wisdom, Heavenly judgement, Potentate of the World, centre

¹ See O. C. 5709, India Office.

of Security, Emperor of the Earth." Sir John was evidently feeling that the fortunes of the English in India were in such a serious condition that in order to gain any favour from the Emperor he must assume the role of a humble suppliant.

They set out from a place called Cullian and arrived near the Mughal's *Leskar* after six days of strenuous journey. The news of their arrival was immediately conveyed to the Mughal, who sent a message of welcome through his Wazir Asad Khan, and ordered that they should be accommodated in the neighbourhood of the Imperial Camp. They were at first civilly received and entertained by the Mughal's officials; but these outward courtesies were only assumed manifestations of goodwill. After some considerable difficulty they were able to obtain an interview with the Wazir, who received them "in a little place made up in his Tent Door, and discoursed us standing."¹ He informed them of the King's indignation against the conduct of the English, but assured them of his assistance in carrying out their mission to a successful conclusion.

In this critical situation, when the negotiations at the Court were in progress, Sir John Child died suddenly at Bombay on February 4, 1689-90. The Council at Bombay acted wisely in not communicating the news of his death to the envoys until their business was over.

Meanwhile the envoys were engaged in consulting with the Mughal's ministers about the affairs of the Company, and with the help of rich presents they were able to obtain admission into the Emperor's presence. Their reception by the Emperor was unusual and humiliating to the Company whose interests they were representing at the Court, for "their hands being tied by a *sash* before them, and they were obliged to prostrate. The king gave them a severe reprimand, and then asked their demands. They first made a confession of their faults and desired pardon."²

¹ See Sloane MS., 1910, British Museum.

² See p. 224 of *A New Account of the East Indies*, by Capt. Alexander Hamilton. Weldon and his colleague make no reference to this reception in their diary. See also pp. 16-17 of Harl 7810, British Museum.

The negotiations were hindered by a Dutch representative¹ at the Court who endeavoured to prejudice the Emperor against the English; but his efforts in that direction were not successful, for neither the Mughal's ministers nor the leading Surat merchants desired to see the English ruined. It may be mentioned that the envoys paid over a lakh of rupees to Ruhullah Khan, Asad Khan and Muktar Khan in order to obtain their assistance and goodwill for furthering their mission. The Emperor after careful consideration, agreed to renew the *phirmaunds*, stipulating at the same time that the English should reimburse his subjects and that all losses and damages should be made good. On those conditions only would he order Sidhi and his army to quit Bombay. The envoys experienced, however, the greatest difficulty in persuading the Emperor to fulfil his promise, for it was "a maxime where once his forces beleaguere a place they either conquer or are beaten from it."² There was no other course for the envoys to pursue but to accept the Emperor's conditions and they therefore did so, and left the Court to return to Bombay. The Emperor thereupon ordered Ettimand Khan, Governor of Surat, and Sidhi Yacood Khan to cease hostilities and evacuate Bombay. He also commanded the Governor to deliver the *phirmaund* into the hands of the English; and for that purpose George Weldon, Mr. Harris and Mr. John Vaux, Deputy Governor of Bombay, proceeded to Surat to receive it from the Mughal Governor with all dignity and honour. They were attended with an imposing escort, including all the persons employed in the factory. The *phirmaund* was delivered to them by the Governor in a gilded box at a special *Durbar* and a *serpaw* was also bestowed on Vaux as a mark of Imperial favour. After the ceremony was concluded, they returned to the factory in a triumphant procession. Their joy was short-lived,

¹ The envoys were supplied with interesting information whilst at the camp regarding the many Europeans employed by the Emperor. They were daily deserting his service on account of the prejudice entertained by him against the Christians.

² See No. 5738 O.C. 48 I. O.

for the English discovered to their sorrow and amazement that the *phirmaund* from which so much was expected was an expression of despotism towards the English. Sir John Child had requested liberty of trade and a specification of conditions under which the English could allow their goods to be stored and servants to trade at Surat without danger of being oppressed by the Mughal officials. Instead of that the new *phirmaund* made it appear that the English would be subjected to more humiliating and tyrannical regulations than they had ever experienced since the earliest establishment of a factory in India.

The *phirmaund* of Aurangzib relating to the English affairs at Surat and other parts of his dominions was drawn up in the Persian language and dated the 28th January, 1690, in the thirty-third year of the Emperor's reign. It was laid down that Ettimand Khan should realise from the English a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 as an indemnity for the losses suffered by the Mughal's subjects. The English should be allowed to coin their own bullion and to buy or sell their own goods. If the Mughal's officials require any goods from the English warehouses, they must apply for them through the Governor, who shall be responsible for payment. The Emperor further authorised the Governor to protect the English from any oppression. All goods sent to Swally for shipment and not taken on board might be stored again in Surat without a second duty being demanded; no further custom to be paid on goods brought from the interior than that payable according to the *phirmaund* of Shah Jehan.* It was ordered that speedy despatch should be given at the custom house; and that all Englishmen and brokers should be discharged from prison. The goods for shipment at Surat, brought from other parts of the empire, should pay customs in one place only; and the same protection was extended to goods arriving at Surat destined for other parts of the country. No letters of the Company were to be intercepted at the ports; and a new

plot of land was to be given to the English for repairing ships.

The Governor of Surat was further authorised to deal with complaints arising out of custom-duty charged for provisions and apparel if already paid; the English should be treated like the Mughal's own subjects in case of robberies of goods on the roads. Slaves belonging to the English and found escaping should be captured and restored to their masters by the Governor. All customs were to be paid at the close of the year; and no goods to be taken and opened if the invoice were shown. The Emperor allowed Englishmen to go freely in and out of Surat; and directed that Rs. 80,000 taken from the English warehouses should be credited. Finally, he ordered that the complaints against Mr. Bowcher and the one concerning the murder of two Englishmen should be tried by the law of the land.¹ The Mughal also granted a *phirmaund* for Bengal, authorising Ibrahim Khan, the Governor, to protect the English in carrying on their trade as before.

When the news of this treaty with the Mughal reached England, the Court of Directors expressed their great indignation; they did not realise that the moment was not opportune to continue their quarrel with the Mughal. The English at Bombay and other parts of India, however, now felt themselves in a position to re-establish their trade, which had suffered much during the war against the Mughal. There were still many difficulties to contend with, such as the loss of revenue and opposition from both Indians and Portuguese, but the factors resolutely set to work to overcome all hindrances.

HARIHAR DAS

Note.—There is in preparation a detailed account of the mission from the present writer's pen.—H. D.

¹ See O. C. 48, No. 5704, I. O.; also *Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, Vol. 8.

THE VOLUNTARISTS' CONCEPTION OF PERSONALITY.

(A Critique.)

Of late, it has been the tendency of psychology to treat volition as 'the primary and constitutive function of mind,' and intellect as 'a secondary evolution.' Schopenhauer was, perhaps, the first to expound this view. In recent times Dr. Paulsen has advocated it and tried to defend it with considerable ability. With Prof. Paulsen will is the primary and primitive form of the soul-life, whereas intelligence is a secondary evolution and comes to be grafted on the will in its later stages. Thus will is the essence of the self, and intelligence is only a secondary product.

Now, the first objection to such a theory is that the whole argument involves a vicious circle. To subordinate thought or intelligence to will and to regard the former as a secondary product, and the latter as the primary function of mind seem to involve the fallacy of *petitio principii*. Is it not by intelligence or thought that we form such a theory? Is it not by intelligence or thought that we are enabled to know that will is the primary and constitutive element of mind, whereas intelligence is a secondary evolution? If so; is it not then an explanation in a circle when we say that intelligence explains will and will explains intelligence? Our intelligence tells us, on the one hand, that will is the primary and constitutive element of mind, and, on the other, that intelligence is the secondary product which appears at the later stages of the development of will. An important question suggests itself here: Was intelligence present in will in some form before it came into being as intelligence? Did will contain intelligence in germinal form before the latter came to be grafted upon it as a secondary product? If the answer be in the negative, then will could not evolve intelligence without violating the Law of Causation or Evolution. The cause and effect must be *homogeneous* in all

respects, so that the effect cannot have any new element which cannot be explained by the cause; but in the present case intelligence as the effect is distinct from will as the cause; therefore, intelligence cannot be the product of will. But it may be said that our will does not produce intelligence, it is the soul-life that produces it. This is no answer at all, for will is said to be the primary and constitutive element of such a life. The same conclusion will be drawn if we consider the evolution, instead of causation, of intelligence. A thing can evolve another, when the latter is contained, in some form or other, in the former; the evolute is nothing but a stage of the evolvent. If that were not so, anything could evolve any other thing; a block of stone, for example, could evolve water, or oil, or anything else, and water or oil could evolve dog, or cat, or anything else. Thus, if will did not contain the germ of intelligence, it could not evolve it. Therefore, the will from which the intelligence is supposed to be evolved, must be an intelligent will. If, on the other hand, the answer be in the affirmative, it is admitted that will is intelligent, and that such a will only is the primary and constitutive element of mind.

We should consider another point in this connexion. If an intelligent will is the primary and constitutive element of soul-life—if there was a time when there was no intelligence, but will only, how could intelligence know such a will and how could it know such a time? Can intelligence know a thing at the time of whose existence it did not exist? Can intelligence know things existing before it came into being? It may be replied that it can know them by inference from present observed facts biological, psychological and historical. We find that the activities of the lower animals and the human nurselings are all unintelligent and determined by blind impulses; by these facts we infer that the primitive form of mind is unconscious, unintelligent will, which becomes conscious or intelligent later on. Here there are many unwarranted assumptions and confusions :

In the first place, it is a mere surmise that the activities of the lower animals and human nurselings are determined solely by blind or unconscious impulses. How do we know that the impulses are blind or unconscious, that is, not guided by intelligence? Modern psychology, following Leibnitz and others, holds that there are unconscious (*i.e.*, subconscious) ideas which determine most of our activities and that our subconscious life is the background and support of our conscious life. If we apply this doctrine to the life of the lower animals and the human nurselings we may say that their activities also are guided and determined by subconscious ideas or rudimentary intelligence. This contention is supported by Prof. Bergson, one of the great philosophical biologists. He remarks: "There is no intelligence in which some traces of instinct are not to be discovered, more especially no instinct that is not surrounded with a fringe of intelligence." (*Creative Evolution*, p. 143.) This is the famous doctrine of pan-psychism, which Dr. Paulsen also has ably defended. But the difference between him and me lies in the fact that while he conceives the primary and constitutive element of soul-life to be unconscious will, I conceive it to be a conscious or intelligent one.

In the second place, an absolutely unconscious or unintelligent will is something non-existent. Even if it were existent we could not know it, or make any assertion about it. The object of knowledge must always be related, and, therefore, analogous in nature, to the subject; of two absolutely contradictory and opposite things one cannot know another, because they lie absolutely apart from, and independently of, each other: they cannot act and react upon each other, and therefore no relation and communication are possible between them. Again, when one thing knows another, it makes the latter its content, *i.e.*, includes it within itself; and it will not alter the fact if we say that what it includes is not the thing itself but its idea, for the idea is nothing if it does not truly express and represent the thing; it cannot even have the idea, unless the thing

is related and analogous to it. Therefore, intelligence cannot know an absolutely unintelligent will, for it is wholly contradictory and opposite to the latter. In fact, there is nothing absolutely unconscious, for it would, then, be absolutely opposite to and beyond the conscious, and would, therefore, be unknown and unknowable. What we call unconscious is really subconscious, that is, possessing a lower degree of consciousness. And this is the meaning which modern psychology assigns to the unconscious, after labelling it as self-contradictory when it is used to mean simply the opposite to the conscious.

In the third place, intelligence cannot know the time when it was non-existent; for to know it, it must know its own beginning or origin, but to know its own beginning or origin, it must put a limit to itself, and in putting such a limit it must transcend the limit and pass over to what lies beyond the limit. Or, otherwise expressed, intelligence cannot put a limit to itself, because, as soon as it puts such a limit, it transcends the limit and knows what lies beyond it; no limit can be put to anything without knowing both what lies within and what lies without the limit. Thus intelligence cannot know its beginning or origin, and if it arbitrarily supposes that it has a beginning or origin, it virtually transcends it, goes beyond it and thus nullifies it. In fact, intelligence is unlimited—it is a universal principle which can put a limit to everything else than itself. Moreover, if intelligence were absolutely limited, it could not even know itself to be limited; it could know itself no doubt, but not as limited, for such a knowledge would involve that of its distinction from, and contrast with, the unlimited. It is a fundamental condition of all knowledge that to know a thing fully it must be distinguished from its “different,” or what it is not. To know, for instance, this pen I am writing with I must know also what is not this pen; similarly, to know this pen as limited I must know also what is unlimited, *i.e.*, what is not-limited. As Prof. J. Caird remarks :

“In so far as the lower animals are devoid of reason, they are unconscious of their irrationality, and it is only we in virtue of our rational

intelligent nature, who can discern their lack of it. So, it might be possible for another and higher intelligence, an observer of human nature possessed of absolute knowledge, to pronounce that man's knowledge is purely relative, that there is a region of realities from which human thought is shut out, but it is not possible for one and the same consciousness to be purely relative and conscious of its relativity." (*Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 15-16.)

The above considerations clearly prove that intelligence is not a secondary product or evolution; it is the primary and constitutive element of soul-life; it is itself a universal principle without limit, beginning or origin. But this does not imply that it is inactive, it is an *active principle*, and thus, though intelligence and will are distinct, they are yet inter-connected; they are rather two inter-related functions of one and the same self.

Now, it is clear that all those theorists, who disparage thought or intellect and elevate another element of mind over it, making it something secondary and unfundamental, wholly forget that their fetish lives in the life of thought or intelligence, and is what it is only through thought or intelligence. Thought is the universal prius and the ultimate basis of all theory and truth, and it is only through intellectual jugglery that they can make thought other than what it is.

Intellect is disparaged from a different point of view by Prof. Bergson in his "Introduction to Metaphysics" and "Creative Evolution." According to him, the ultimate reality is Life which consists in a continuous flow or change, and is a conscious principle unceasingly creating new things. In the course of its creative evolution, which itself is an eternal process, never complete but always progressing towards its completion, it gives birth to matter and intellect, the latter always acting upon the former, and moulding and fashioning it in accordance with the requirements of our actions. Our own individual life is a definite and unique centre—a mere mode or moment—of that universal life; therefore, all the characteristics possessed by,

the latter are reproduced, in a limited way, in the former. The method by which we can know the true nature of our life is not analysis as employed by science, but intuition, by which Bergson means, "*intellectual sympathy* by which one places oneself within an object in order to coincide with what is unique in it and consequently inexpressible."

The salient points in Bergson's contention may be stated in this way: (i) There is a reality that is external and yet given immediately to the mind. (ii) This reality is mobility. Not *things* made, but things in the making, not self-maintaining *states*, but only changing states, exist. Rest is never more than apparent, or rather relative. The consciousness we have of our own self in its continual flux introduces us to the interior of reality, on the model of which we must represent other realities. All reality, therefore, is tendency, if we agree to mean by tendency an incipient change of direction. (iii) Our intellect, when it follows its natural bent, proceeds on the one hand by solid perceptions; and on the other, by stable conceptions. It starts from the immobile, and only conceives and expresses movement as a function of immobility. It takes up its position in ready-made concepts, and endeavours to catch in them, as in a net, something of the reality which passes. This is certainly not done in order to obtain an internal and metaphysical knowledge of the real, but simply in order to utilise the real, each concept (as also each sensation) being a *practical question* which our activity puts to reality and to which reality replies, as must be done in business, by a Yes or a No. But in doing that it lets that which is its very essence, escape from the real. (iv) It is clear that fixed concepts may be extracted by our thought from mobile reality; but there are no means of reconstructing the mobility of the real with fixed concepts. Dogmatism, however, in so far as it has been a builder of systems, has always attempted this reconstruction. In this it was bound to fail. It is on this importance, and on this importance only, that the sceptical, idealist, critical doctrines

really dwell : in fact, all doctrines that deny to our intelligence the power of attaining the absolute. The demonstrations which have been given of the relativity of our knowledge are therefore tainted with an original vice ; they imply, like the dogmatism they attack, that all knowledge must necessarily start from concepts with fixed outlines, in order to clasp with them the reality which flows. (v) But the truth is that our intelligence can follow the opposite method. It can place itself within the mobile reality and adopt its ceaselessly changing direction : in short, can grasp it by means of that intellectual sympathy which we call intuition. To philosophise therefore, is to invert the habitual direction of the work of thought. (vi) What is relative is the symbolic knowledge by pre-existing concepts, which proceeds from the fixed to the moving, and not the intuitive knowledge which installs itself in that which is moving and adopts the very life of things (*vide Introduction to Metaphysic*, pp. 55-63).

We shall here consider only those points which have direct bearing upon the subject under discussion. The essence of personality is, for Bergson, a continuous conscious flow or change which is a unity-in-variety ; but it is an extraordinary unity-in-variety that can be grasped by intuition, not by intellect. It is an ever-flowing, ever-mobile creative principle which unceasingly gives birth to newer and newer things. We must notice and examine three assertions that are made here : (i) the essence of life or personality ; (ii) the method of knowing it ; (iii) the genesis of intellect.

(i) Bergson's conception of personality may be compared to that of a conscious creative will which gives birth to intellect and thus transcends intellect, or, in other words, personality consists in a conscious but unintelligent will. Therefore he differs from Schopenhauer and Prof. Paulsen in holding will to be conscious, but agrees with them in regarding it to be unintelligent. Now, the question is, Can such a principle be known, if there be such a principle at all? Bergson tells us

that we can directly be aware of it by intuition, and not by intellect. What is, then, intuition? He tells us that it is an intellectual sympathy, and that our intelligence "can place itself within the mobile reality (*i.e.*, the conscious flow or change) and adopt its ceaselessly changing direction ; in short, can grasp it by means of that *intellectual sympathy* which we call intuition." Here he admits that intelligence can grasp life or the mobile reality by a sort of intellectual activity which he calls intuition. Thus, for him, intelligence or intellect and intuition are not entirely distinct and opposite things, but the same thing viewed from different standpoints: the intellect which grasps the life or the mobile reality is called intuition, and the same intellect which works by using cut-and-dry concepts, *i.e.*, by analysis, is called intelligence or intellect. But it is curious that after defining intuition as an intellectual sympathy, he flatly denies to intellect the capacity for grasping the real. He, thus, certainly contradicts himself.

Now, if intellect is capable of putting itself in the inner nature of our life or of the self, and of grasping what it really is, how can that life or the self be other than intelligent? If that life or the self were absolutely unintelligent, how could intelligence or intellect penetrate and grasp it? Of two absolutely contradictory or opposite things, one cannot penetrate and grasp the other. But the fact that our intelligence is capable of doing so clearly shows that our life or self and our intelligence or intellect are not really wholly antagonistic or opposite, but are analogous in nature ; and that, thus, the former is not only conscious, but also intelligent. Or, in other words, the essence of our life or self is intelligence. Our life or self is, thus, an *intelligent will*, which ceaselessly and continuously undergoes a process of change and thereby gives rise to ever new facts. This fact can be proved in another way. The conscious flow of change or mobility which gives birth to intellect at a later stage must itself contain the germ of intellect as something inherent in its nature, for, otherwise,

it could not produce or evolve the intellect, and if it were supposed, as Bergson himself did, to do so, it would violate the Law of causation and evolution—it would violate the fundamental condition of causation and evolution that the cause could not produce or evolve an effect wholly antagonistic to itself. These considerations prove that the life, as conceived by Bergson, is not really unintelligent, but an intelligent principle, which *our* intelligence or intellect is capable of knowing.

(ii) In pointing out the true method of knowing the mobile Reality of which our life or self is only a point or mode, he tells us that it is by intuition, and not by intellect, that we are able to penetrate and grasp the essential nature of that reality ; “that the consciousness we have of our self in its continual flux introduces us to the interior of a reality, on the model of which we must represent other realities.” We have already examined this position and found that Prof. Bergson has virtually made two contradictory assertions in this connexion. But, still, the reasons for which he has made them should be more fully examined. The reasons are these : Intellect works with solid perceptions and stable conceptions ; it starts from the immobile and tries to explain and express the mobile in terms of the immobile; hence its failure to penetrate and grasp the mobile which is the real. Our life or self is mobile, *i.e.*, a continual flux in so far as it is real and this is the reason why our intellect cannot know the interior or essence of it ; or, in other words, the method of intellect is analysis, *i.e.*, dissection of a living whole into its dead elements whereas the method of intuition is to grasp the whole as it really is. All solid perceptions and stable conceptions are dead elements, results of analysis of the living whole, and are, so far, detached from the whole, and therefore are abstractions and immobilities. Thus, intellect proceeds from the whole, not to the parts, but to the elements or units which are disjoined and therefore dead ; and by such dead and detached elements it,

then, tries to build up the living whole ; but the whole, thus built up, is only a semblance of the real whole : hence its failure to reach the reality.

If such description of the nature of intellect is exhaustive and true, it must be admitted that it is impossible for intellect to reach the reality. Kant also condemned the pure understanding or reason for similar reasons and confined it to the sphere of the phenomenal after labelling it with absolute incapability for reaching the real. Like Prof. Bergson who brings the reality back through intuition, Kant also brought it back through moral reason or faith. We all know the fate of Kantianism, and we are now going to scrutinise the fate of Bergsonianism.

We must, at the outset, ask this question : Does or does not intellect know its fate, *i.e.*, its absolute inability for reaching the real? If the answer be in the negative, we must further ask : How do we then know its fate? Do we know it by intuition? It cannot certainly be so : for, Prof. Bergson positively and distinctly tells us that by intuition we know only the real, the continual flux which is a living extraordinary whole ; but the inability of intellect is no such reality, nor even a part of it but only an abstract element—a stable conception—formed by intellect itself. The answer must, therefore, be that we know it by intellect, that our intellect forms and knows its own fate. Such being the case, a further question suggests itself : If intellect knows its own fate, can that intellect be limited by that fate? Can a thing which knows its limit also be wholly limited? The answer must be in the negative. Thus we find that intellect contains a universal element by virtue of which it can transcend any limit which it is supposed to put to itself, and is not, therefore, *merely* limited, that is, incapable of knowing and reaching the real.

No doubt, intellect makes use of “ solid perceptions ” and “ stable conceptions ” as its materials and starting-points but the question is : Whence does it get them? It cannot be said that it forms them out of nothing ; in that case they will be

mere illusions. Prof. Bergson does not say that they are illusions ; he positively tells us that "it is clear that fixed concepts may be extracted by our thought from mobile reality," but what he denies is that they are means of reconstructing the mobility of the real. Now, if intellect (or thought) is capable of extracting those fixed concepts from the mobile reality, it is also capable of penetrating and grasping it, for, without such penetration and grasp it cannot extract those concepts from it. This fact, again, proves that the mobile reality is beyond the reach of intellect.

It must now be admitted that intellect is capable of penetrating reality and of analysing it into its elements ; it must also be admitted that these elements, taken by themselves, are abstract and stable and that by the aggregation of such abstract and stable elements no living whole can be reconstructed, for, the concrete is always more than the abstract, the unstable is always more than the stable, and no aggregate of the latter can reach the former. So far Prof. Bergson is quite right. But he has missed another and a rather more important function of intellect. It is undoubtedly true that intellect, in so far as it is discursive, makes use of and works with "given" materials, *i.e.*, "solid perceptions" and "stable conceptions," which it extracts from the real, and so far it adopts the method of analysis ; but it has also a synthetic function by which it unites the elements thus extracted into a whole. He admits such a synthetic function, but contends that by it intellect is unable to reconstruct the real, inasmuch as the elements are abstract and stable, while the reality is concrete and unstable. But it is curious that he tells us, on the one hand, that intellect is able to extract those elements from the real, and, on the other, that it cannot reconstruct the real by them.

This is, undoubtedly, equivalent to the saying that intellect can penetrate and break up the real into fragments, but, yet, it cannot rebuild it by them. Here a question suggests itself : Are not those fragments—the "solid perceptions" and the

“stable conceptions”—fragments of the real? Prof. Bergson replies in the negative. Why not? Because the fragments are abstract and stable, whereas the reality is concrete and unstable. But this is no answer; for, he admits that those abstract and stable fragments are extracted from the real, and are, therefore themselves real. Of course, if the process of such extraction were itself unreal or illusory, the extracted elements would be also unreal or illusory. But he does not say so. He repeatedly affirms that intellect is capable of penetrating reality and of extracting from it those fragments. Thus, the so-called “solid perceptions” and “stable conceptions” are real fragments of reality. In another place he tells us that they are not parts, but only elements of the real whole; by this he means that parts are inseparable from the real whole, and are, thus, its real constitutive elements; whereas the abstract elements are separated from the real whole and conceived as such, and therefore are not its real constituents: for this reason parts can be known by intuition, and the abstract elements by intellect. But this explanation of the distinction between the parts and the abstract elements seems to be preposterous. No doubt, parts are inseparable from the real whole, otherwise they cannot be its parts, but are not the so-called abstract elements also parts of the real whole? If not so, how can they be extracted from the real whole? It may be that when those extracted elements are considered by themselves they become abstract and stable, and when in relation to the real whole they become concrete and flexible, they may be called the real parts or constituents. But these are only points of view from which we can consider those elements, and it passes our comprehension why one point of view should be regarded as that of intuition, and the other as that of intellect, so long as we know that intuition is only a form of intellect, as distinguished from feeling, or from intuition as understood by the intuitionists. The truth is, intellect, when it works in the form of intuition, knows and grasps the reality in its vague and imperfect outline, and then proceeds to analyse it into its

constituent elements in order to know and grasp it more fully and in its greater details, and finally combines them, again, into the real whole with greater and fuller knowledge about it. Thus, intuition, analysis and synthesis are three stages of the functioning of intellect. It is true that in the beginning and at the lower stages the results of the intellectual functioning are more or less imperfect, and, therefore, more or less abstract ; but its nisus is always towards the greater, richer and fuller grasp of the real. This is the nature of all human intellect ; although itself a universal principle, it has to work through the human limitations, and this is the reason why the results arrived at by its activities appear, especially at the lower stages of its progress, to be more or less abstract and one-sided. This point will be more fully developed in the following paragraph.

(iii) In his "Creative Evolution" Prof. Bergson has explained the genesis of intellect more fully (*vide*, pp. 196-204). Here we are not directly concerned with examining thoroughly the process by which he has tried to explain the genesis of intellect ; what we are directly concerned with is the ultimate question, namely, Can intellect have a genesis at all? Is it self-explicable or capable of being explained by something other than itself ? Bergson seems to understand the difficulty arising out of the answer in the negative, and has, therefore, tried to extricate himself out of it by appealing to practical action. He admits that if we try to transcend intellect in any way we can do so only by intellect itself ; that is to say, we cannot transcend it at all. But he tells us that though theoretically it is impossible to transcend intellect, yet, practically we do and can do so. All habits are instances in point. Intellect is confined to the given, but all habits that we acquire are new. In all habits we pass from the given to the new, *i.e.*, what is not given. Here we transcend intellect by means of action. He explains it by an example : Swimming will seem theoretically impossible to a man who has never seen any other man to swim, but it will be practically possible for him when he throws

himself into water and by repeated struggling becomes able to adapt himself to it ; thus action enables us to acquire a new thing which intellect thinks impossible ; what is thought impossible by intellect is made possible by action. Therefore, he advises us to "thrust intelligence outside itself by an act of will," in order that we may break the solid and stable circle of thought and pass on to something new beyond it.

This is the gist of Bergson's whole argument, but it involves the same vicious circle which he has tried his utmost to break. The first question which suggests itself is : How do you know that the solid circle which thought builds up is and can be broken by action? How can you know that you can pass from the given to the new by means of action? Do you not know all these by intellect ? Is not action guided and determined in its direction by intellect ? Take the instance of swimming itself. Is it not guided by intellect at every stage? A habit is, no doubt, a new thing, but we should not forget that it is built up out of old and given elements : habit is nothing but a mental disposition to think, feel or act in a particular way, and this disposition is the result of a set of voluntary activities guided and performed by intellect. No doubt, a habit may seem impossible to one who has never seen it acquired by any man, but this is a psychological impossibility, not a metaphysical one.* There is no reason in the whole world to suppose that, because something has never been seen by a man, it is really impossible. In old times people could not believe the existence of antipodes, and even thought it impossible ; even at the present time numerous people do not believe and cannot think that the earth revolves round the sun, and not the sun round the earth. But these beliefs and thoughts did not prove the impossibility of the existence of the antipodes nor do they prove the impossibility of the revolution of the earth round the sun. Therefore, the mere fact that a man thinks something to be impossible does not prove its real impossibility.

In the second place, how can we "thrust-intelligence outside itself by an act of will"? Is that possible? Is it not true that when we thrust it outside itself, if that is possible, intelligence knows that it is so thrust out and thus passes to its "outside" and thereby includes the so-called "outside" within its province? In fact, is there, and can there be, any "outside" to intelligence? If your answer be in the affirmative, our rejoinder will be, how do you know such an "outside"? Do you not know it by your intelligence? So that intelligence, which knows its own "outside," cannot have it, because to have it, it must put a limit to itself, and as soon as it puts the limit, it transcends it. Therefore, intelligence, having no "outside," cannot be "thrust outside itself by an act of will."

Again, how can we "thrust intelligence outside itself by an act of will?" Is not an act of will guided and determined in its direction by intelligence? and if so, is not intelligence itself the real agent that thrusts itself outside itself through an act of will? This admission implies that intelligence possesses the power of transcending itself—it contains a universal principle by virtue of which it can thrust itself outside itself. Or, in other words, intelligence is itself a universal principle which can transcend all limits that can arbitrarily be put to it.

The main reason for which Prof. Bergson expounds such an astounding theory is that intellect or reason is wholly confined to the region of the "given," and cannot, therefore, pass to that of the "new." Here he puts another arbitrary limit to intellect or reason, and we can apply the same sort of argument here also to prove that intellect or reason cannot have and does not allow any such limit. The intellect, which knows that it has such limit, forthwith transcends that limit and passes over to what lies beyond the limit, *i. e.*, to the new. We have already discussed this point and proved satisfactorily that intellect or reason is not merely discursive, *i. e.*, does not work only with the given, but is also creative, *i. e.*, creates materials for its work.

In so far as Prof. Bergson's explanation of the genesis of intellect is concerned, we can apply exactly the same arguments as we have applied to Paulsen's view that unconscious will is the primary and constitutive element of the soul-life, and intellect is the secondary product or evolution. But, still, we should notice the admission which Prof. Bergson makes in this connexion. He tells us that intellect has been formed from the mobile reality by a process similar to that by which a nucleus is formed from a fluid, and that though intellect has thus detached itself from the wider reality, it, still, retains to a certain extent the nature of that reality, so that there has never been a clean cut between the two. This admission shows that there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between the reality and intellect—they gradually shade off into each other : so that, intellect is the condensed or specialised form of reality, and reality is the rarefied or universalised form of intellect. Or, in other words, reality is the universal intellect, not exclusively confined to any particular thing, while intellect is the specialised or differentiated reality confined to a particular thing, namely, the "given." Here by intellect is meant the human intellect. Consequently, his admission proves that the human intellect is a specialised form of the universal intellect, which is the reality, and, therefore, has no limit or genesis as ordinarily understood. We thus come to the same conclusion as we did above, namely, that the ultimate mobile reality is an *intelligent will*. Can we assert also that it is a *self-conscious will* ? Prof. Bergson maintains that the ultimate reality is a unity-in-variety—the whole reality is present in each of its states or parts, as each state or part is present in the whole. The essential characteristic of self-consciousness is also a unity-in-variety, and there is nothing else which possesses this characteristic. We may, therefore, assert that the ultimate mobile reality, as understood by Prof. Bergson, is really a self-conscious will. And human personality being a specialised mode of that reality must also have that characteristic.

We have fully considered above two views which disparage intellect and deny to it the prerogative of forming the essential characteristic of personality. We are now to consider other views which do not disparage intellect in the same sense and in the same way, but, yet deny that it forms the essence of personality.

Prof. Eucken maintains that self-consciousness, which is another name for "being-for-self," is the primary and constitutive element of personality, but he holds that the essence of self-consciousness is not mere awareness of a unity-in-variety, but *self-activity*; and self-activity which is not directed upon a world is as meaningless as a cause which produces no effect. Prof. Eucken's view with regard to the essence of personality clearly shows the voluntaristic trend of his mind, and his repugnance for intellectualism. For him the essence of self-consciousness is not the consciousness or cognition of the self as related to the not-self—of a unity-in-multiplicity, but *action or deed*. No doubt, action or deed also is, for him, a unity-in-variety—the unity of subject and object—of the self and the not-self—of the mind and the world, but such a unity exists within the self understood not as an *intellectual* principle, but as an *active* one—as a will; hence, although the self realises itself by a process of dialectic, yet, this dialectic is "not of a logical necessity, but of freedom;" action itself, for its own development and completion, evolves the opposition between the subject and the object, and then overcomes it. Thus, while Hegel would describe the development and realisation of the self as a process of *intellectual* dialectic, Eucken would describe it as a *dialectic process of freedom*, or simply as the *dialectic of will*. It is evident, therefore, that while the intellectualists regard intellect, he regards will, as the essence of personality or self-hood.

Now, this suggests a question: Is will wholly different from intellect, or are they interrelated functions of one and the same self? This is a fundamental problem of modern Psychology.

which tells us that intellect and will are not two wholly separated faculties of mind, as the old psychologists supposed, but are thoroughly interrelated and inter-dependent functions of it, so that they cannot exist and operate independently of one another ; will, which is not guided and determined in its direction by intellect is no will at all, but a blind impulse ; and intellect, which is wholly inactive—which does not contain any element of will—is no intellect at all.

Every idea, as Prof. Royce says, is active and tends to realise itself, and he lays a special stress “upon the unity of the intellectual and the voluntary processes which, in popular treatises, are too often sundered, and treated as if one of them could go on without the other.” (*Outlines of Psychology*, p. viii.) Moreover, Prof. Eucken himself tells us that “work (which is another name for action) is purposeful action, action inspired by an ideal, action directed to an end.” If so, is not action guided and determined in its direction by intellect, having regard to the fact that it is intellect which forms the conception of an ideal, or of an end ? Thus, action and intellect are interdependent and inseparable. The truth is that intellect is an *active principle*, and not a bare consciousness or cognition, as is ordinarily supposed. Therefore, it is immaterial whether we say that intellect or action is the essence of personality or self-hood.

In the second place, we may raise the same objection as we have done before to the regarding of intellect as something subordinate, and incapable of forming the essence of the self. For such a view puts a limit to intellect when it affirms that intellect is not an essential element of the self. How do we know that it is so ? Is it not by intellect that we know that ? Is it not by intellect that we, thus, transcend intellect ? Thus, we find that even when we try to transcend intellect we still move within intellect—we find it impossible to transcend it altogether. In fact, intellect, which knows itself wholly incapable of being the essence of the self, is wholly incapable also

of knowing what that essence is—of knowing that action is that essence, inasmuch as to know the latter fact it must transcend itself and pass on to something else which is absolutely opposite to itself and beyond itself. It may, of course, be said that knowing and being are two entirely different things ; we may know something, for instance, the pen I am writing with, without being that thing. But that is a mistake ; we cannot know a thing which is entirely different from and outside us. It is a popular prejudice that the thing we know is entirely different from and outside ourselves. But, if that were really so, we could not know it, think of it and make any assertion about it. The truth is, the thing is outside of our body, not of our thought or intellect ; our thought or intellect is essentially a universal principle working and realising itself under our limitations, and thus appearing to be limited. Thus, action, which is supposed by Prof. Eucken to be something entirely different from and outside the intellect, is really intellectual in nature, or it is an active manifestation of intellect.

Dr. James Martineau defines personality as consisting "in voluntary agency as free cause," or in the power of free preferential choice between different alternatives or possibilities. (*Vide Study of Religion*, Vol. II, p. 181.) The justifiability or non-justifiability of such a definition entirely rests on the meaning we assign to the terms "will" and "freedom." If by "will" is meant an independent faculty of mind, not necessarily connected with its other independent faculty called "intellect," then we can flatly deny its existence. Modern psychology vehemently condemns such a mechanical division of mind, which is an organic structure. If we regard will and intellect as two distinct but interrelated functions or employments of mind, as they really are, then it is immaterial whether we express the characteristic of personality in terms of intellect or of will. Again, if by "freedom" is meant an absolute or unconditioned power of will by virtue of which it can choose irrespectively of character and motive, then we are justified in denying its reality,

inasmuch as it is inconsistent with the true nature of will or voluntary action. If, on the other hand, by freedom is meant "self-determination," determination of action by the self in accordance with the law of its own inherent nature,—if, in other words, it means "the inherent effort of mind, considered as a 'world,' in the direction of unity and self-completeness, *i.e.*, individuality," then it is a necessary implication of personality or selfhood. So that, it is quite indifferent whether we define personality in terms of intellect (self-consciousness), or of will, if we understand their true significance. Dr. Martineau's mistake lies in his use of the terms "will" and "freedom" in the wrong sense. (These points have been fully considered by Prof. T. H. Green in his *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Bk. II, Chaps. I and II, and also by the author in his *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, Bk. II, Chap. II).

In recent times Prof. Josiah Royce also has adopted the voluntarist view of the nature of the self. With Prof. Royce the essence of personality or selfhood is will, not intellect. But to understand him fully it is necessary to understand his view with regard to the nature of intellect and its relation to will. In a passage in his *Psychology*, he distinctly says that intellect and will are two interrelated functions of the self, and are thus inseparable. He has expounded the same view more emphatically in the first volume of "The World and the Individual." From this it is evident that every idea is, for Prof. Royce, an embodiment of will, and every act of will is an idea. This clearly shows that for him, intellect is an *intelligent will*, and will is an *active intellect*, and that the self, which forms an idea of an external object, also fulfils its own special purpose in and through the idea, so that no idea can exist apart from its purpose, as no purpose can exist apart from its idea. Idea and purpose, intellect and will, are thus, two distinct but interrelated functions of the self. Therefore, when we understand him in this way, it is quite immaterial for him whether we say that intellect or will is the essence of selfhood or personality.

Dr. Bosanquet is not quite willing to express the essence of personality in terms of will. (*Vide The Principle of Individuality and Value*, pp. 288-89.) It is true that will has a negative side—it implies dissatisfaction and contradiction. But that is not less true of self-consciousness ; there are disharmony and contradiction also between the ego and the non-ego, between the element of unity and the element of multiplicity. But will, like intellect, has also a positive side—it is a positive effort to remove the contradiction—to actualise the ideal. It is also true that all conation is not harmonious with the ultimate nature of the self, *i.e.*, does not realise that nature. But it is not less true of intellect. As there are errors in conation, so, there are errors in cognition. Dr. Bosanquet himself is very fond of expressing the ultimate nature of the self as “an active form of the whole,” striving after unity and completeness. And this manner of expression evidently evinces that the self is a self-conscious will striving after unity and completeness. As we have shown before, there is no essential distinction between intellect and will. Spinoza is very emphatic on the point. “There is in the mind,” says he, “no volition save that which an idea as idea involves.” (*Ethics*, ii, 49.) Again, “will and understanding are one and the same.....A particular volition and a particular idea are one and the same.” (*Ibid*, cor. and dem.) “Spinoza would thus seem to reduce the whole content of man’s spiritual life to thought or intelligence and its modifications ; and though he treats of other elements which pertain to the active in contradistinction from the intellectual part of man’s nature—of an impulse or endeavour in the mind to persist in its own being, of pleasure and pain, desire and aversion, and of particular emotions in elaborate detail to which this impulse gives birth—yet when we examine the real significance of his teaching, these seemingly non-intellectual elements, it has been held, lose their independence, and resolve themselves into one all-absorbing principle of the theoretical intelligence. As “the essence of the mind consists of adequate and inadequate

Ideas'' so the self-maintaining impulse is nothing more than the self-affirmation by the mind of its own power of thinking. Will itself is only another name for this impulse, ''when referred solely to the mind.'' (J. Caird, *Spinoza*, pp. 243-44.)

By this long discussion with regard to the voluntarists' view about the essential characteristic of selfhood or personality, it has been made sufficiently clear that will understood only as something intelligent can constitute such an essence. Intellect, truly understood, is an active principle striving after its own perfect unity and completion, and consequently contains an element of will ; while will is an intelligent principle fulfilling and embodying itself in and through ideas.

A. K. MAJUMDAR

LORD LISTER AND THE RENAISSANCE OF SURGERY

The overwhelming magnitude of Lister's discovery and the rare nobility of his life make a dual appeal at once fascinating and inspiring. Only by studying what is accomplished in the span of one great life is it possible to realize how far and how fast we have travelled. Medicine, having sprung from magic, nourished in its swaddling clothes on empiricism, finally took its deep and permanent roots in science. And it is to the pioneer like Lister, who unfalteringly helped it creep inch by inch through the maze of ignorance and superstition, that we owe our everlasting debt.

The large number of healthy people to-day, the large number of old people to-day, are living monuments to the discovery of Joseph Lister. By his principles of antiseptic surgery he has saved more lives than all the conquerors of the world ever destroyed. Yet history always honours the destroyers of lives, seldom pays tribute to the saviours of mankind.

What is it that has made the name of Lister a household word throughout the civilized world and why do all nations and all creeds unite this year to honour his memory? Where was surgery before the days of Lister? Before him and his illustrious colleague, Pasteur, with whom his name will ever be affectionately associated, was gross darkness. Plague, pestilence and famine were rampant upon the earth. It is true that surgery had been robbed of most of its pain and thereby received its first great impetus by the discovery of other anæsthesia in 1842 by Crawford W. Long, of Georgia, of whom America should be justly proud, and of chloroform anæsthesia in 1847 by Sir James Simpson of Edinburgh, but on account of the ravages of infection few surgeons cared to submit their patients to surgical operations,

“With the introduction of anæsthesia, the grim spectre, known as hospital gangrene, loomed larger than ever.” A picture, ever vivid in my mind, was painted by my father, whose recital of his medical student days during the pre-Listerian period, depicted the deplorable conditions prevailing then in the hospitals. The wards were a pitiable sight, filled with patients with flushed faces, parched lips, suffering from septic fever and often in delirium. Even the odour of gangrene, which pervaded the entire institution, was trying to all who ministered to those suffering from infections. How was this infection and gangrene, which was daily taking such a large toll in death, to be combated?

This problem was in the minds of all surgeons at this time, when Louis Pasteur, of France, often spoken of as “the most perfect man who has ever entered the Kingdom of Science,” appeared on the scene. In 1857 he read his epochal paper on lactic acid fermentation and on alcoholic fermentation in which he laid the foundation of biological chemistry and proved that spontaneous generation did not exist, as had been believed up to that time, but that these fermentations were actually due to living organisms.

Lister was the first to recognize and appreciate the paramount significance of Pasteur’s discovery of microbic activities and its direct application to surgery. Applying the theories of germ life, enunciated by this great chemist, to the principles of surgery, Lister established antiseptic principles in operations and in the treatment of wounds which was to revolutionize the science of surgery and make “possible the present proud perfection of this most brilliant of all the arts.” Lister “saw the practical importance of the discoveries of Pasteur,” as pointed out by Sir Clifford Allbutt, “because he was watching on the heights, and he was watching there alone.”

From this day on the dramatic episodes in surgery have captivated the imagination and aroused admiration and wonder by their successful victories in the battle against infection. The

romance of surgery is so fascinating and at the same time so logical that no thinking person can fail to see at a glance the great benefits that have come from it—benefits more priceless than all the precious jewels of the world. Before the days of antiseptic surgery, for example, amputations of limbs carried a mortality rate of 65 per cent. compared with 4·5 per cent. to-day. Having served in three European wars I realize what this means to the wounded soldiers and to the nations at war. When we reflect that the eminent French surgeon, Larrey, Chief-Surgeon to the Grand Army of Napoleon, is reputed to have performed in a single day one hundred and twenty-five amputations, and at this ratio eighty-one soldiers must have died of shock or subsequently of gangrene, and that to-day by applying Lister's antiseptic methods we are able to save most of our cases, we humbly acknowledge our profound indebtedness.

Further, largely by the application of the discoveries of Pasteur and Lister the average span of life since the middle ages has almost trebled. When one attempts to compute what this lengthened life means in economic value to all the peoples of the earth the figures become astronomical. In this age when the standard of success is so often measured by money it is wealth. But they have done much more than this—they have been the two-fold instrument of bestowing upon the world its greatest happiness. Their two names will be for ever joined as two monumental columns supporting the grandest and noblest arch of triumph ever erected. They were, indeed, the most undaunted "explorers of the mysteries of life" and the greatest benefactors of suffering humanity, and with them began in truth "man's redemption of man."

. Thus, we see, that the Renaissance of surgery began with Lister's epoch-making studies in antisepsis, and that the last fifty years have seen more advancement in surgery—in fact in all the branches of medicine—than in all the preceding centuries. Nor must we forget it has all come within "the memory of living man." Progress is seen in the ever decreasing mortality.

rate following operations and the ever increasing and widening domain of surgery. "From the head downward there is scarcely any part of the body that has not been successfully subjected to surgery." Even the heart is no exception and now is recorded a successful effort to cut the narrowed valves within it in order to allow the blood to flow more freely and thus prolong life. As William Haggard has said, "although the heart is only one inch from the surface of the body twenty centuries of surgery rolled by before the scalpel could successfully travel that inch." We of this generation are living in a golden age of scientific progress and have profited much by the pioneer work of these masters.

Lister's life was not always serene. "A dark shadow in the scientific life is often thrown by a spirit of jealousy." Carping criticism is always to be expected from some contemporaries. And a discovery, so comprehensive in conception, so overwhelming in possibilities and so upsetting to those chronically crying in the wilderness, is almost certain to be received by them with disfavour. In fact, his discovery was recognized last by the country that gave him birth.

As the evening shadows were lengthening, it all finally came—recognition, world-wide fame and honours in abundance, his cup being filled to overflowing—but I wonder how much it then meant to him. Recognition in life, like love, has its psychological moments—dew comes only in the morn, hawthorne only in May. Whatever pangs of regret his heart may have felt, the serenity of his classical and noble face to the end never revealed. The final triumphant event of his career was the baronetcy from the Crown, a royal recognition from his nation. When he died in 1912, at the age of 85, space was offered for his body to rest in Westminster Abbey among the immortals. But as it was his wish to lie beside his wife, his body was carried to Hemstead Cemetery, followed by the wreaths of kings and the representatives of the world's learned societies.

In this strenuous and high-powered era it is restful and ennobling to return and meditate and worship at the shrine of an old master. Reviewing Lister's life we are deeply impressed with the influence of heredity. His home environment was one of dignity, self-restraint, love of science and devotion to duty and no arrow ever went straighter in its course than did this gifted son when he left his parental roof. We readily agree with Lesson that "transcendent as were his epoch-making discoveries the man was more than the message."

If we consider further Lister the man, we at once see three reasons why he became great. He showed his wisdom first in the choice of his parents, a father of tireless tenacity of purpose who was a companion of his son, and a mother embodying an abundance of gentleness, patience and sympathy; second in the choice of his teachers, particularly Dr. Syme, Professor of Surgery of Edinburgh, of whom it was said, "he never wasted a word, a drop of ink or a drop of blood," and who by his originality, precept and example stimulated his young pupil; and third in the choice of his wife, the daughter of his preceptor, who lovingly aided him in his scientific research, unfalteringly sustained him amid great opposition and at times violent vituperation, and constantly during their long life together, inspired him to this great achievement.

When in England, I talked with many men who knew Lister; and without exception, they spoke of his gentleness and forbearance, his humility and determination, his ingenuity and supreme conscientiousness. Aside from his discovery he was a distinguished operating surgeon—dexterous and conservative. In fact, the brilliance of his works in other departments of surgery would of themselves have made him famous if the vast and universal importance of his great discovery had not overshadowed them. His personality radiated something that drew men to him. His friends admired him, his patients adored him and his servants worshipped him. "His

gifts of heart and head were in equal measure." Like Pasteur he was essentially a religious man and a happy one.

It is altogether fitting, therefore, on the centenary of the birth of Lord Lister, the founder of modern surgery, that we pay tribute to his memory and give thanks for his beneficent endowment for the cure of disease, the relief of suffering and prolongation of life. Our generation will not be known in history for the height of its sky-scrapers, the rapidity of its trains or vastness of its wealth, but rather for what we did to relieve those in distress. "The greatest legacies of any nation is the memory of a great name and the inheritance of a great example." As the late Sir William Osler has well said "in the continual remembrance of a glorious past individuals as well as nations find their noblest inspiration."

Monuments have been erected all over the world to the memory of this great surgeon but none more enduring than the memorial to be found in the hearts of a grateful people.

EDGAR L. GILCREEST

THE SENSE OF THE INCOMPLETE¹

The poet has sung, "Man never is but always to be blest." There is no finality to our sense of satisfaction if we take life as a whole. If the ascetic is schooling himself to a life of contentment in respect of material wants which ever torment his worldly-minded fellow beings, his own aspiration after spiritual perfection never reaches a stage where he says to himself 'I have enough of goodness and want no more.' Similarly, the scholar has never enough of learning nor the miser of money. Each of us has his or her special field in which satiety is viewed with disfavour and in which we set our pretensions so high that our success never equals them and never produces a contented self-feeling. In such chosen fields, whether of art or of vocation, we press forward towards greater and greater perfection and feel uncomfortable if anything obstructs the realisation of our purpose or thwarts our progress.

Now, as Spinoza, Spencer and Stout have pointed out, all consciousness of progress is attended with pleasure and all sense of obstruction is accompanied by pain. To be able to realise ends is to feel one's powers and to enjoy the pleasure arising therefrom. Thus at the bottom of all strivings there operates a conscious or unconscious will to power or a desire to dominate the external world or the world of our fellow-men. To cease to feel the urge of strife is to stagnate and to degenerate and to succumb to the forces, material and social, that envisage us all around, while the converse process of strife is, as Heraclitus said, the father of all things.

But strife that never succeeds has a demoralising effect and has a tendency to produce, in all but the most irrepressible spirits, a habit of introversion or a process of regression to the past. All arrest and fixation arise out of frustrated efforts—a

¹ Read before the Psychology Section of the Indian Science Congress, Calcutta, 1928.

failure to adjust or orient oneself to the present situation or to complete the normal course of development. The mind, failing to make progress towards completion at a higher level, seeks completion on a lower plane and thus remains satisfied with what would be normally regarded as an incomplete state of being, and thus the wheel of life, instead of rolling forward, begins to revolve at a fixed position. This circular movement of mind, returning constantly upon itself, frustrates the impulse of life to push the mind onward to higher activities and occupations. Automatism and routine creep into conduct and, instead of conserving mental energy, increase the friction of life and bring about rapid waste. Nothing that is progressive by nature can be made to halt or go back without increasing the heat of friction and spelling ultimate disaster. It is far less risky to shunt the moving life on into new tracks when straight progress is anyhow retarded and that is what sublimation tries to achieve.

We see, therefore, that the working off of imperfection, far from being pathological, is a normal and sane method of mental hygiene. All attempts to formulate and complete plans and to improve upon past achievements are signs of mental vigour and normal development. The divine discontent that marks the normal life of the spirit has always been the cherished possession of man, for it is only thus that the finite mind transcends its own limitations and feels its kinship with the infinite and in this way avoids settling down complacently into an indolent satisfaction with its present lot. If finitude and perfection are, as Leibnitz pointed out, irreconcilable in their nature, there will never come a time when all activity towards a better state will completely cease.

If, therefore, we have to refer to the sense of the incomplete as an occasional abnormality, we must not be understood as alluding to this inherent tendency of the human mind to be satisfied with nothing less than perfection itself in the chosen field of activity. To aspire after a completer state of being is

the sign not of abnormality but of health. But it loses its significance when the complete is an artificial creation of the mind and it becomes pathological when the so-called state of completion is really not more valuable than the incomplete state but is vested with a false dignity by individual conviction or social superstition. The subject posits an end-state to be realised or appreciated and feels miserable when the fancied perfection eludes his grasp. This anomalous mentality turns up in many fields of thought and action and has probably a multifarious etiology.

Treating the subject in its broader aspects, we may conveniently discuss the three principal forms in which, it seems, the sense of the incomplete manifests itself. Harmony, periodicity and continuity are the three completions that the human mind generally aspires after, and any deficiency in each of them begets a sense of incompleteness which may function normally or abnormally according to circumstances. Thus, in any given situation, the subject may feel that there is something aesthetically lacking and this incongruity or want of harmony or of completeness begets unpleasant feeling. Or, the subject may feel that the given situation fails to complete a particular cycle upon which he has set his heart, whether by outside compulsion or by social convention or by subjective habit. Or, lastly, he may feel that the given situation is jerky in its character or progress and fails to satisfy the sense of smoothness and continuity. In addition to these relatively incomplete forms, there is an absolute incompleteness from which the finite as finite is never free and which is at the basis of all curiosity and progress.

As illustration of the first variety, that is, of situations where our aesthetic sense is offended, we may refer in the first instance to all cases of art where the lack of balance or proportion or normal end arrests attention and produces a characteristic feeling of incompleteness. An unfinished building, a half-drawn painting, a half-shaven face, a squint eye, a lame gait,

an ill-matched pair, whether of men or of animals, and such unsymmetrical objects produce a veritable annoyance to artistic minds. Others, again, are vexed at a cretinous growth, a half-quoted passage, a story with an abrupt end, a photo or statue only of the bust, a service dispensed with in the middle of a month, and such incomplete situations. Persons with an artistic temper of the former kind revel not in the mass-effect of heterogeneous ingredients but in the symmetry of homogeneous units. Their drawing room must contain two objects of the same kind, one on each side, to maintain symmetry, their garden must have parallel rows of identical types of plants ; and their house must be symmetrically balanced in architectural design. In their writings they are fond of a balanced style where substantives, adjectives and verbs are in perfect equipoise (and they will read aloud their own compositions to ensure that there is nothing unsymmetrical) ; in their dramatic art they are upholders of poetic justice according to which evil must meet with corresponding evil and unmerited suffering must be balanced by ultimate happiness. A bachelor or a maid is an unfinished inaesthetic being ; a widower or a widow is like a piece of symmetrical art now broken ; and a family with a preponderance of boys or girls is a decidedly lop-sided organisation. Balance of power, league of nations, communal representation and such symmetrical political organisations are the most pleasing arrangements in the relations of nations and parties.

Where the tendency is towards the second type, *i. e.*, towards a rounding off of the scheme of things, the sense of the incomplete attaches itself to all truncated arrangements. That things should taper to a point, as in a church-spire, is what pleases the fancy of such tempers most. A house with a dome or turret, a Burmese pagoda, a Nepalese temple or a Gothic church, each with a pointed top, a head-dress ending in a helmet-like point, a peaked beard, a family organisation headed by a *pater familias*, a state governed by a monarch, a

world originating in a First Cause, a monocentric and monophyletic origin of the animate world and such conical structures in reality and thought give great delight, and deviation therefrom causes a sense of deficiency. A drama with a central figure appeals as a work of supreme art; a hill that does not end in a pointed peak is a disappointment; imperialism is the political creed and autocracy the most satisfactory form of government; unitarianism is the theological standpoint; monism the philosophical position; and parsimony the law of thought.

It is not our purpose to trace the etiology of the aesthetic impulse. It is fairly certain that it is partially due to unconscious instincts and desires even though a large portion may be due to personal habit and social convention. In its aspect of personal neatness it has been traced to certain irregularities of the excretory system (notably, constipation); but it is not suggested that a single origin is sufficient to explain the varieties of aesthetic inclination. Symmetry is stamped on man's entire frame (and, in fact, on the face of animal creation taken as a whole) and his love of it in external nature is a kind of projected narcissism from which he is seldom free. Bilateral symmetry, mixed with radial symmetry and balanced arrangement, is also evident in the world of plants and engenders a kind of aesthetic taste by sheer frequency. The tapering tendency is specially prominent in connection with the vegetable world where the conifers attain it in a most obtrusive manner and the growing stem reveals it in varying degrees.

A richer crop of cases can, however, be reaped in connection with the second variety of the incomplete-sense. Periodicity is writ large on the face of nature, and both body and mind fall in with the rhythm that characterises nature as a whole. Activity and rest, waking and sleep, rise and fall, growth and decay mark the rhythm of creation at large, the systole and diastole that renovate nature by their alternation and keep it

going at an even pace. The mind attunes itself to the measured tread of events, towards which the rhythmic activities of the body also predispose it unconsciously to a great extent. Correspondingly, the sense of the complete demands that there should be regular pauses in events and that things should move in cycles as much as possible. Irregularity and indefiniteness are alike distasteful to the mind : there is a shock of disappointment at the first and sense of weariness at the second—a weariness so aptly described by Wordsworth in the line “Me this unchartered freedom tires.”

A very simple reference will show the nature of the mentality we are talking of. We have in external nature the rhythmic cycle of years, seasons and lunar months and of days when heralded by the regular rise of the sun. But convenience and impatience have alike prompted man to punctuate the continuous flow of time by artificial halting stages with the help of subjective rhythms. He has divided and subdivided time into artificial units like calendar months, weeks, hours, minutes and seconds in order to be able to feel a sense of completion more often than nature would vouchsafe. The fixity of an end-state lends definiteness to thought and endeavour, and braces the mind to energetic action by its promise of a definite termination. The same psychology prompts the division of space into artificial units—not simply because properties and states have to be demarcated by metes and bounds but also because an unending vista is positively fatiguing to the mind. How eagerly does the wayfarer look forward to the recurrent mile-post in the never-ending path of his journey ! Set a man on the Sisyphean task of weaving a cloth that is never to have an end and see what effect the blank prospect of eternal toil has upon his mind. Notice the difference when he knows that the lapse of a fixed time or the completion of a set length will terminate his labours. Thus, while infinite progress may be the guiding principle of all endeavour, that progress must be marked by definite periods or the tedium of infinity will be intolerable.

Even philosophical speculation has been infected by a dissatisfaction with the unilinear direction of the world's progress and occasionally obliged to import the succession of birth and death. As evidences may be pointed out the cyclical evolution and dissolution of the world in Herbert Spencer's system, the eternal return of the Stoic and Nietzschean world-schemes, the ascending and descending moral progress in the Jaina system, the periodic creation and dissolution of the world in Indian religious speculations.

It is clear, therefore, that periodicity has a fascinating effect, whether that is due to convenience, convention or mere conation. And now see how it affects everyday conduct in the field of number. There is a tendency in many minds to prefer a round number, not simply because it facilitates memory or helps calculation but also because fancy has set its heart upon it and enhanced its importance. How many commodities are priced at exact £'s and Rs. or else their aliquot parts? When in the calculation a ten enters, things are almost invariably adjusted thereto even though prices might have been raised or lowered without affecting the profit or the sale. The commonest prices for books and many other articles are 2s. 6d., 5s., 10s., 12s. 6d. ; very frequently the producer or seller has no idea that these prices are convenient for calculation because in their sums they yield complete pounds oftener than other figures. Unless the question of exchange is involved or the seller desires to create an impression of scrupulous honesty no article will bear such a price as 18s. 7d. or 13 as. 9p. : to the purchaser as well as to the seller such a price would look queer, for their minds have been attuned to round numbers and exact wholes.

No wonder, therefore, that, next to such mystic numbers as 3 and 7 and their multiples, superstition has gathered in generous measure round numbers that are supposed to close a period of thought. One such number is 4 together with many of its multiples. Probably based on an association with the

quarters of space, its appeal in secular and spiritual literature alike is very widespread. Just remember how many things of diverse types are counted by this round number—not only coins and commodities of the market, but also the dervishes in the fable that tell their tales, the horsemen of the apocalypse, the legitimate wives of a follower of the Prophet of Arabia, the ages of the world, the gospels of the New Testament, the cardinal virtues, the primary Hindu castes and the kinds of playing cards. It is likely that it is the unconscious sense of the incomplete that prompted the Hindus to canonise the fourth collection of hymns, the Atharva Veda, and to raise the number of revealed scriptures from three to four. In Bengal no one will offer without risking enmity three things of any kind as a gift but must raise the number to four; and three Brahmins will never go out together, for some disappointment is bound to come if the number be not raised or lowered.

The close proximity to the mystic number 3 may have had something to do with the importance of 4 as a refuge. In association with the same mystic number it has generated another period of thought round which also a certain amount of superstition has gathered. Not only do eggs and bananas sell by dozens, but the signs of the zodiac, the tribes of Israel, the apostles of Christ, things in Heavenly Jerusalem, the first tables of Roman Laws, the lictors that preceded the Roman consuls, the Brahmins to be fed by a pious Hindu on auspicious and ceremonial occasions, the proper age of a girl's marriage according to Manu, the number of years that a Hindu wife is to await for her husband who has disappeared before taking up widow's weeds must all be counted by the same number, while double that number is necessary for counting the Tirthankaras and Buddhas, the Samkhya material principles and the praharas (three hours equal one prahara) of *kirtan* that bring merit to a devout Vaishnava.

But the number that, without being a mystic number like 3 or 7 (about which many superstitions may be enumerated), has

widely afforded a halting place to thought is 10 with its multiples. The Bengalees have a witty saying that the best way to teach thrift to a prodigal is to give him 99 rupees, for the lure of the 100 is sure to be so great that, being so near it, even a prodigal will not have the heart to recede from that complete figure by unnecessary extravagance. What applause greets a batsman when he completes a century of runs! How enthusiastic we become over centenary celebrations! How often do we think of the development of art, science and literature in terms of centuries! The return on your investments and the tax on your income must be calculated as so much per cent. and your salary must increase by hundred or its multiple or aliquot part. Populations and casualties, budgets and blood-corpuscles, the rule of Christ and the saints and the wives and concubines of Solomon¹ must all be counted by round numbers that are multiples of ten, hundred or thousand, and any attempt at strict accuracy would be stigmatised as fastidious. A man is getting old when he is on the wrong side of forty and although the Psalmist limits the span of human life to three-score years and ten, society has made provision for the celebration of your golden wedding at the fiftieth and your diamond wedding at the sixtieth anniversary of your marriage. Inherent convenience, common consent and possible association with the fingers of the two hands have invested 10 with a dignity which is unrivalled by any other number, and the mind takes breath, as it were, when it reaches this figure or any of its multiples before resuming its onward march. The fascination of 10 is attested as much by the ten commandments of the Jews as by the ten purificatory rites of the Hindus, by the decades in terms of which events are compared as by the days whose tales Boccaccio tells in his Decameron, by the Decemvirs that ruled Rome as by December that (in spite of being the twelfth month now) closes the year, by the standard that closes a high school course in India as by the paper-cur-

¹ An instructive study in the psychology of 10 and its multiples is to be found in I, Kings, IV-XI, where Solomon's reign is described.

rency of many lands, by the incarnations of Vishnu and the forms of the Mahavidya (Shakti) in Hindu pantheon as by the Pythagorean scheme of the world-system. It is likely that the importance of 5 as a unit of thought is a kind of reflected importance as it happens to be the half of 10 although it may be partially due to the wide prevalence of the number in the plant and animal worlds (Froebel)—in the pentadactylous extremities of animal forms and the pentamerous character of many flowers. But it is doubtful whether it has ever served the purpose of a stage in thought except to weary minds although it and its multiples have played some part in determining the close of a period in popular superstition. Only sickly couples, not sure of living long enough to celebrate their golden wedding, will think of a silver wedding after 25 years of married life.

But while round numbers have a fascination for ardent spirits, they have also proved a source of awe and embarrassment to the timid. To have touched the complete is a thrilling experience and gives uncomfortable feeling to many minds. Hence the opposite tendency to stop short at the threshold of the complete or else to transcend it. The score by which plantain leaves are sold at Calcutta really contains 19, while a hundred of mangoes in the vicinity really contains 104. A bridegroom's dowry is a rupee more or less than the hundred or its multiple agreed upon and a pious Indian's charity follows the same procedure. A salute is of 101 guns (or 51, 17, 13 etc.); a landlord will give 99 years' lease and a Hindu's rosary contains 108 beads (possibly 12×9 has something to do with the matter). Sheherzadee must tell her wonderful Arabian tales for one thousand and one nights. The offering to a saint or a god must cost a Bengalee a quarter more than a rupee or a quarter more than 5 annas, *i.e.*, Re. 1 4 as. or 5 as. 3 p. Has not a projector a thousand and one schemes in his head and must not a lover protest his love for ever and a day?

But more often it is the period that pleases. A writer will try to compose till the last line of a page and some feel uncomfortable

if the fountain of thought dries up in an odd-numbered sheet. A division that leaves a remainder or an answer that contains a fraction is distasteful to some mathematicians. In course of adding up sums the occurrence of an exact ten pleases one; another adjusts daily accounts in such a way that, so far as practicable, whole numbers may occur (even though there is no intention to total the expenses at the end of the month). A gentleman pays his annual subscription for a monthly paper by value-payable post rather than by money-order remittance, because the former costs him an exact whole while the latter leaves a balance of a few annas. A fraction of a rupee in a Bank account or in a private loan causes discomfort to a lady who always insists upon leaving a round number by additional payment or withdrawal. A gentleman pays porters by full annas; another advances his rates in bargaining by full sums; a third makes a useless purchase when the price of articles already bought does not give a round total. It is likely that we owe the system of 500 sheets in a ream of papers to a man who could not stand the idea of giving 480. How many of us prefer to sign our names at the foot of a page and would rather crowd the bottom than turn overleaf for a line or two of composition! How many teachers would begin a new subject when the hour-bell is still five minutes to strike or when the term is drawing to a close, and how many would relegate an almost finished work to the next opportunity and appropriate to themselves the condemnation of Adam Bede: "I hate to see a man's arms drop down as if he was shot, before the clock's fairly struck, just as if he'd never a bit o'pride and delight in 's work"? An undecided game would be given extra time; the president must have a casting vote to bring finality to a discussion; and all fights must be to a finish. Thus in all fields of our thought and action we bid for the complete even though that complete may have in many cases only a fancied superiority over the incomplete.

The third group of persons suffering from a sense of

incompleteness comprises those who disfavour gaps and leaps of all kinds. It is the continuous that pleases them most, whether that be the continuity of motion or the smoothness of gradation or the coherence of discourse. They are opposed to all saltatory variations and hiatus in thought and reality and they take as their motto in life 'Nature does not make a leap.' A gentle slope, a wavy outline, a colour or sound gradually fading into indistinctness or passing over into another, a procession of boys or girls arranged in order of their height, an examination result published in order of merit, the transformation of species by continuous variation, a gradually progressive instalment of self-government to a subject nation, a screw-like promotion of subordinates in service, thoughts running on from sentence to sentence and from paragraph to paragraph and words joined on to words in handwriting are the types of things that they contemplate with delight. Halting remarks, jerky notes, treatment of a subject by the enumeration of points, classification of subjects without any graded arrangement, change of government by revolution, mutation of species, geological changes by cataclysms and movement of thought and things by stages are all anathema to them. One gentleman cannot cash his cheque without asking for some coins of every description from ten-rupee notes to one-anna pieces; another keeps letter papers of every size from foolscap sheets to tiny tablets; a lady keeps clothes of varying prices from the costliest to the most ordinary; a writer keeps pens with nibs of different degrees of fineness in the point: all of these must possess things that can feed the craze for continuity. A finely graded family of children, from a stalwart youth to a twaddling babe, gives aesthetic delight and the birth of twins or a gap caused by death produces a sense of aesthetic discord. One gentleman cannot pen through a wrong word and write the correct one in another place but must either erase it or write the correct word in heavy lines over the wrong word at the risk of illegibility simply because

he cannot stand the idea of breaking the continuity of the line. Another gentleman cannot, without a momentary feeling of unpleasantness, break a word at the end of a line or a page and will sometimes use an inferior substitute to avoid having a disjointed word at the end. Some gentlemen have a genuine aversion for signing their names by initials and must affix their names in full to every paper. One gentleman cannot read a work of fiction or see a cinema film by instalments but must have the entire work before him or the entire serial exhibited at once.

It is not possible to enumerate exhaustively the multitudinous forms in which the sense of the incomplete manifests itself nor to separate its different varieties into watertight compartments. Many notable omissions will leap to the mind of an observant and well-informed reader and some I can supply myself even now. Some correspondents cannot write an address without putting in the name of the addressee and all his titles in full. Some authors will put in all their degrees and their productions on the title page of their work. The minutest details of an address will be inserted by a person who suffers from an anxiety neurosis (and sometimes the address will be written many times over on the envelope) to ensure proper delivery. A half-tumblerful of water will displease one person while another would be unable to resist the temptation of reading through every page of a book he has been asked to skim through. One may be seized with a sudden mania to touch every lamp-post or to lop off the top of every bush in a hedge or to strike every perpendicular piece in a railing or fencing and may even go back a few steps to correct an omission. A morbid grief may invade one accustomed to regular attendance or regular exercise or periodic fasting if any lapse occurs for any reason whatsoever. There is generated in all such cases an aching void which is positively distasteful to those whom the complete alone pleases.

It would be risky to formulate a single etiology for all these manifestations of a mania for completion. There is no doubt that some of the causative factors are ingrained in our bodily and mental constitution: but a good deal is also correlated with aesthetic temper which finds only in balance, unity, periodicity or continuity its proper gratification. It is also likely that a constant hankering after fulness in one field is a substitute-gratification for incompleteness in another and that a person suffering from the inferiority complex¹ will also be an ardent pursuer of ideal perfection. Convenience also enters into our pursuit of round numbers and convention may also set the fashion in some matters. But whatever be the origin, the mentality is quite widespread among all classes of people and provides materials on which a comparative study of social beliefs and personal trends can be based.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

¹ See the present writer's paper on 'Inferiority Complex' in the *Calcutta Review* of January, 1927.

THE GARDENER OF HEART

To Godless world's of charming make,
The Godful love it for His sake.

*Despondency.*¹

My garden's ruin'd—How hard I find
My customers to please.
All beauty's faded from my flowers—
Some bud-rot, some stalk-crease.

Hope.

My gardener man of heart descends
And living water to dead earth lends.

*Rejoicing.*¹

Now wonder wakes in flowery bloom,
Admiring joy-shouts know no end,
And joy awakens every hair
By touch of breeze from flowery blend.
The flower that was on topmost branch
My hands can touch and get,
The maddened black bee comes along.
I bath and food forget. *

Finale.

He is near,
Out go care,
Snapt its snare!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

¹ From "Vidyā Sundar" in song.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON JAIN MANUSCRIPT MINIATURES

No attempt has been made to offer in these few lines any systematised explanation on the subject of Jain book-illustration or to deal at all critically with the differences or the subtle links of connection between the different Schools of Indian Art. I simply wish as a lay observer to place before the readers some interesting points on this most fascinating subject.

Of the ancient canonical scriptures of the Jains, the “ Kalpa Sutra ” is held in the highest estimation among the Svetambars. It is the Book of books, the Sacred Word, the Veda of the Jains. It consists of three parts : the first deals with the lives of the Tirthankars. After detailing in an elaborate manner the various facts and important events of the life of Lord Mahavira, it briefly narrates the life of Lord Parsvanath, the twenty-third Tirthankar and then summarises one by one the lives of the other twenty-two Tirthankars. The second section of the work is devoted to “ Sthavirabali Charita ” or the lives of Jain Sadhus from the Nirvana of Lord Mahavira to the time of Devardhi Gani about the Vikram Era 980 when the redaction of the Jaina Siddhanta took place according to the Svetambars. The last portion lays down “ Samachari ” or rules of conduct for Sadhus or Jain monks.

It is quite natural, therefore, that this great work, at once so important and so universally revered among the Svetambars, has roused the attention of many through successive generations. And actually we find that no pains were spared in the preparation of manuscripts of this sacred text and we come across many beautiful copies of the work in different Jain Bhandars all over India. The two coloured plates printed in this issue of the *Review* are taken from different manuscripts from the rich collection of my father who has been able to secure

several very finely illustrated manuscripts of this work in course of his extensive travels. Both represent the same subject, a scene from the life of Parsvanath. Although, unfortunately, the manuscripts are not dated, they show nevertheless in an unmistakable manner that they were written at different periods.

The first painting is in typically early Jain style, the features showing the usual sharp hooked nose and long drawn eyes. There is yet no trace of any influence of Mughal art.

The second one which is largely dominated by the influence of Muhammadan Art strikes an altogether different note. The transition from an old established style is almost complete. The change is apparent not only in the outward modes and customs, such as dress, ornament, etc., but the viewpoint, the motif of the artist as well, has undergone a complete metamorphosis. The first painting strikes a simple harmonious note. Seeming to lose their separate identity all the figures weave round a central legend. Technically this result is achieved partly by the uniform method of colouring. And the blue background beautifully conveys the idea of open air space. The whole scene is drawn after the perfect manner of early myth-maker—simple and suggestive yet powerful.

The second painting is more realistic. In the first one, the axe is held in the hands of one of the attendants, its point merely touching the piece of wood whence a snake is seen issuing. In the second one, the attendant is represented in the very act of cutting open the wood, and formally, correct to legend, two snakes are painted as coming out of the hewn piece of wood. There is also a world of difference in the method of colouring and the attitude of the artist in his handling of the subject.

The figures seem to jostle and glare, throwing into insignificance the entire surrounding. One misses that subtle sense of delicacy which is replaced by a spirit of boldness and defiance.

A comparative study of such miniatures is not only intensely engrossing but is full of immense possibilities in helping to rediscover many missing links of our art-history.

A study of the change of manners and customs as evident from differences in head-dress, wearing apparel, ornament, drapery, etc., is of great interest to the student of social history while the method of colouring, the treatment of details, the postures in which the figures are presented, all these are factors of great significance in any reconstruction of the cultural and artistic development of past times. And my object in these brief observations is to draw the attention of scholars to this hitherto neglected field of work, that is, a critical study of old Jain miniatures as essential in dealing with the problems of social and cultural life of ancient India.

P. S. NAHAR

THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL CRISIS

The Portuguese Press complains bitterly, that propaganda is being carried on, in foreign countries, with the object of discrediting Portugal, to-day, the third colonial power in the world; and finds it impossible to conceal its indignation. It is, clearly, a difficult task to meet the criticisms that have been levelled abroad against the Portuguese colonial rule. The criticisms have, however, called forth scathing comments.

Portugal was the herald of modern civilisation—the struggle between men and forces of nature, which finds expression in the *Lusiads*, where Camoes seeks to fashion the glory of Portugal in the highest development of character.

“The nobler Lusian’s stouter breast sing I,
Whom Mars and Neptune dared not disobey.”

Canto I, 3. Translation by Richard F. Burton.

Obsessed by dreams of expansion and conquest, the Portuguese were, of course, convinced that they were a chosen people. Their chroniclers, like some modern journalists, presented the case for their imperialism and urged the plea that God was on their particular side. But to-day, by a tragic irony of fate, the gauntlet is thrown down by aggressive Imperialistic Powers, to Portugal, to be taken up, or left lying on the ground.

The future of the Portuguese Colonies was the point to which the thoughts of British and German statesmen were turned before the Great War. “Portugal, we learn,” wrote the well-known British journalist Dr. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review*, “perpetuates a kind of slavery in her over-sea possessions and Germany would gladly introduce and maintain order there, based on Christian principles. Portugal is a little State, poor in money and men, and incapable of governing the natives and exploiting the wealth of the countries over which

she still holds sway. Nor is it only of her African possessions that these melancholy statements hold good. Her territories in India and China, are also like the talents of the Gospel parables which lay unprofitably hidden. They produce nothing to the world's welfare, they make no contribution. This lamentable state of stagnation can and should be changed between Great Britain and Germany, and a suitable arrangement on the subject of this change, would, we are told, bring the two nations together as nothing else could. Indeed, the well-known Dr. Karl Peters writing in the 'Tag' states that England's assent to the expansion of Germany at the cost of Portugal, is almost a condition *sine qua non* of an understanding. And he wishes to know whether any diplomatic document exists which binds us to safeguard the interests of Portugal, because he explains, if we are so bound, Lord Haldane's visit to Berlin and all the diplomatic conversations that followed are but a mockery and a snare.¹ These words need no comment. There is hardly a sentence in the above passage which does not carry with it a suggestion of the kind most mischievous. "The weak and the botched must perish: that is the first principle of our humanity. And they should be helped to perish. I am writing for the lords of the earth." These were the utterances of Nietzsche the prophet of the mailed fist. None can say they are not true, thought a cynic, in what we call a time of peace.

The distinguished British journalist quoted above, was the apologist of the Portuguese Revolution of 1910. He gave courage to the revolutionary leaders. He was present—if we mistake not—at the birth of the Portuguese Republic.

The internal disorders which, for the last seventeen years, have kept unhappy Portugal divided, render her so easy a prey to foreign ambitions. Unfortunately, to the average turbulent Republican politician the world-political aspect of the Portuguese crisis is, of course, not intelligible without a well developed political sense.

¹ The Contemporary Review, June, 1912.

But even the worm will turn. Recently, Portugal replying to the League of Nations' recommendation of its "Draft Convention on Slavery," refused to be a party to accepting "a proposal which is obviously designed as far as concerns native labour, to apply to the Portuguese Colonies the system of colonial mandates to which the former German Colonies are subject." The superiority assumed by certain members of the League was deeply resented by Portugal. "Efforts have very rightly been made to abolish all kinds of slavery everywhere," said Portugal, "but it has frequently been forgotten that race prejudices place their victims in a far worse moral position than forced labour can do. It is cruel and inhuman to teach a man and raise him through education to a higher level, if possible, than that of most other men, if afterwards he is always, and at times, to be ostracised and perhaps subjected to every sort of humiliation. It is for this reason that Portuguese law and customs have established equality, in practice, among all who are born under the same flag, no matter where it flies. This policy has enabled Portugal to keep her Colonies with the support of their natives, and has spared her such insurrections as we hear of from every other quarter." These suggestive words—we may incidentally remark—were reproduced by a Calcutta weekly.

Thus, Portugal was thrown on her own resources, in the midst of the ambitions of those casting covetous eyes upon her African possessions. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that, not long ago, the delegate from Norway to the League of Nations criticised, rather strongly, the secret activity of the Council members within the Council. He protested against the concentration of all authority at the League of Nations, into the usurping hands of the Great Powers.

The Portuguese African possessions were once possessions where convicts alone were disembarked and left to uphold the dominion of Portugal—a state of affairs that continued till the year when the harbours of Portuguese East Africa were declared

open to national and foreign trade. But once African mines or dividends from African stocks contributed to create much speculation in Europe, concerning Africa, Portugal opened her eyes to a fact she had hitherto ignored, that she could no longer regard her vast African dominions as places of immediate profits to be gathered out of ivory and slave gangs; and she outlined a policy consistent with the laws of colonial government. There rose, fortunately, to the occasion, the Marquis de Sa de Bandeira, the Wilberforce of Portugal, whose untiring efforts in the cause of humanity, resulted in Portugal signing the treaty of 1842 by which Portugal secured the co-operation of England to put down the slave traffic in Africa. As a matter of fact, the decree of December, 1836, had abolished the slave traffic in all the Portuguese dominions. But slavery, as we pointed out elsewhere, was not yet destroyed. In 1854 a decree ordered the registration of all slaves. Another decree issued in 1858, announced that twenty years henceforth, slavery was to cease in all the dominions of the Crown; but the very next year, a decree ordered the immediate abolition of slavery, and, for that purpose, the 27th April, 1877, was fixed as the day for the decree to be enforced. A renewed vigour made itself felt in this anti-slavery campaign, and in 1875 a law was passed by which slavery, in no matter what form, was abolished in all the Portuguese dominions. Thus, was laid the foundation of a colonial policy that could no longer be identified with a policy of material rather than moral force.

This policy, however, was the beginning of what modern Portuguese writers call the Portuguese tragedy.

To unite Angola to Mohambique, and thus connect the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, was an important part of the colonial programme to be carried out. To secure the formation of a continuous belt of empire, was a project which had been entertained for a long time. A Portuguese explorer, after a stay at Abyssinia, where he had determined the course of the Blue Nile, entered ardently into the scheme. But when he

sought help, in 1520, at the hands of King Manoel I, he discovered Africa had no attraction for the Portuguese King. Again, in 1648, another Portuguese explorer was willing to brave the perils of African exploration to cross the Continent. But a malign influence appears again to have repressed in the Portuguese explorer, his adventurous spirit. In 1798, the scientific journey of Lacerda, however, raised Portugal from its torpor. It imparted to the nation a new and invigorating life. The Portuguese explorer, who started from Mozambique and travelled up to Cazembe, where he, unfortunately died, predicted in 1796, that the "new possessors" of Table Bay, "require careful watching or our want of energy will enable them to extend themselves northwards," a prediction which needless to say, was verified to the letter. "The journey of Lacerda," wrote the British explorer Burton, "shows that the Portuguese never abandoned the idea of a *viagem a contracosta*," and they can hardly characterize their claims to having crossed Africa as 'hanging on a slender fibre;' ¹ and posterity can duly appreciate the Portuguese explorer's influence on succeeding times. The real crossing of the Continent, however, was not accomplished till the natives of Pombeiros under the guidance of the Portuguese Governor Antonio Saldanha de Gama, and the Portuguese Colonel Honorato Costa, who had set out from Angola, passed through the territories of Muata, Hienvo, the Cazembe and reached the river Zambesi, between the years 1802 and 1811. Another successful attempt was made in the years 1838-1848, by Major Francisco Coimbra to cross the territories lying between Mozambique and Benguela. With the same object, Silva Porto, who had before Livingstone explored the Zambesi, and visited the Nyassa Lake, crossed from Benguela to the mouth of the river Rovunna, the explorer having spent a year and two months on his journey. "The political necessity of concealing discovery, and perhaps something of official incuri-

¹ Captain Burton, "Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798," published by the Royal Geographical Society, London, 1873.

ousness belonging to tropical climates," wrote Burton, "have hidden many of the Portuguese discoveries from the world, and thus in this nineteenth century, we have carried off part of a glory due to them. Dr. Livingstone's prodigious labours on the upper Zambesi, and about the Nyassa and Shirwa Lakes, and in the country of Cazembe, may well 'obscure the glory of each foreign brave.' " "But it is too much to assert," said Burton, "that his predecessors ignored the course of the Zambesi, the Shire and the Nyassa Lake which under the name of Zaflan (1623) was known centuries ago. The early Portuguese voyages, indeed, determined theories, in vogue in the nineteenth century, regarding the hydrographical system of Africa.

New explorers, however, were not slow in appearing. They were Capelo, Ivens and Serpa Pinto. But their successes in Africa provoked some irritation. Thus, to Portugal's misfortune the Portuguese attempt at expansion, was frustrated by the British ultimatum of 1890. The explorer Lacerda had predicted, in 1796, the creation of a great British dominion in South Africa. And, strange to say, the British interests had clashed with those of Portugal; and there arose a dispute over boundaries in Manicaland and Shire Highlands—a dispute which caused a painful effect on the wellwishers of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. But during the South African War, when England had scarcely a friend in Europe, Portugal forgot her old grievances, and rendered every support she could, to her ancient and powerful ally. The passing of British troops through her neutral territory in Africa raised of course, a protest from the Continental Press in Europe. Portugal was thought to have assumed undesired responsibilities. That, however, is a thing of the past. But to-day, the South African Union demands that the administration of the Portuguese Port and Railways of Lourenco-Marques, be entrusted to a Committee consisting of five members, one for each province of the Union, and a representative of Mozambique—a proposal which Portugal rightly thought was a palpable menace

to Portuguese expansion, perhaps even to Portuguese independence.

It may be mentioned, by the way, that there was an attempt to deprive Portugal of Delagoa Bay—to-day the only door to South Africa, not in the possession of Great Britain. England claimed the southern part of Delagoa Bay, and based her claim on a treaty concluded by Captain Owen with an African king. But the contending parties having submitted their claims to the President of the French Republic, Portugal secured the complete possession of Delagoa Bay as the result of MacMahon's judgment of July, 1875. As a matter of fact, a treaty signed between Great Britain and Portugal, had fixed the boundaries in East Africa, of the two nations, which President MacMahon interpreted as defining the British and Portuguese spheres. Thus were confirmed the historic rights of Portugal over Delagoa Bay. Again, Cecil Rhodes, who was to play so great a part in South Africa, was anxious to make Delagoa Bay British. Portugal, however, survived the bargaining for her property in Africa. "Delagoa Bay would be British to-day but for the fears of revolution twenty-five years ago," wrote the *London Saturday Review* when the Republic was proclaimed in Portugal. "Cecil Rhodes and Lord Rothschild had carried negotiations for purchase to a point where confirmation and signatures only were wanted. At the last moment, the scheme was abandoned as the direct result of the action of the British Foreign Office. Pressure was brought to bear on England, not to allow the purchase, because it was believed it would mean a revolution in Portugal, which would set alight all the revolutionary forces in Europe. That the story is true we know from Sir Thomas Fuller who had it direct from the Foreign Office. A good many people in South Africa think if the purchase had taken place, it would have averted the Boer War."

Right at the beginning of the Portuguese Republic, when the Portuguese papers were overwhelmed with speculation as to what the Republic will or will not do with regard to the German

occupation of fortresses in Angola, we wrote in the *London New Age* : "England, it is true, is the natural ally of Portugal. Her interests are wrapped up not only in the prosperity of her ancient ally, but in a most special degree in the revival and welfare of Portugal. Unhappily, however, as far as Portuguese interests in Africa are concerned the Anglo-Portuguese alliance is no safeguard against the dangers threatening Portugal. The Portuguese cannot reckon England as a friend and Germany as an enemy, and act as if there could be any favour for friendship or enmity in African affairs. England and Germany are great colonial powers. They both equally play parts assigned to them by their national interests. Moreover, the present relations of modern states are fortuitous, arbitrary or changeable at will." ¹

"In spite of polemics, caused by the Germans installing themselves on the various parts of the African coast, in spite even of diplomatic intervention which prevented Great Britain from ratifying her Congolese treaty with Portugal, there was a systematic effort of Wilhelmstrasse to preserve cordial relations with Downing Street. On June 14th, 1890, an Anglo-German treaty was signed acknowledging Great Britain's supremacy over the basin of the Nile. A second treaty, on November 15th, 1893, marked a fresh English success by stipulating that the German Cameroons should not extend eastward beyond the basis of the Chari, and that the Darfour, Kordofand, and Bahr-el-Gazal regions should be excluded from the German sphere of influence. *Even the Emperor William's telegram to Mr. Kruger provoked only a temporary storm and did not hinder the conclusion of a secret treaty, which in 1898 in conditions but little known, disposed of the future of Portuguese colonies.*" ²

Believing that greater advantage could be gained from the expansion of commerce and industry by private initiative, Bismarck, says a German writer, had only favoured the formation

¹ Portugal Next," II, *The New Age*, December 19, 1912.

² André Pardieu, "*La France et les Alliances*," Paris, 1919.

of chartered companies, "in order to avoid the assumption of political control with colonisation;" and it is but fair to add that from the days of "The Great Elector," in whose mind originated the idea of German settlement in Africa, Germany did nothing that could give just cause of offence to any other power. A great change, however, was visible in the modern colonial policy of Germany. As a colonial power Germany assumed an air of moral superiority over the smaller powers. "In Africa alone," declared Prof. Delbruck, "we see possibilities worth cultivating." "I am thinking," said the German publicist, "of what seems to me the inevitable collapse of Portuguese power in Africa and a division of the Republic's possessions there, between England and Germany."

But since Portugal—monarchical and republican—gave freely of its best blood in the Great War. Portugal fought on the battle-fields of France, side by side with England, to free the world from the shadow of a new Empire.

This is roughly speaking the lesson of history. May the lesson of the past be Portugal's abiding inspiration.

But unfortunately the Portuguese have short memories. The eloquent speeches at the meetings held, some time ago, at the Lisbon Geographical Society—meetings, which it was stated, were for initiating a new era in colonial history, were full of the heroic past. This morbid contemplation of the past, unfortunately, has stood in the way of a true and healthy national life. Besides, Portuguese republicanism, and its attendant vulgarity, furnishes no conditions under which the colonial problem must necessarily be solved.

"*Dans un récent ouvrage consacré à son pays, Bragança Cunha constate qu'au cours des huit derniers siècles, le Portugal n'a pas traversé moins de six crises particulièrement graves, plus graves même que la perte de ses colonies,*" wrote Angel Marvaud, concluding his well-known work "*Le Portugal et ses Colonies.*" "*Chaque fois, sauf la dernière,—écrit notre auteur—la nation sortit de la crise à force d'énergie et parce*

*qu'elle obeissait a un ideal. Aujourd' hui, la situation matérielle du pays est moins précaire qu'elle ne l'était à la fin des cinq crises précédentes; mais ou est le ideal. La plupart des Portugais cultivés vous diront leur hesitations sur ce point."*¹

The unwelcome warning of the French writer, however, was not lost on the Portuguese Republic. The distinguished writer has since been made a Portuguese Knight Commander.

V. DE BRAGANCA CUNHA

KINSHIP

(A Fragment)

Say, was my Soul thy playmate ere 'twas born,
 Into this hell of hate and strife and scorn?—
 Why else would he in joy and sorrow turn,
 To catch thy smile or frown, thy wishes learn?
 Why else should he long, O! for presence thine
 Thy company, to drink with thee life's wine?
 Why else could he, oppressed and tired, flee
 To thee for balm, Eternal Mystery?—
 Thou art the Word: what letters spell the Word?
 I'm one of these Letters, from thy Word, I've heard!

CYRIL MODAK

¹ Angel Marvaud, "Le Portugal et ses Colonies," (Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine) Paris, 1912.

RECOVERY AND CONSOLIDATION OF INDIAN POWER IN INDIA

During my student life, on various occasions, I heard eminent western scholars expound the theory that Great Britain acquired India just by accident. To these scholars, the East India Company was purely a commercial adventure and this honourable company of British businessmen and politicians had to undertake political responsibility in India, which was thrust upon them and solely for the good of the people.

Recently when I was in Geneva and attended some of the sessions of the Institute of International Relations, an eminent Swiss scholar, connected with the League of Nations and devoting his energies for the welfare of the so-called "backward peoples" and for the promotion of World Peace through better understanding among nations, informed me that the present situation in India is not an international question, but purely Great Britain's business and the people of India should use their energies to secure redress of their grievances from the British Government. On another occasion, a high official of the League of Nations, a British professor, supplemented the above idea and asserted that "Britain is not keeping India under subjection by using force."

Fortunately, some Indian scholars are at work to remove certain misconceptions so cleverly spread all over the world, and even in India (through Indian schools and text-books full of distorted facts, half-truths and falsehoods on Indian history). A true estimate of the policy and activities of the East India Company, has been presented in a five-volume documented work *The Rise of the Christian Power in India*¹ which must be

¹ *The Rise of the Christian Power in India*, Vols. 1-5, by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired), Director of the Panini Office, Allahabad (India), and published by R. Chatterjee, *The Modern Review* Office, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, India.

classed as an indispensable reference book on Indian history. During the last three centuries, how India has influenced World Politics, has been critically but concisely presented in *India in World Politics*.¹ I have recently pointed out that India holds the key to the new balance of power and in the existing Anglo-Russian rivalry, without Indian support, Great Britain is at a great disadvantage in defending herself in Asia.²

The history of India from the Battle of Plassy (1757) to the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58 shows that the East India Company followed the policy of ruthless conquest by wars, in which Indian soldiers were used to fight against the Indians, for the promotion of British interests. The outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny convinced British statesmen that, if they were to continue British supremacy in India, it would be imperative that they should adopt a new policy. (1) The abolition of the rule of East India Company and introduction of direct control of India by the British Government, (2) preservation of the "Native States of India," (3) encouragement to the work of Christianising India, (4) re-organisation of the Indian Army, (5) denial of self-government and political authority to the people of India, (6) striking terror by various means, including enforcement of "Lawless Laws," (7) utilisation of Indian resources to strengthen British economic and industrial power and at an economic loss for India and (8) application of the general policy of "divide and rule," were the principal methods adopted by British statesmen to consolidate British Power in India. These points have been elaborated with documentary evidence in the work *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*.³

After the suppression of the Mutiny, the policy was adopted that there would be no indiscriminate annexation of territory

¹ *India in World Politics* by Taraknath Das, Ph.D., published by B. W. Huebsch & Co., New York.

² The articles on Anglo-Russian Rivalry and India, published in recent issues of the *Calcutta Review*, Calcutta, India.

³ *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India* by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired) published by R. Chatterjee, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, India.

belonging to Indian Princes. Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India, in a letter to Queen Victoria, made it clear that instead of antagonising Indian Princes, it would be better for the British Government to enlist their support, for preservation of British rule.¹ The policy of utilising Indian Princes against Indian national aspirations, is being carried out with great care. However, the British Indian Government has made it an established practice to dethrone an Indian Prince who may be regarded as hostile to British interests.²

To disarm a nation is the best means of keeping it under subjection. This policy was practised in Ireland by England; and after the Sepoy Mutiny, not only the Indian people were disarmed and laws were passed which made mere possession of fire-arms criminal, but the Indian Army Re-organization Scheme forbade Indians the right of serving in the artillery,³ and Indian officers were deprived of all real power and opportunity for achieving distinction and proper military training of high character.⁴ Although there is some talk of Indianisation of the Indian Army, even to-day this policy of discrimination against Indians is being carried on with great determination. The British Government in India apparently does not want to carry out the recommendations of the Skeen Commission⁵ which has made modest suggestions of establishing a National Military College and selection of larger number of Indian students, without any discrimination of caste, creed or colour, but through competitive examinations, for their training in England to become officers in the Indian Army. Indians are not eligible to join Indian Air Forces in the capacity of pilots or officers.

¹ Introduction to the Study of the Relations of Indian States, by K. M. Panikkar, published by Martin Hopkinson and Co., London.

² Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes, by Taraknath Das, by Ganesh and Co., Madras, India.

³ Consolidation of the Christian Power in India; by Major B. D. Basu, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 72.

⁵ Skeen Commission Report; published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, and *The Times* (London), Aug. 23, 1927, p. 9.

Although India is the training ground for British Generals and Field Marshals and Australian and Canadian Officers are being trained for Imperial purposes, yet the Indian people are not trusted with that type of military education which will make them fully able to take charge of Indian -National Defence.

India has been exploited for the benefit of the British. An English authority once defined this policy in the following way :

“ It is very proper that in England a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages and heroes for the service and defence of the state...but in India, that haughty spirit, independence and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our political power.”¹

We find that the British people, who are so much praised as lovers of human rights and freedom, in all ages, practised the most objectionable methods of persecution to keep people under subjection. We merely mention the treatment accorded to the Irish by the British, during the last seven hundred years. The British did not hesitate to supply arms and ammunition to the Red Indians and use them to wipe out the outposts of the rebellious American colonists. The treatment accorded to the Boer women and children in “ concentration camps,” and the policy of starving the civil population of Germany, through blockade, during the World War are only a few instances of British practices.

It was the people of the Punjab, particularly the Sikhs, who aided the British in suppressing the Sepoy Mutiny. But the British officers thought it would be the wisest thing to strike terror in the hearts of the people of the Punjab and particularly Indian soldiery, by blowing up, literally, thousands of them from

¹ *Ibid*, p. 117.

the mouths of cannon.¹ This policy of overawing the people of India was continued in suppressing the Wahabi movement,² and in the Amritsar Massacre and the Court Martials and enforcement of "Lawless Laws" by which many persons have been sent to prison without proper trial. In this connection it must not be omitted that the Government of J. Ramsay MacDonald approved of the enactment of "Bengal Ordinance," by the application of which many Bengal political leaders, including members of the Bengal Legislative Council, have been incarcerated without regular trial.

Just as in Ireland Great Britain followed the policy of *Divide and Rule*, by playing the North against the South, the Protestants against the Catholics, similarly in India the Moslems are being played against the Hindus.³ Once the Moslems were regarded as dangerous to the security of British rule in India; and after the Sepoy Mutiny, they were looked upon with great suspicion and at times persecuted,⁴ and now they are the "favourites" of British rulers in India and are given special preference with the expectation that they will uphold British power in India. It is worthwhile to note the following frank statement of policy of "divide and rule," from British authorities. It is needless to say that this policy is being pursued with great astuteness at the present time.

A British officer, subscribing himself as "Carnaticus," wrote in the *Asiatic Journal* for May, 1821 :—

"*Divide et impera* should be the motto for our Indian administration, whether political, civil or military."

Lieutenant-Colonel John Coke, holding the very responsible office of Commandant at Moradabad wrote :—

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the separation which exists between the different religions and races,

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 94-115, and Edward Thompson's "The Other Side of the Medal," published by Harcourt Brace and Co.

² Consolidation of the Christian Power in India, p. 41.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 34-42.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 34-42.

not to endeavour to amalgamate them. "*Divide et impera*" should be the principle of Indian Government."

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in a minute, dated 14th May, 1859, wrote :—

"*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto and it should be ours."¹

The introduction of the objectional system of communal representation, supposedly to satisfy Moslem Indians, is the latest application of the policy of "divide and rule."²

However, by practising the methods mentioned above, can British Power remain paramount and secure in the face of the rising spirit of nationalism in India? At least some of the British statesmen have begun to doubt the wisdom of the policy, and they are advocating that the people of India should enjoy certain amount of human rights within the British Empire.³ Naturally with the experience of the past,⁴ the majority of the Indian people doubt the honesty of professions of British statesmen. However, it is to be hoped that Indian statesmen should not reject any proposal of honourable co-operation, without giving it a trial, and *with the distinct understanding of ultimate recovery and consolidation of Indian Power in India, in place of the present alien, irresponsible and autocratic rule.*

Recovery of national freedom of 325 millions of people of India is a question of first-rate international importance and it concerns all nations and not Great Britain alone. Recovery

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 74-75.

² Hindu and Moslem leaders are equally responsible for the present communal strifes in India.

³ The British Labour Party has lately taken up the question of introducing a bill in the British Parliament which will embody the future Constitution of a self-governing India. The complete text of the Bill, at the time of writing of the article, is not available. From the comments published in Indian papers, such as *The People* (Lahore, India), it seems that the bill is better than the Government of India Act, now in force.

⁴ Queen Victoria's proclamation to the Indian People and Princes was later on openly repudiated by British statesmen such as Lord Curzon, as pronouncements of political expediency.

For he who holds within His loving Hand
The stars of heaven, and old ocean's sand,
Is the same God who notes the sparrows fall—
Who formed all things, and is the All in All.
So trust in Him, and take life as it comes ;
For *at the end, 'tis He computes all sums.*

There's nothing lost in Universal plan
All was designed for the great good of man ;
All creeds are well enough ; but this I know—
Do good to all, and be to sin a foe ;
Enjoy this life—'tis brief-demand the best ;
Keep pure your heart,—*to God leave all the rest.*

TERESA STRICKLAND

A STRAY THOUGHT

DESPAIR.

I looked at him from my window. He appeared like a shadow in the dusky twilight. His pale cheeks and aimless unsteady gait gave him a wild look. Whither was he going at this hour? Every one was hurrying home after the day's toil. The sun had gone down. I wondered if he had no home. A homeless vagrant verily he seemed. Could he not come and take shelter under my roof? I would be a brother to him and share my cold supper with him. His dejection touched an inner string of my heart and I followed him.

He was trudging along absorbed in his own thoughts. The sound of my footsteps did not disturb him. When I approached him he did not even look at me. I called him but he did not listen. Was he deaf or was he feigning deafness? I summoned up my courage and caught his hand. The man stood before me face to face.

Oh! what a sight it was! Was it a spectre? I could not prevail upon him to speak. He groaned out a few groans which showed that the cup of his misery was full. Silent grief had corroded his heart.

Next morning I heard that a man had died of heart-failure. Heart-failure certainly it was. But did any one care to know what brought about this heart-failure? Does the heart fail without cause?

This human heart is softer than clay,—and harder than adamant. It is one of the most elastic of things I have ever known. Why does it fail then? Passions have sway over it. Feelings sport with it. Incidents leave impressions upon it. It is the perennial fountain of pleasure and pain. Charity

enlarges it and faith sustains it; hope buoys it up but despair crushes it. Was despair then the cause of his heart-failure?

I know the place where he is buried. I have stopped there for long hours to see if anything disturbs the mound under which he lies. But it is absolutely lifeless. Clay has mixed with clay. Where are his griefs gone? Airy monsters! unsubstantial horrors! Tears bestrew your path, groans express your exhilaration, desolation announces your triumphal entry and despair trumpets your victory. You are the emissaries of Nemesis and playmates of Death. What have you done with his heart? Are human hearts the only food you live upon? Do they ever satiate your greed? Do you spare nobody? You can take mine out of its imprisoning ribs and chew it to dust. Let reality be nothing and nothing reality.

RASHRANJAN BASU

Reviews .

The Indian Constitution—by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K.C.S.I., LL.D. The National Secretary Office, Adyar, Madras, S. 1926.

As a distinguished jurist, as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and of the Reforms Enquiry Committee and as a participator in the Imperial Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has had a unique experience of the inner working of the Governmental system of India. He fully utilizes this knowledge and his legal acumen in critically examining the provisions of the Government of India Act. He compares those provisions with those of the Dominion constitutional statutes and points out the various directions in which reform is possible and desirable.

Examining the Preamble to the Act he comes to the conclusion that the expression, " successive stages " cannot possibly exclude the stages of progress already achieved by India up to the moment when the Act of 1919 was passed, and that it would be wholly unwarranted to hold that for the purposes of the realization of Responsible Government, the first stage must be deemed to have commenced with the passing of the Act of 1919. He is of opinion that the residuum of control, both administrative and financial, exercised by the Secretary of State in relation to the Government of India, is so enormously large that it is impossible to hold, constitutionally, that the Government of India enjoys any large measure of independence. He refers particularly to the Secretary of State's indirect influence or control exercised through despatches and telegrams exchanged between him and the Government of India. He would welcome the abolition of the Council of India " which is either superfluous or acts as a drag on the progress of India."

Examining recent constitutional developments the learned writer presents his reader with the following paradox—" To maintain the control of the Secretary of State under the present circumstances must appreciably affect the prestige of the Government of India, the respect that it should command and its utility in the eyes of the Legislature. To take away the control of the Secretary of State can only lead to an increase in the irresponsibility and autocracy of the Government of India and, as a result to collisions between it and the Legislature which are bound seriously to affect the working of the machinery."

Dealing with the Indian Legislature, he compares its powers with those of the Dominion Legislatures and shows how the limitations imposed on the powers of the Indian Legislature make it difficult to hold that it is

supreme in the same sense in which the Dominion Legislatures are. As regards the local legislatures he points out the desirability of increasing their numerical strength and of widening the franchise and suggests that the power of previous sanction of the Governor-General "which is a relic of the old days of centralisation, and the imposition of checks upon the powers of Local Governments and Local Legislatures, should be done away with."

As regards the Judiciary he thinks that the time has come "when the reservation in favour of members of the Indian Civil Service should be done away with and the High Court should in future, as in England, consist of trained lawyers." He questions the interpretation of the law according to which an Indian Vakil Judge may officiate as Chief Justice, but he cannot be confirmed. Lastly, he declares—"the reorganization of the Bar and the establishment of the Supreme Court in India should be an integral part of any further constitutional development."

We have given above a bare outline of some of the measures of suggested reform put forward by the eminent jurist and scholar. For want of space we have not been able to give a *resumé* of the many niceties of constitutional law discussed by him, *e.g.*, regarding the total refusal of the Ministers' salaries, the powers of relaxation of the Secretary of State's control, the Governor-General's power of certification, and his power to remove the embargo on the Assembly's power to discuss what are called the "protected heads" of expenditure.

We hope, however, that we have sufficiently indicated the scope and importance of the work before us which we consider to be a very opportune publication in view of the forthcoming labours of the Reforms Commission. Compressed within 158 pages we have in this book a masterly criticism of Indian constitutional law by one of India's greatest jurists and statesmen; it should be in the hands of every publicist and student of Indian constitutional development.

POLITICUS

Sun Yat Sen o vartaman Chin (সান ইয়াট সেন ও বর্তমান চীন)—by Jyotish Kumar Gangopādhyāya—148 pages published by Messrs. Chakravarty, Chatterjee and Co., 15 College Street—price Rs. 1-4-0 (1927).

The author is well read in modern Chinese history and has treated his subject quite dispassionately. He has not much faith in the news on Chinese situation supplied by the newspapers. The book deals not

only with the life of Sun Yat Sen but also with most of the problems concerning the evolution of modern China. A short sketch of the ancient history of China is given in the introduction. It is the first book in Bengali on modern China. The book is well written. We recommend it to all who are interested in China.

The author has badly rendered the Chinese names—the real pronunciation of *Sun* in *Sun Yat Sen* is *সুন*. The original name is *Sun Wen* (সুন ওয়েন) (p. 6), *T'ang* is *তাং* (p. 7), *Kublai* is *কুবলাই* (কুবলাই), etc. These however may be rectified in the second edition. I should also point out to the author that we have a genuine Sanskrit rendering of the imperial title “son of heavens.” It is *Deva-putra* (দেব-পুত্র) used as title by the Kushan kings of Northern India. So instead of introducing a new expression “ঈশ্বর তনয়” (p. 25) it is better to revive the old one which stands as a land-mark of Sino-Indian relation.

P. C. B.

The Co-operative Organization in British India—by B. G. Bhatnagar, M.A., Lecturer in Indian Economics, University of Allahabad. Published by Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad. Pp. 321+xiv.

The author rightly looks upon co-operation as “the hope of the poor and the opportunity of the rich” and writes his book with a view to kindle interest in the co-operative movement which alone can solve the multifarious economic problems of Rural India. It is a realistic study of the structure and functions of the diverse types of co-operative society and, as such, will prove useful to the social worker and the organizer of co-operative societies. The principles on which the different types of co-operative society should be worked do not however receive any elaborate treatment. The chapter on “Non-credit Co-operative Activity” is quite elaborate and the various co-operative devices for developing agriculture in India receive adequate attention from the author. There is, however, no clear demarcation between non-credit agricultural co-operation and non-credit non-agricultural co-operation—the two are jumbled up together under one heading ‘non-credit co-operative activity.’ In spite of these defects, however, the book will be useful as an introduction to the study of the co-operative movement in India.

Co-OPERATOR

“Review of the Trade of India in 1926-1927”—Issued by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India, 1927, No. 2085. Price Two Rupees and Six Annas, pp. 264.

This Official Paper has a clearly written and admirable summary prefacing the colourless official statistics, tables and charts relating to foreign and frontier trade and movements of treasure. Dr. Meek is responsible for this preparation and hearty congratulations must be offered to him as well as his staff for the skilful and prompt publication of the Report of this enormous piece of work. It covers a wider field than its title indicates for the price variations of important commodities and changes in the bank rate are fully portrayed in an interesting chart. A keen scrutiny of several other useful charts and tables would reveal a mine of information to the serious reader on the state of industrial and agricultural production and the economic condition of our country.

The Report points out that during the year under review something further has been achieved in the direction of financial stability in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. There have been less violent fluctuations in the currencies of these countries than in the previous period. Thus we are slowly attaining pre-war trade conditions. The balance of trade in favour of India has fallen from 161 crores of rupees to 79 crores of rupees thus showing that post-war boom conditions are no longer to be obtained.

The most outstanding features of the foreign trade of our country are the increase in the value of the imports to the extent of 5 crores of rupees and the falling off of exports by 73 crores of rupees. These features can be easily accounted for if one remembers the coal strike of England and its inability to purchase our exports. There has also been a fall of prices in Europe and hence imports have been laid at a cheaper price in India than before. This leads us to the conclusion that if this downward trend in prices in European countries were to continue there would be no surprise if the present favourable trade balance were to disappear during the course of the succeeding years.

Manufactured cotton to the extent of 65.05 crores of rupees was easily topping the list of imports as before. Japan was sending roughly 20 per cent. of the total import of cotton and the United Kingdom's share was 75 per cent. as usual. Import of artificial silk, motor cars, dyeing and tanning substances, drugs and medicines and canned and bottled provisions was on the increase. The import of sugar amounted to 1916 crores of rupees. Increasing quantity of foreign liquors such as ale, beer, porter,

spirits and wines was imported. There was a 23 per cent. decrease in the quantity of matches imported due undoubtedly to competition of increasing domestic production. There was a decrease in the import of cement and coal which came chiefly from the United Kingdom.

Coming to exports, raw and manufactured jute easily tops the list of exports. Raw cotton to the extent of nearly 58·6 crores of rupees is sent out of the country. India presents the curious spectacle of exporting raw material only to import it in a manufactured shape. This of course is due to the neglect of the Indian millowners to develop the industry on right lines when opportunities were afforded them. There has been a welcome decrease in the quantity of the export of foodgrains and flour. Oil-seeds to the value of 19·09 crores of rupees are exported instead of being crushed in our country. Similarly, hides and skins of the value of 14·55 crores of rupees could have been successfully worked into leather manufactures if competent industrialists had been forthcoming in sufficient numbers. The export of opium which can now be done under a Government certificate only has fallen to about two crores of rupees. Export of indigo has fallen to the low level of four lakhs thus proving that cheap synthetic dyes prepared by scientific processes have captured the market already. Export of Indian tobacco has also fallen in value.

So far as the direction of trade is concerned 50 per cent. of the total imports come from the United Kingdom. Germany, Japan, the United States of America and Java roughly send us each about seven per cent. of our total import trade. So far as the trend of our export trade is concerned the United Kingdom is the chief customer absorbing about 22 per cent. of our export trade. Japan and the United States of America stand next in order taking 13 and 11 per cent. of our total exports. The proportion of our export trade to the British Empire is 45·5 per cent. of our total trade. Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Australia and Hongkong are our chief customers and there are promising markets in Mesopotamia and East Africa to enterprising merchants willing to tap them.

The balance of trade as already stated is in favour of India to the extent of 79 crores of rupees, almost equivalent to the average balance of trade in favour of India in the quinquennium before the war. This balance was paid by import of treasure to the value of 39 crores of rupees. About 40 crores of rupees have still to be accounted for. The balance of remittances was against India to the extent of 1·20 crores of rupees. The net visible balance to be accounted for comes to 38·80 crores of rupees. Had there been the average pre-war sale of Council Bills about 35 crores of rupees of this could have been accounted for.

The value of silver has fallen as a result of the Currency Commission's Report, the sale of silver by the Bank of France and disturbances in China. Speculative silver operations in the Far East were responsible for the violent fluctuations in its value.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Srimadbhagavadgītāpanisad, Ch. II, by S. Kshirodenārāyaṇa Bhūniah, Vakil, Calcutta High Court, Published by the author. Price As. 12, pp. 155 and xv.

The book under review is second of the series of which the first was reviewed in this journal in Dec., 1925. In the body of the book the text is given first in clear, bold, Bengali types, and then an analytical exposition is given in detail. The special features of the edition, however, are the clearness and simplicity of the style of exposition and the copiousness of the references from various authoritative Śāstras. His original commentary (in Bengali) is styled "*Śrīkṛṣṇabhāṣinī*," which, if completed, would serve the purpose of a hand-book to all classes of readers. The author seems to be studious and an original thinker, and at the same time his devotion to the Hindu Śāstras is admirable.

P. S.

Ourselves

THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION.

The Annual Convocation for conferring Degrees will be held at the Senate House at 3 P.M. on Saturday, the 11th of February, 1928. His Excellency the Chancellor will preside.

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THE LATE MR. PAT LOVETT.

A towering personality has been removed by death from the field of journalism in this country. Mr. Patrick O'Reilly Lovett, more familiarly known as "Pat Lovett," passed away in the early hours of the 2nd of January last. His trenchant paragraphs as *Ditcher's Diary* in the pages of *Capital* were at once the model and despair of every journalist—young or old. Subtle humour, literary flavour, graceful style—all contributed to make those paragraphs handsome beyond compare and these were eagerly looked forward to, week after week, by an appreciative public. His writings were always 'original, fresh and suggestive, never dull or indifferent.' Sometimes, as occasion demanded, he made use of biting satire and caustic wit, but there was no trace of malice or ungenerous thoughts in his lines, nor was he ever 'frothy or petulant.' His genial personality and keen sense of humour, his breadth of vision and abounding love for the country in which he passed the best years of his life, made his name almost a household word in every educated family. Truly we can speak of him as one

"...Whom no pension can incite

To vote a patriot black, a courtier white."

The University appointed him Adharchandra Mukerjee Lecturer for 1924. His lectures on "Journalism in India," which appeared in the September and October (1926) issues of the *Calcutta Review*, were highly appreciated by the public. He was a typical Irishman, generous, large-hearted, impulsive and lovable

—a friend of the poor and the destitute—a true sportsman in every field of life, and his death is being mourned by a large section of the public. We convey our respectful condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

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DR. STEPHEN'S BEQUEST.

According to the provisions of the will left by the late Professor Henry Stephen, the executors have assigned to the University, Securities to the value of Rs. 25,700 for promoting post-graduate studies in arts. Dr. Stephen devoted his whole life to the cause of higher education in Bengal. The closing years of his distinguished career he spent in the service of the Post-graduate Department of the University for which he entertained to the last feelings of profound affection and loyalty. This gift, so noble and touching in its significance, will, therefore, be highly appreciated. And the thought that their beloved Professor never forgot the institution even in his death-bed will, we are sure, encourage his fellow-workers, whom he has left behind, to serve it with greater zeal and enthusiasm.

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THE JAGATTARINI GOLD MEDAL.

We offer our hearty felicitations to Mrs. Swarnakumari Debi, who has been awarded the Jagattarini Gold Medal for 1927. Srimati Swarnakumari is the first lady recipient of the medal, the honour in previous years having successively gone to her brother Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Saratchandra Chatterjee and Mr. Amritlal Bose. The medal is awarded for the most eminent contribution, made in the Bengali language, to letters or science. By the inclusion of her name, the list of the recipients of the medal, which already contains a number of such distinguished and brilliant names, will receive a fresh accession of dignity and charm. Though Srimati Swarnakumari now leads a retired life, her contributions continue to adorn the pages of many a Bengali periodical.

* * * *

NEW YEAR HONOURS.

We offer our congratulations to Sir Jehangir Cooverji Coyajee, the eminent Professor of Economics, on his knighthood for services rendered as a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Tariffs and Indian Currency, and this honour is most welcome as Professor Coyajee is a popular figure in his own college as well as in the Post-graduate Department, where his lectures are highly valued, and in the Senate, of which body he is a distinguished member.

We also offer our congratulations to Sir Brajendralal Mitter, Advocate General, Bengal, on the knighthood conferred on him,—an honour which he has earned by virtue of the eminence he has attained in his profession and the unflinching loyalty and devotion with which he has served the government. He is a Fellow of the Senate—powerful in debate and noted for sobriety of judgment—and the University will, no doubt, appreciate the distinction bestowed on one of its prominent members.

Pandit Sitikantha Vāchaspati of Sanskrit College, a teacher of the orthodox school, has been made a *Mahamahopadhyaya*. His vast erudition, his unassuming and simple life, his genial personality and, above all, his devotion to the cause of ancient Hindu learning have deservedly borne him to a prominent position amongst his fellow-workers. Government has done well to confer on the *Pandit* the distinction which was long overdue.

* * * *

TWO NEW PROFESSORS.

Our congratulations to Principal J. R. Banerjea and the Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart on the honour conferred on them by the Senate at the suggestion of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts. By their erudition, their scholarship, and their long, devoted service in the cause of higher education they are out and out fitted for this academic honour.

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KAMALA LECTURES.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Kamala Lecturer for 1927, will deliver a course of three lectures on "The Ideals of Indian Womanhood" at the Senate House. The first lecture will be delivered on Monday, the 23rd of January, 1928.

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READERSHIP LECTURES.

Professor Dr. Helmuth Von Glassnapp of the University of Berlin has been recommended by the Syndicate for appointment as a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on "Jainism" and "Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophers." Professor Glassnapp is a distinguished savant and is a recognised authority on the subjects mentioned. He is also the author of a number of scholarly works in German on Hinduism, Jaina Philosophy, the Doctrine of Karma and the philosophy of Madhva. All students and teachers of Philosophy, it is sure, will greatly appreciate the lectures.

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ONAUTH NAUTH DEB PRIZE FOR 1929.

The following subjects have been selected for the Onauth Nauth Deb Prize for 1929 :

- (1) The Principle of Subrogation.
- (2) Law of Carriers in British India.

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BEERESHUR MITTER MEDAL FOR 1928.

The following subjects have been selected for the Beereshur Mitter Medal for 1928 :

- (1) The Development of Agriculture in India on Modern lines since the year 1800.
- (2) The Development of the Steel Industry in India in Modern Times.

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DR. STELLA KRAMRISCH.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Lecturer, Calcutta University, has been made Corresponding Member of the *Ost-asiatische Gessellschaft*, Berlin. The *Berliner Tageblatt* of September 7, 1927, speaks about the lecture of Dr. Kramrisch, delivered to the above society, as "remarkable for its thoughts, construction and delivery."

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THE MRINALINI GOLD MEDAL.

The Mrinalini Gold Medal for 1925 has been awarded to Mr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, M.A., for his thesis on "Political History of Northern India (from the 6th to the 9th Century A.D.)"

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RESULTS OF MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1927.

First M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 123 of whom 59 passed, 57 failed and 7 were absent.

Final M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 14 of whom none passed,—but 9 students passed in Part II only.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (*New*) of the Examination was 221 of whom 78 passed, 130 failed, one was expelled and 12 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (*Old*) of the Examination was 2 of whom one passed and one failed.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (*New*) of the Examination was 131 of whom 73 passed, 52 failed and 6 were absent.

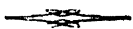
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PANDIT PASUPATINATH SASTRI, M.A., PH.D.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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THE SERAMPORE PIONEERS AND THEIR CLAIMS TO REMEMBRANCE

So long as men continue to love the story of a great fight waged against tremendous odds, and to appreciate the record of strenuous endeavour and noble achievement amid overwhelming difficulties, so long will the story of the Serampore pioneers, Carey, Marshman and Ward, be held in grateful and admiring remembrance.

(1) The Serampore pioneers are worthy of remembrance because they are men who with signal devotion to the ends they had in view, played the game, and fought the good fight of faith in their day and generation. While no doubt they had much to be thankful for, and were the recipients from time to time of many and great favours and mercies, yet they seemed unable to advance an inch except at the cost of a great struggle. Now it was the bitter opposition of the old guard of the British East India Company, the Hinduized officials of the day, at another time it was the intense enmity of the Brahmanical priesthood, whose supremacy was so seriously threatened. Again there were difficulties among the converts, or with members of their own household, or with narrow-minded and uncharitable members of the home churches, or dissatisfied associates among their own fellow missionaries, the junior brethren, for, as some one has said, the greatest trial of a missionary is often another missionary. But what makes these men truly great is the manly and Christian way in which they met their troubles and afflictions. When in

the wrong themselves they frankly admitted it, but they were not given to whining or to losing their balance in any direction, or to blaming other men, much less God, when for the time being the fortunes of the battle, or of the great game in which they were engaged, seemed to go against them. I am not aware that Carey, Marshman or Ward ever played cricket in the athletic sense on any of our spacious Serampore lawns, but they knew what it was to play cricket in the deeper significance, and observing honourably the rules of the game they never condescended to adopt low-down methods to win their ends. The great game was to them one of eternal import and in the hour of deepest darkness, they always turned their eyes to the light, in expectation of dawn. Theirs was a good fight of faith, a valiant contest against opposing forces, and this is one of their claims to everlasting remembrance.

(2) Further the Serampore men are worthy of remembrance as pioneers in the sphere of Indian Education. From the outset, Carey with the full sympathy of the founders of the Mission linked education with evangelisation, the enlightenment of the mind with the salvation of the soul. Carey began, continued and ended his missionary work in the spirit of a Christian philanthropist, not as a mere proselytiser. In the spirit of Christ himself he came to India to bring more abundant life, and so among other life-giving activities, he regarded education as a holy thing, an opportunity with unparalleled opportunities for awakening the mental life, and contributing to the regeneration of the people of India less favourably circumstanced than himself. His first vernacular school for the poor peasantry of Bengal was established at Madanabati in North Bengal in 1795 and when the wider field of Serampore confronted him and his colleagues, the experiment was repeated a hundred-fold. In 1800 schools of a varied character were started at Serampore, and in 1813 Marshman, with the sanction of his colleagues, submitted a scheme to the Missionary authorities at Home advocating the application to Bengal conditions of

the newly introduced systems of Bell and Lancaster, and his pamphlet of 42 pages published in 1816, and entitled "Hints relative to native schools, together with an outline of the Institution for their Extension and Management" is generally recognised as one of the ablest papers ever written on popular education in India. By the year 1818 the Serampore Mission possessed 126 vernacular schools with several thousand pupils, all receiving an elementary education and also simple continuous instruction in Christian religion and general morality—work of a truly pioneer character in the sphere of the education of the masses, which still remained the great problem in Indian administration. In the sphere of higher education (though as their charter shows, they stood for the highest university ideals and were ahead of the State Universities by thirty years in their plans), the Serampore men believed that the medium of instruction should be the Vernacular, and so were opposed both to the Orientalists and Anglicists and this idea was a marked feature of their proposals in their original form for Serampore College, though English at a later stage forced its way to the front. Only to-day are we gradually seeing the wisdom of their plans and ideals. In regard to theological and general Christian education also they were pioneers worthy of remembrance, and the following quotation is indicative of their outlook :—

"We cannot discharge the duty we owe as Christians to India, without some plan for combining in the converts of the new religion, and more especially in its ministers, the highest moral refinement of the Christian character and the highest attainable progress in the pursuits of the mind."

That Religion, Christian or non-Christian, if it is to remain a vital power in the lives of men, cannot be divorced from the searching light of advancing knowledge and science, is something that was more frankly recognised by the Serampore pioneers more than a century ago than it is to-day by many religious leaders, Christian and non-Christian, Eastern and Western. When trustees of College Funds in America suspended

the transmission of the dividends until an assurance was given that the money should not be appropriated to the teaching of science, Carey replied with indignation "As to that money not being expended in teaching science, I must confess I never heard anything more illiberal. Pray can youth be trained up for Christian ministry without science? Do you in America train up youths for it without any knowledge of science?" Carey clearly saw that what India sorely needs is not narrow-minded theologues or men with narrow sectarian or communal outlook, but a succession of men trained in an open institution in a liberal course of general culture, men of sound learning, genuine piety and sterling character, who have learned in their student days to cultivate a generous sympathy with all good men and true, whatever be their caste or creed. The broadest culture and the strongest character, they would maintain, are impossible in institutions with purely sectional and sectarian aims and communal limitations.

(3) The Serampore men are worthy of remembrance for the pioneer work they did in developing the vernacular literature of Bengal and of India as a whole. Carey started his missionary work with the resolve to translate the Bible into the principal languages of India, and so to make it an open book to the whole land. That resolution he kept and nearly forty translations of the Bible in whole or in part issued from the Serampore Press in Carey's time. In this work he was ably seconded by Ward who was as zealous in printing the Bible as Carey was in translating it, while Marshman's learning and vigour were devoted in large part to the literature of China, and to vernacular journalism in Bengali. Carey's appointment in the College of Fort William as teacher and professor of Bengali gave him an opportunity of which he made supreme use. Our great authorities in the language and literature of Bengal, men like Ram Kamal Sen, Dr. Dineshchandra Sen and Dr. Susilkumar De are all one in ungrudgingly acknowledging the outstanding value of the Serampore contribution to the revival of Bengali as a literature, and its establishment as a language. Not only

did Carey write important Bengali works himself—his Grammar, Dictionary and Dialogues are all of high value as pioneer productions—but what is more important, he encouraged to the full the best native talent, and many of the older Bengali classics were printed at the Serampore Press and made accessible to the public. It is mainly to Dr. Marshman that we owe the *Digdarsan*, the first Bengali periodical, and the *Samachar Darpan*, the first Bengali newspaper (apart from the somewhat nebulous *Bengali Gazette*, referred to by Dr. De, no file of which seems to be extant), two journals widely and eagerly read at the time by educated Bengalis and which though avoiding political controversy, laid the foundations of all vernacular journalism in Bengali. To sum up in the words of Dr. S. K. De :

“ Bengal had a language and literature of its own long before the missionaries even dreamt of coming out to this country ; yet this language had decayed, and the literature had been forgotten. It was at this time that Carey came to Bengal. In order to understand what he did for our literature, we must recollect in what state he found it when he made the first start. There was hardly any printed book; manuscripts were rare; and all artistic impulse or literary tradition was almost extinct. To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect, to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech, capable as in the past of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future. Poetry there was enough in ancient Bengali literature; there was a rudiment of prose too, not widely known or cultivated. But Carey's was indeed one of the earliest attempts to write simple and regular prose for the expression of everyday thoughts of the nation. Other writers contemporaneous with him like Ram Basu, or Mritunjay took Persian or Sanskrit as their model and their prose in consequence became somewhat quaint, affected and elaborate; but the striking feature of Carey's prose is its simplicity. It is pervaded by a strong desire for clearness and for use, and by a love of the language itself. Such pioneer Carey was, and eminently fitted for this work he was by his acquirements, as well as by his position.”

It needs also to be noted that the first printed books in many of the other great vernaculars of India were issued from the Serampore Press.

(4) The Serampore men are worthy of remembrance as pioneers in the re-interpretation of the Christian Gospel and the passion for missionary propaganda not merely in terms of theological plans of salvation, but in modes of social amelioration and service, applied to all forms of human need and suffering. The original impulse in most great religious movements is largely inspired by a passion for the social uplift, and the moral and spiritual regeneration of suffering and sinful men, but when that impulse has died out, and a religion is thought of in terms of communal pride, sectarian bigotry or theological dogma, it brings down upon itself the condemnation by Jesus of contemporary Judaism of the Pharisaic type "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves." Terrible words these, which missionaries of all religions with their communal pride, and theological bigotry and exclusiveness are often in danger of forgetting, and let it be frankly confessed, they have often been forgotten in the history of militant Christianity, Roman and Protestant, not to mention other religions and creeds. The Serampore men kept nearer to the ideal of their Master who went about doing good, healing the sick, feeding the hungry, teaching the ignorant, forgiving the penitent, cleansing the sinful. They knew no other Gospel than that embodied in the life and activities of their Master. There are some people even to-day that talk about missionaries limiting themselves to what they call the simple Gospel, and abandoning all forms of institutional and philanthropic work. But the Gospel which finds its embodiment in Jesus is not a simple Gospel. It is as many-sided as life itself, for the philanthropy of Jesus extended to all cases of genuine human need, spiritual, bodily and mental. True He stood forth among men with the heaven-born conviction that in Himself, the Son of the Eternal, was the fountain of Eternal life, and He patiently and lovingly invited all men to be His disciples, and share with Him the burden-easing yoke. Every Christian missionary worthy of the name starts with the

same conviction that the Prophet of Nazareth as the Divine Son Incarnate, is the Way, the Truth and the Life, the fountain-head of human regeneration, individual, social and political, for Jew and Gentile, bond and free, and we can do no other than lovingly, by precept and example, set forth adhesion to him by way of personal discipleship, as the foundation of the highest manhood. But like the Serampore pioneers we repudiate for all we are worth the suggestion that we are to limit ourselves as missionaries to preaching for the sake of conversion which is a mere travesty of the many-sided philanthropic Gospel of Jesus and we utterly refuse to allow our work to be judged by the number of converts we can tabulate. By that test the ministry of our Master Himself was to all intents and purposes a complete failure. Should the view of certain narrow-minded propagandists prevail (which I am far from thinking will be the case) and Christian missions were to become purely preaching agencies for purposes of conversion and swelling the membership of the Christian Church rather than continue as embodiments of the philanthropic ministry of Jesus, they would cease to have any interest whatever for many of us, and as purely proselytising agencies they would inevitably become objects of deep-seated distrust and bitter hostility to the peoples of non-Christian lands. The Serampore missionaries settled in India, and lived and worked here with the love of Christ in their hearts. They saw the people of India as sheep without a shepherd, for Hinduism, as all Hindu scholars admit, was at its lowest ebb when Carey first came to India. The shepherdless people of the land they sought in a pure spirit of divine philanthropy, rather than of proselytising zeal, to lead into green pastures, beside the still waters, and in the paths of righteousness. If there were flagrant social evils to abolish, such as Suttee and infanticide, the Serampore missionaries were in the front line as advocates of drastic social reform. When after 30 years' representations from men like Carey and Rammohan Roy, Lord William Bentinck

issued the decree for the abolition of Suttee, Carey as Government translator received the decree for putting it into Bengali. The order reached him on a Sunday morning. But off went his coat, and he set to work. "No church for me to-day," he exclaimed, "a day's delay may cost the lives of many more widows." By night time the translation was in the printers' hands, and ready for circulation. That incident represents the spirit of the man and the mission. Anything and everything contributory to Indian progress, which they had ways and means of helping, were dear to the hearts of the Serampore pioneers. They organised savings banks, benevolent institutions, leper asylums and hospitals, and Carey was the founder of the Agricultural Society. Indeed he was a distinguished botanist, and his botanical garden at Serampore covering an area of five acres, was one of the best in Asia. He saw then, as many more are coming to see now, that advance in scientific agriculture is the chief economic hope of the Indian peasantry. In short, the Serampore men are worthy of remembrance as pioneers of the Gospel of social service, and the historian of the future must inevitably recognise that in Serampore are to be found the roots of the modern renaissance in Bengal and in India, and the awakening of the social and civic conscience that we now witness in the hearts and minds of tens of thousands of good men and true throughout this land. As the first Englishmen to settle in India not for purposes of commerce, professional gain or official work but for wholly disinterested service to the motherland, whether social, educational or religious, they still point the way to the one hope of India's salvation, through self-sacrificing and consecrated leadership, whether Indian or European, Hindu, Mussulman or Christian.

GEORGE HOWELLS

THE EYES OF THE BEHOLDER

"Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty,—that is all
Ye know on Earth, and all ye need to know."—*Keats*.

It has been said that Beauty lies in the eyes of the beholder, and it is very true; for all beauty is relative—the interpretation must spring from the perception of the beholder, or individual. What is beauty to one may be hideous to another; an artist may paint a cubist picture and see in it divine symbolism and beauty; while to another it will appear as the materialized vision of a lunatic.

One may see in some of the schools of modern sculpture, beauty supreme, but compared with the works of the ancient Greeks, there is but little beauty of line, form or conception. Keats has said that "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever;" but comparatively few could ensoul the exquisiteness that he beheld in the Greek Vase, carved with all the perfection of detail of a Phidias, depicting the story of Cupid and Psyche, or the birth of Aphrodite from the waves—the majority would see far more beauty in a luridly painted plaster vase.

Culture and understanding, like everything else in this world, is a matter of evolution. Love of beauty is inherent in every soul; we may say that it is instinctive. It is instinctive for an infant, but newly come with its "trailing robes of glory" into earth-life, to grasp at a sun-beam, or a rose; the light and colour attracting and focusing its awakening faculties, as a bright bit of wool or silk fastened to a spool will tempt a kitten into all sorts of graceful gyrations.

An African from the jungles will array himself in bright beads and feathers, his instinct leading him to admire them; as the sex-instinct will cause the female to adorn herself in beads and bangles and wonderful head-dresses to tempt the sturdy warrior or hunter into a snare of desire: it is Nature's old way of propagating the race.

A Giotto, Tintoretto, or a Raphael, may be born to poverty and in the most unpropitious surroundings; but he will awaken to comprehend his gift of beholding beauty in the things around him; he will grasp a pointed stick, or a piece of charcoal, and transfer his imaginary pictures to the fences, rocks, a barrel-top or to the sands on the sea-shore. If one has the divine gift of Art and cherishes an ideal, the world will spread a canvas at his feet. The Creative Spirit must create, must give expression to its ideas.

One may be born a poet, though but an humble ploughman amid blooming heather, but he will realize that "his soul is baptized and set apart for poetry;" he will find a poem in the wee, modest, pink-tipped daisy, or in the escaping field-mouse, and feel a kinship to everything in Nature.

One may be gifted with a voice of beauty, and culture or no culture, he must sing, and the song will find an echo in the hearts of the multitude. On the other hand, a fortune may be spent to cultivate a voice where there is none, or strive to transform talent into genius; as well seek to "gild the lily," or to "turn a sow's ear into a silken purse!" The soul only responds to the real, and not to the imitation.

I once saw a very expensive and wonderful contrivance, a stuffed nightingale in a 'gilded cage: when wound up it would turn its head, hop about and execute remarkable trills and roulades; but oh, the pity of it! The spirit was lacking! A mocking-bird swinging on a cedar bough, singing its mating-song could thrill the heart with joy and responsive gladness.

One may behold a radiant sun-set and say, "Oh, it is beautiful!" But not every one can feel reverence and adoration for the Great Cause back of the sun-set, or realize that the Creative Spirit of God is painting his marvelous daily pictures before our very eyes.

There are souls who comprehend: Beethoven wove the beauty of the moon-light into a deathless Sonata; Chopin's fanciful ear heard music in the rain-drops; Grieg captured the heart-throbs of

the things of Nature, and transformed them into his Norwegian melodies ; and Mendelssohn heard the footsteps of the coming Spring, and gave us the rapture of his exquisite song.

An uncultured millionaire might travel to the Parthenon, as it stands in grand but pathetic ruins on the top of the Acropolis, and exclaim, " Why it is only a pile of broken marble ! Why do men travel to see it ? "

The appreciative soul sees in those ruins the Parthenon as it stood in its once marvelous perfection, fresh from the hands of Phidias and his pupils. They see in it, the lost grandeur of Greece ; the ideal of an erstwhile mighty race ; the broken shaft over the grave of the Aspasian Age !

To the true artists all thing are innately beautiful. " The Poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling," sees in the violet his Cynthia's eyes ; in the rose her blushing cheek, and in the corn-silk, her glory of golden hair.

A sturdy son of Walton, unless he chance to be of the Van Dyke variety, may, in playing his fly to catch the wiley trout, crush the gold of the primrose under his feet ;

• " A primrose by the river's brim,
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more." •

To the idealist it is a smile of God dropped down to earth and touched into life by the magic wand of the Sun.

Wordsworth, the High-Priest of Nature, said, " To me the meanest flower that blows, can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears." •

In the dusty rag-weeds beside the highway, we can find beauty, if we look beneath the dust. Let the sun shine on this same dust and it is transmuted into a golden powder sifted down from Pomona's cornucopia. As evil is but the broken reflection of good, so the unsightly is the distorted refraction of the beautiful. To see beauty in the unsightly, to create beauty out of the void of the un-beautiful, is a divine gift as much as the arts of poetry, painting or sculpture.

There is an Eastern legend that tells of the Christ, who when about to enter a little town with his disciples at eventide, came upon a crowd that surrounded the body of a dog that had been killed. All were exclaiming in disgust,—“How terrible it looks! He is all torn and bleeding. How distended are his eyes, and how the flies swarm!” The Christ looked and gently said, “*But see, how pearly white are the teeth!*” The crowd was aghast and cried, “Who art Thou? Art Thou He who was to come? Surely none but He could find beauty in the carcass of a dead dog!”

To the pure, all things are pure; to the idealist, all things are ideal. One must have his ideal before he can manifest the real. Every painter sees his finished picture ere he touches brush to canvas, every sculptor sees his vision ere his chisel evolves it from the marble; every Poem that touches the emotions of others, springs from the heart of the poet all palpitating with creative fire. That which we comprehend in the beautiful all about us, is ours: thus Emerson says:

“I am the owner of the sphere,
Of the seven stars and the solar year,
Of Cæsar’s hand, and Plato’s brain,
Of Lord Christ’s heart, and Shakespeare’s strain.”

No man can buy the sun-set, or the perfume of the rose.

A daintily-clad lady may spring across a puddle in the street, with frowns and maledictions on the mud; a poor working man, from the factory, going homeward in the twilight, with head down-bent, sees the evening star reflected in the puddle, and looks up with thanks to God for the rest of the eventide. We must first have within ourselves an appreciation and understanding of the beautiful and then the world will open up new mysteries to our ken.

“The poem hangs on the berry-bush
When comes the poet’s eye,
And the whole street is a masquerade
When Shakespeare passes by.”

All beauty lies as much in the eye of the beholder as in the object beheld; if we look for the beautiful we can usually find it. In the blackest character there is some redeeming trait; from out the blackest muck and slime, the water-lilies grow, and what under God's blue canopy is more fragile, fragrant, and beautiful than a water-lily?

To some a caterpillar is an unsightly creeping thing that causes a shudder; to another it is the velvet receptacle of a jewel-winged butterfly, and tenderly lifted from the dust to a bending bough overhead.

"Beauty is a fading flower," is a motto worked on our grand-mother's samplers in pains-taking cross-stitch; but there is a beauty that goes so much deeper than in externals; beauty of the soul, or the character. It is the fire in the gem that gives it light and colour; it is the spirit in the chalice of the lily that gives it beauty and fragrance. The beauty may fade from the face we love, but to us it is still beautiful, and glorified by the love-light in the eyes, and the tender grace of the spirit that beams through them upon us.

How well the Irish bard understood this, when he cried in that tenderest of all love-songs,

"Believe me, if all those endearing young charms
Which I gaze on so fondly to-day,
Were to change by to-morrow, and fleet in my arms,
Like fairy-gifts fading away,
Thou wouldst still be adored, as this moment thou art,
Let thy loveliness fade as it will,
And around the dear ruin each wish of my heart
Would entwine itself verdantly still."

Poets are natural seers, and know instinctively that all physical beauty, because so evanescent, is the least important manifestation of outward perfection. The unseen beauty of the spirit, however, is eternal, forever fresh and unfaded. It is there for the inward eye to behold, waiting patiently for recognition, and ever responsive to appreciation.

Old violins, old books, old wine and many inanimate things are regarded as increasing in value as they age; but man, so often blinded by the veil of the flesh, does not realize that people's bodies are as capable of increased beauty and value as they grow older. Happy the man who sees through the obstructions of the flesh to the living, glowing fire of the divine and inextinguishable spirit within. A scarred and cracked old jar may contain rare and exquisite perfume; one man may see only the out-worn vessel, and another may cherish it as the container of a beautiful essence.

Fragments of the broken Magic-mirror, as told in Hans Christian Anderson's delightful story of the "Snow-Queen," must still be floating in the atmosphere and lodging in unwary eyes, thus distorting reflections, and turning diamonds and roses to toads and snakes. It was suffering and tears that at last melted the ice-heart of little Kay, and washed the evil glass from his eyes, so that he could again see the beautiful and rejoice.

Tears and pain are oft-times sent to clear the windows of our souls, so that we may look not through the glass darkly. A clear calm lake reflects everything about it and gives back beauty for beauty. So it is with a clear, calm spirit. We must involve before we can evolve goodness, truth or beauty. To comprehend and appreciate the beautiful is a divine treasure that we should all seek for. Play the game of a "treasure-hunt" and see how much beauty your eyes can behold in one day, then give thanks for your discoveries to the Great Artist who has placed such beauty in the world about you, and for your use.

"Beauty is the only thing that time cannot harm. Philosophers fall away like sand; creeds follow one another, but what is beauty, is a joy for all seasons, a possession for all eternity."

SHIVA—THE AWAKENED REALITY

Although our worldly experience varies every moment, still it does not require a very wide stretch of imagination to realise that there is some principle, underlying our varied and passing sensations of daily life, which is of a more permanent nature and sets us in quest of a systematic order in creation in relation to that. Thus we generally feel of some such underlying principle, as will enable us to compare the impressions, left on our mind (*Antahkarana*) when functioning as memory (*Chitta*), by past incidents, with those caused by the present events; since memory is a manifestation of past experiences or apprehensions by *Chit* through the feeling of *Asmitā* or Selfhood.¹ This is explained in the "Upanishad" by stating that there is an enjoyer of what is subtle, that is the recollection of impressions or apprehensions left on the mind by past presentations sensed in the waking state of consciousness (*i.e.*, as opposed to the dreamless sleep or *Susupti* state of Supreme Experience, which is called *Samvit*), when the sense organs of the experiencer were all in full play and could go outward to gain experiences of motional presentations. Of course while remembering past experiences we cannot properly say that our senses are actually in any sort of present play. Thus the enjoyer or experiencer, who is the basis of all our inner faculties and experiences, the *Asmitā* feeling as abstract selfhood, which is ever ready to respond to any feeling, is never carried away by the world-flow of phenomenality, and so it is of a more permanent nature as a reality. To adopt the language of the modern theory of relativity, it is the "real space" behind the sphere of motion, and in *Shāstrik* language is called *Praviviktabhū*.² For affecting the background, a sensation or feeling is said to be psychologically or metaphysically

¹ See Shloka (18).

² "Mandukyopanishad."

subjectified, which creates an experience of a permanent nature; so that this subjectivation really connotes a fusion of the feeling with the background, producing an aspect of revived and awakened Reality in the immanent form that causes apprehension of minor realities.

It is not very difficult to apprehend that an experience ordinarily owes its origin to enjoyment or feeling by the subject, which represents awakened but veiled consciousness of *Asmitā* as Self inherent in us; and so it varies in accordance with the effectiveness, for the time being, of the means through which *Jīvas* enjoy or feel a particular sensation. For instance, waking, dreaming and dreamless sleep are all phenomenal states of awakened consciousness in which each apprehension of external presentations varies, because of the operation or cessation of operation of the means or instruments (*Karana*) called senses, through the medium of which, generally all empirical experiences are gained. It need not be stated here that the sense organs (*Indriya*) can ordinarily generate empirical experience only. So that apprehensions through external sense organs can never be counted as experiences of realities. And a complete experience must embrace and be the result of experiences, which is common through all the above three states of Consciousness. This leads to the experience of realities, which we call *Tattvas*. Our Indian philosophy says that, there is a fourth state, besides the abovementioned three states of Consciousness, which is called the *Turīya* state or the state equivalent to the state of Supreme Experience; wherein further experience is not possible to be gained even directly by Consciousness, through introspection and intuition, because It is already Full, and unveiled Consciousness or *Chit*. This state to our pragmatic view is practically the dead or trance state of Consciousness. All modifications or changes, common to empirical experiences, generating the conceptions of all antitheses or opposites (*Dvandva*), cease here in this state; and Consciousness as the true background and only receptacle of all

changeable experience is apprehended, and after revival introspection can arise therein; this is called the "Absolute State." The theory of relativity also adopts the same term for perfectly motionless space, in relation to which all motions are ultimately apprehended. We should note here that "space" in relation to a kinetic medium is equivalent to "state" in a motionless homogeneous continuum.

In the waking state, experience may be said to be gained through the conditioning or finitizing instruments, *viz.*, the ten senses as well as the mind, which latter in the *Dārshanik* language is called the eleventh sense. In the dream state of Consciousness, only the subtle impressions left by past empirical experiences as apprehensions that had originated through the action of some of the senses as well as the mind are active; in the dreamless sleep state, the mind (*Antahkarana*) in its stage of involution called *Buddhi* (intellect) alone, unaided by the other senses, becomes active towards the termination of this state, since in the "*Sushupti* state the sense capacities are absorbed in the *Prāna*." The first feeling after awakening therefore resembles the almost blank feeling that I have slept well. Of course all empirical experiences pertain to phenomenality or objective, motional or psychical presentations, concerning Reality, and are apprehended by awakened consciousness. Thus in the transcendental or *Turīya* state, there should be neither the mind nor the senses (which are all manifestations of *Shakti* and form instruments for gaining phenomenal experiences, so they are already under the control of *Tatātva* and *Santatātva* modifications of Consciousness); all having proceeded towards involution, previous to reaching to the dreamless sleep state of the prior awakened Consciousness; because, unless Consciousness be a revived and awakened presence to start with, it is not possible for It to undergo the three phenomenal states of waking, dreaming and dreamlessly sleeping. Accordingly the experience in the first awakened state is not at all conditioned or limited by any conditioning principle. Human logic is absolutely powerless here.

So we see, gradations in empirical experience fully depend upon the abovementioned states of Consciousness, which, starting from the waking or veiled state, ultimately may become dimensionless in the *Turiya* state, and Supreme Experience is always directionless and dimensionless. Proceeding upwards these states are called respectively—*Hiranyagarbha*, *Ishvara* and *Virāt*—all applicable to an awakened and not to an inert substance like the dead Supreme Experience. Further as the empirical experience becomes less distinct to this awakened personality, the transcendental experience may grow more prominent to him by the manifestation of *Sattva Guna*; because Reality is nothing but the sum total of Experiences at all states. Again as regards the senses, Dr. Eriksen says that—

“Considered in relation to consciousness, sense—the inner as well as the outer—may be characterised as a form of passive, not active awareness. Obviously sense implies consciousness, as no sensation can exist without having in some way a conscious existence. Now consciousness (as an active reality) always implies a duality; the being aware of something and the something (object or contents) of which one is aware. Though the word consciousness accentuates the subjective side of the duality—the being aware—and therefore is more fit to designate the higher psychic life than sense, where the objective side—or that of which one is aware—seems to hold the ground alone, it cannot be opposed to sense, because, sense would be impossible unless the subjective side—or the being aware—were present as well, though unnoticed in the act by which the object of sense reveals itself.”¹

All this is true in the field of duality; but in the *Turiya* state, as already stated, there is no experience of duality, but only the monistic Reality, which is the inactive aspect of Supreme Experience in its stage beyond the awakening from dreamless-sleep state.

The word “mind” is not to be taken in the foregoing paragraphs in the sense given to it by the western psychologists, when they say that “mind is co-extensive with

¹ C. L. and F., p. 2.

consciousness," but mind, according to the Indian philosophy by its four functions—*Manas*, *Buddhi*, *Ahangkāra*, and *Chitta*, means more or less a material force enveloping immanent consciousness. Mind and such consciousness are two distinct entities, the one deriving its illumination from the other. In *Jīva*, mind, which is both the substance and the process, is never separated from consciousness. On the contrary the latter, which is ever unchanged, is being veiled or unveiled by the mental processes manifesting objective presentations only. For instance, notwithstanding the impossibility, in its veiled condition for consciousness to conceive of more than three dimensions of space, we are, in seeking truth, obliged to face time as its fourth-dimension, an apprehension conceived through the intuition of comparatively unveiled consciousness, as that, which brings in the idea of unity with infinity; thus we find that the hypothesis of four-dimensionality, in this view, upon taking the shape of the theory of relativity, is going to revolutionize the whole scientific world. Here surely mind is transcended by consciousness, immanent and veiled though it be.

It is beyond our comprehension to think that in the absolute or *Turīya* state the contents of Consciousness can be anything other than Supreme Experience; so much so, that in the primeval trans-awakening state, Consciousness and Experience coalesced and formed subsequently what in Shāstrik language is called the *Chidākāsha* in the first awakened stage of Reality; the *Svarūpa Lakshana* or primary or internal signs of which state were "unity, wholeness and freedom." *Chidākāsha* has been translated as the "Ether of Consciousness" (i.e., *Chit* as all-pervading and all-penetrating like the ether of space), which formed an equipotential plenum as well as continuum in which the whole stress-system, being the root-cause of all presentations, operated. Herein the subject and the object formed one coalesced existence by complete abstraction.

Thus according to the doctrines of the Indian philosophy, apprehension of the experience of Godhead can be realised only

through one's own consciousness (approachable through the feeling of *Asmitā*) when rendered fetterless by the material senses through the performance of *Yoga* practice, whereby the opening of the eye of wisdom (*Jñāna-chakshu*), which means insight into inner faculties causing modifications of immanent consciousness, takes place. Such apprehension is possible to be gained by synthesising the manifestation of Consciousness or *Chit* displayed by Godhead in the proper apprehension of the process of cosmic evolution, which we understand to be, and denominate as, the creation of the universe. These considerations lead us to believe that the ultimate active Reality was awakened *Chit* or Consciousness, which in Āgamic language is called *Shiva* (either *Nirguṇa* or *Saguna*, and *Nishkala* or *Sakala*), realisable only through subjective intuition and not by purely objective presentations. One of the meanings attached to the term *Shiva* is that everything rested in him, *i.e.*, the universe owes its cause to, and finds its destination of rest in, Him (*Shete'smin sarvamiti Shivah*). Again the word Reality, from the *Asmitā* as Selfhood aspect of view, may be explained in the language of Dr. Eriksen as the ego on the subjective side, which is "always present as an unobjectifiable 'more' of reality, beyond the various reproducible elements or the sum of them. And the unrepresentative or Unphenomenal character of this reality makes it only more real to an apprehension which is not entangled in the illusive prejudice that all which is felt in an unrepresentative manner necessarily must be unreal and non-existing."¹ So that the realisation of this Reality "is the result of a process of abstraction, excluding from the object all that is not characterised by the clear presentativeness or phenomenality."² This is called the psychological process of subjectification and tantamounts to weighing the presentation with the experiences of the Self,

¹ C. L. and F., p. 11.

² C. L. and F., p. 10.

deriving materials from the Supreme Experience while in the process of awakening. .

Now what is knowledge in its ordinary sense? It is the state attained by human consciousness—which is consciousness veiled and relates to the experiences of the empiric world only and so different from Supreme Experience (explained later on)—as the effect of apprehending or experiencing something of phenomenality ; but at any rate it should be different from simply learning a new language. So that essentially it is nothing but a modification, if we may say so, which the individual consciousness undergoes through the coalescence of the subject and any subjective presentation to him, attainable by earnest and constant meditation only. But consciousness as inherent in humanity, is really in a conditioned or veiled state, and not in the unlimited, absolute or natural state, of Supreme Experience, which is really the principle that pigeon-holes all empirical experiences. Accordingly ordinary human knowledge which, as we have seen, is more or less simply a mode of the conditioned consciousness, is much more limited in comparison with the knowledge of the Absolute, which is the true nature of Perfect Consciousness, the *Chit*, the ultimate reservoir containing the seed not only of all empirical experiences but also of all possibility of experience as well. This Perfect Consciousness is called *Shiva* ; which, being the fundamental and essential, awakened cause of evolution, is the principle to be studied and then partially apprehended (not in its full Greatness, but according to the capacity of the apprehender, which no doubt is much less comprehensive in comparison with the Greatness of *Shiva* Himself) by the veiled consciousness of *Jīva* as the presence or Beingness that awakened to apprehend the motional aspects of *Chit*. The Greatness of *Shiva* is such that the *Veda* (Revelation) defines Him in negative terms (*Neti Neti*—not this, not that), as if with awe, because it is unable to portray Him in His true grandeur.* The *Shāstra* says that the Perfect Consciousness or *Shiva* is the substance that exists *parexcellence*,

i.e., is the ever-lasting presence, or the permanent Being as awakened Reality. It is Knowledge collectively that ever illumines the universe.

To form some idea of the awakened Reality, all the Indian philosophies have made attempts by trying to explain the process of creation or the world-process, as conceived by the unfailing apprehensions of the ancient sages, who were great adepts in *Yoga*. Yet these explanations are, after all, in the language of the thought of conditioned beings, so that they lack much in truly depicting any transcendental experience like the effect of the activity of Reality, which is generally spoken of as the awakened Supreme Experience or *Chit* or in the language of Prof. Benoyendranath Sen "the Intellectual Ideal." The term *Chit* has been translated by Sir John Woodroffe as "Consciousness" in the absence of any more fitting word in the English language. In terms of empirical experience, *Chit* in its awakened aspect has been hinted at by the same learned author as the Experience of the changeless, the reflecting and illuminating background of all changeful phenomena, specially perceptible through the realisation of its psychic activity. To appreciate creation or evolution, we should start by saying, that the process was commenced by an emanation of awakened Consciousness, just like the part said to be played by emanation in a radioactive phenomenon. Here we ought to bear in mind that the word *Srishti* comes from a root, which means to project, and the process indicated by it is supposed to be beginningless (*Anādi*) and so ever-continuous, which means that the activity of Reality is ceaseless. Psychologically we observe that the subjectivation-objectivation process is an ever-continuous one; it being due to the characteristic property of awakened Consciousness.

Creation presupposes that the Creator must have been a conscious and awakened Being, that must have possessed complete experience-ions to understand what he apprehended regarding the movements of cosmogony. He must have been

all-knowing (*Sarvajna*). Similarly, all objects having forms also produce in our mind the presupposition that they are all created things, because they are not formless, and forms are ever subject to decay and deterioration. But to our mechanical comprehension the most formless form is the idea of a true point, which cannot change. Hence the apprehension of creation requires an Agent or subjective cause (*Karttā*), possessing Supreme or Perfect Experience condensed in a true point or *Bindu*. In the absolute state there should be no difference between this Supreme Experience and Its possessor—they must both be the same entity; because in this state there should be no differentiation between the subject (*Aham*) and the object (*Idam*); both remaining in a mingled union as One *Bindu* or point. But the creator aspect should always be an active and the static aspects combined into One. This is the “absolute space” which is active fundamental Reality, pervading in possible points, and to which every apprehension owes its origin. The force of “pervading” may be explained as, that every point in this space is liable to be converted into a cognising centre of “that circle whose circumference is nowhere but whose centre is everywhere.”¹ Thus the Creator, according to the Indian views, constitutes both the instrumental and the substantive cause of creation. So it is clear that the Supreme Experience or *Chit* becomes immanent in the created objects. But owing to the three *Guṇas*—*Sattva*, *Rajas*, *Tamas* (which are called *Guṇa* or attributes of awakened Reality and are ever present associated together to form the chord of *Māyā-Shakti*), the actions of which are respectively—manifestation, action, veiling—the immanent *Chit* becomes obscured to different degrees of gradations. Since to make an unlimited or infinite thing appear limited or finite the potency of this mysterious agency called *Māyā-Shakti* was requisitioned. Thus *Māyā* may be defined as that which possesses the power to make the unlimited to appear as limited (*Māyate anayā iti Māyā*) and so she is called a *Shakti*. Thus

¹ “Spiritual Unfoldment,” p. 60.

Mâyâ-Shakti is called the Creatrix of the world. The awakened *Chit*, in Its aspect as *Chit-Shakti* or, "absolute space," as one of the abovementioned twofold cause of creation, is actually supposed to remain unmoved by presentations to Her all the time. The Powers *Chit-Shakti* and *Mâyâ-Shakti*, which may be translated in the words of Dr. Eriksen as the subjective and objective-presentations or the attractive and the repulsive or the quality-generating and the quantity-generating powers following the processes of intension and extension, co-operated and counteracted with each other; hence *Mâyâ-Shakti* is taken to be an aspect of *Brahman* Itself. Here *Chit-Shakti* practically, like the *Purusha* of *Sāṅgkhya* philosophy, acted by Her presence only as the efficient cause, yet remaining unchanged Herself; while *Mâyâ-Shakti* proved to be the material cause of all apprehensions of changes in the universe. Accordingly, *Mâyâ* may be likened to substance-energy of evolution. In connection with this, it is to be borne in mind that *Shakti* and the Possessor of *Shakti*, pursuant to the doctrines inculcated by the *Shāktāgama*, are one and the same substance, so that Power of Consciousness = Consciousness in Its awakened aspect; and *Mâyâ* arose out of the activity of the primordial substance.

The equilibrated condition of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* is called *Prakriti*; and *Mâyâ* and *Prakriti* are interchangeable terms (*Mâyāṅg tu Prakṛitīṅ vidyāt*). In fact all the *Shuddhā-shuddha* and *Ashuddha Tattvas* arose out of *Mâyâ*, and even the realities of *Shuddha Tattvas* are not altogether free from *Mâyâ*, though not controlled by Her; i.e., in these last mentioned *Tattvas* they always presented four-dimensional aspects of Reality as realities, wherein Time and Space were ever in a co-ordinate relation and gave the true idea of *Tattvas*; whereas in the other two classes of *Tattvas* the concepts of time and of space became gradually separated and ultimately formed two distinct ideas unconnected with each other.

The ultimate monistic Reality, in the language of *Vedānta* philosophy, is called *Brahman* or the Grand or Immense Reality,

in opposition to the minor realities called *Tattvas*, as also (rather in an attributive aspect) *Sat-Chit-Ananda*. This latter designation has been translated by Sir John Woodroffe as Being-Consciousness-Bliss. These last terms seem to denote an aspect, *Brahman* assumes in Its quiescent or static but awakened attitude, *i.e.*, when *Shakti* after Her any particular manifestation became latent or conserved in *Brahman*; this is slightly different from Its transcendental and unawakened form. Here we must remember that the presentations caused by *Shakti* are always to be looked at from their psychical and mechanical aspects. When by way of play (hinting at Its spontaneity), *Brahman* entertained the Will to evolve, there appeared an activity or motion in Its body, whereby *Māyā-Shakti* is said to have derived the substance-energy for the presentations of the cosmic activity. Thus *Brahman* then assumed the form of Power or *Shakti* to create presentations. So that, in the language of relativity *Brahman* then became the "absolute space" and *Shakti*, the cause of motion or Stress (*Kalā*). She is called *Kalā*, because all the manifestations, to which She is capable, do not form a simultaneous presentation, but go on repeatedly and successively manifesting for ever. Thus in the static attitude, a presentation assumed by it immediately after the presentation of the previous static-kinetic aspect, due to *Shakti* becoming *Vimarsha* or conserved in the Self, *Brahman* and Its Power will become one and the same reality; since *Shakti* as *Parāśakti* remains potentialised then in *Brahman* before further manifestation, and She must be more so when *Brahman* is considered in the light of the sole Reality or Beingness in the beginning.

Thus there are three ways in which *Brahman* can be viewed at from our empirical standpoint: *viz.*, in Its transcendental unawakened aspect, which is inexplicable being beyond both mind and speech, because It is then *Tattvātīta*, It is then called *Brahman* or *Paramashiva*; in its static but awakened aspect, as opposed to kinetic aspect, It is *Sat-Chit-Ananda* or Being-Consciousness-Bliss; and in its kinetic aspect,

seen in relation to its wakeful aspect, when it is called *Sakala* or combined with Stress. Thus it is said :—

- (6) “*Sachchidānanda vibhavāt sakalāt Parameshvarāt
Āsichchhakti stato Nādo Nādāt Bindu samudbhavah*”

“From *Parameshvara* vested with the wealth of *Sachchidānanda* and with *Prakriti* (*Sakala*) issued *Shakti*, from *Shakti* came *Nāda* and from *Nāda* was born *Bindu*.” *Sakala Parameshvara* = *Shiva-tattva*, because “*Shakti*, when *Vyashtirūpā*, that is individualised, is called *Kalā*”¹; *Nāda* = experience of a motional objective presentation, that also caused a supersensual natural sound due to motion : and *Bindu* = aspect of the subjectified, psychical experience of this motional presentation resembling *Asmitā* or *Ahantā* as Self, because such an experience was “*Ahangkārātma*” that arose out of Selfhood as its essence.

The static aspect and the kinetic aspect cannot exist independent of each other, and are called *Shiva-tattva* and *Shakti-tattva* respectively. In fact, in the language of Sir John Woodroffe. “*Shiva-Shakti Tattva* is conceived as round the *Shiva Bindu* there is coiled *Shakti*. This coiled *Shakti* may be conceived as a mathematical line without magnitude which is everywhere in contact with the *Bindu* and forms one and the same point. This is how *Shakti*’s becoming latent may be explained to our notion.” *Shiva-tattva* is conceived to consist of a *Bindu* or point, because it is taken to mean the first subjectified aspect of awakened but changeless Consciousness as *Asmitā* or Selfhood due to psychological intension. It is the aspect of the centre of a coiled spring when released and allowed to recoil. In connection with this, a *Tattva* can be explained as the different stages or phases, which, *Chit* as an eternally-conscious wakeful and active Reality, in Its repeated subjectified perceptions of motional presentations apprehended by It, underwent and conceived in evolving the apprehension of the phenomenal world ; or in other words, *Tattvas* are modes of the

¹ G. of L., p. 100.

fundamental Reality which is Consciousness in essence, that created the reals, which ultimately induced the idea, and caused the experiences, of the phenomenal world. But *Tattvas* being modes of awakened Reality as realities, they do not disappear until the final dissolution or cessation of cosmic motion. So it is said :—

(7) “ *Āpralayang tishthati yat sarveshāṅg bhṛgadāyī bhūtānām
Tat Tattvamiti proktang na sharīra-ghatādi tattvamatah.*”

A category of primal aspective reality, which subsists up to the time of final dissolution, and which is the source of all experiences of enjoyments or sufferings to the evolved or phenomenal beings, is called *Tattva*. So that the apprehension of material or phenomenal and objective aspect or *duplication* of a presentation, like the human body or the earthen jar, does not deserve to be called *Tattva*.

The aspect assumed by Reality or *Chit*, when any presentation of Its Power as *Māyā-Shakti* became subjectified as *Chit Shakti*, has been translated by Sir John Woodroffe as Being-Feeling-Consciousness-Bliss ; or in other words, Consciousness or *Chit*, which had departed from Its transcendent state and has on reviving assumed a wakeful aspect wherein any presentation by *Shakti* aroused by Its Will to evolve might have become subjectified after causing the result called Becoming, was transformed from Consciousness simple into Feeling-Consciousness or Experience. In conformity with this view, transcendental *Chit* or *Brahman* = Sangvit = unrevived Supreme Experience : *Sat-Chid-Ānanda* = Shiva = Background of awakened Experience : *Chit-Shakti* = Feeling-Consciousness = slightly directed Experience.

“ When, however, we speak of *Chit* as feeling-consciousness, we must remember that what we know and observe as such, is only a limited changing manifestation of *Chit*, which is in itself the infinite changeless principle, which is the background of all experience.”

The static aspect forms the background of the kinetic aspect, as otherwise the dynamic aspect becomes impossible to be differentiated. Accordingly *Shiva-tattva* and *Shakti tattva* are ordinarily considered as two aspects of the same *Tattva*, and may be conveniently written thus, *Shiva-Shakti* or *Shakti-Shiva Tattva*; and as a matter of fact, they are, for the sake of brevity, simply called *Shiva-tattva*. According to Sir John Woodroffe, *Shiva-tattva* and *Shakti-tattva* may be ascribed as if due to the effect of a polarisation taking place within Its body of the fundamental stuff as awakened Reality, like the north pole and the south pole of a magnet.

From what has been discussed already, it may be understood that the ultimate Reality is Consciousness or Supreme Experience placed beyond the awakening from dreamlessly sleeping state even. Again all our experiences are based on subjectified feelings of enjoyment or suffering by individualised and condensed centres of awakened Consciousness. So that apprehensions of experiences of all past worlds are always present in Consciousness as the ultimate receptacle, in the form of *Sangskāra* or collectivity of tendencies. Now these tendencies, as long as they remain in an inward-turned or tending towards involution, *i.e.*, self-enclosed, state, there would be no differentiation proper of the subject from the object in the Supreme Experience. But Consciousness is self-illuminant and self-contained, and being the only cognizing principle, It willed to manifest Itself into many through the feeling of Fullness, as the first sign of reviving. Besides the motional aspect, that engendered *Māyā* (meaning the concepts of Space and Time), is presumed never to subside altogether. Accordingly the potentialised tendencies due to past experiences became gradually outward turned and a gradual apprehension of "This" (*Idam*) or object arose, first as part of Self, when the Subject or *Aham* first saw Its own image reflected in the *Idam* or Object, in the sense of an idea of existence in the form of His Power in the vacancy of apprehension of existence; accordingly this Power or *Shakti* is called the pure

mirror in which *Shiva* experienced first His self-existence. This *Idam* ultimately went outside the Self and the differentiation between Subject and Object became complete. The *Tattva* in which the experience of "I" or Subject predominated and the experience of "This" or Object in the form of the Power of the Subject still formed a part of the Self, is called the *Sadāshiva* or *Sadākhya Tattva*, which is said to be the first emanation of Consciousness.

As has been stated above the *Aham* or Subject differentiated ultimately from the *Idam* or Object side of Consciousness to evolve the experience of the phenomenal world, through the intervention of *Māyā*, which caused *Bhedabuddhi* or the idea of differentiation. From this, and since the Subject and Object are at base Consciousness or *Chit*, it is clear that true knowledge of any presentation can only be possible to be had by synthesising through a process of involution the phases of Consciousness that has led to any particular presentation in question, and thereby reaching to the stage where *Aham* and *Idam* will coincide. This is done through Mind and its prior *Tattvas*, and is known as the psychologically backward tracing process of subjectivation or *Nididhyāsana*. True apprehension of a presentation, according to the Indian idea, takes place by a process which has been styled by Sir John Woodroffe as "the knowing of the like by the like," since, he says—"one and the same Causal Stress in the original Substance-Energy (*Shakti*) phenomenally appears as the sense on the one hand and the matter and its qualities on the other." To understand this, the psychology of perception, as explained by the Indian philosophy, may be summarised in the language of the same author—

"Mind is through the sense organs (*Indriya*) affected by the objects which it selects (as *Manas*) refers to itself the personal experience so enjoyed (as *Ahangkāra*) and then determines (as *Buddhi*)."¹

This is further explained by the same philosophy by saying that, Mind, in the form of *Buddhi*, whose substance is *Māyā* (in the form of concepts of space and time as Her elementary notions), goes out to the object, envelops it and assumes the form of the object, and then presents it to consciousness (meaning human consciousness), which forms the background of mind. This modification thus assumed by *Buddhi* is called its mode or *Vritti*. In other words, the object must attain subjectivity through the perceiving Self (called by Dr. Eriksen "self-feeling") to be apprehended by immanent *Chit* as the manifestation of *Sattva Guṇa*. This subjective stage in substance is of course felt in connection with awakened Consciousness Itself or the fundamental Reality, which appears as *Shiva-Shakti Tattva* from the evolving aspect or the *Shakti-Shiva Tattva* from the involuting aspect. *Vedānta* philosophy also holds that mind and matter are essentially and fundamentally One.

The word *Jagat*, meaning the experience of the phenomenal universe, is derived from a root that signifies "to go," so *Jagat* is that which goes or moves for ever. The psychical process of apprehension by subject consciousness of presentations is also a ceaseless moving process. The world-process, according to the *Shāstra*, owes its origin to motion (*Spandana*), which may be analysed into attraction and repulsion; and so it is said to be rhythmic, or coiling and uncoiling like the hairspring of a watch. This, according to Dr. Eriksen, ultimately became the cause for the generation of the ideas of quality and quantity respectively of such presentations in the abstract sense (attraction having the character of force and repulsion that of energy). This is also ascribed to be the cause of periodicity in phenomenality. Thus the going of the *Jagat* is to be interpreted as a motion round a centre. Now the question is, to find out this centre, in relation to which all cosmic motions are apprehended as simultaneities. This idea of simultaneity, which is a conception always with reference to the activity of *Asmitā*, we shall see later on, brings on the feeling of four-dimensionality

through the sensation of velocity of motion. The motion of *Jagat* or phenomenality, as empirically experienced by us, is in relation to the Self a wakeful presence. Accordingly this conception of Self, called "self-feeling," is the real centre sought for, and this in *Shāstrik* language is called *Asmitā* or awakened Self. Thus this experience of Self has been denominated by "Vedanta" as *Sutrātmā* or *Kshetrajña*, i.e., the basis of perception and preservation of the show of phenomenality. But the *Shaiva* and the *Shākta Āgamas* call Him *Shiva*, which is practically phaseless *Chit* or the everlasting awakened Reality; because He is unreproducible as object any more. Such an idea is conveyed by the modern theory of relativity by the phrase "Absolute World."

From the foregoing discussions it is easy to conclude that knowledge derived from the apprehension of a presentation is more persistent than the substantive presentation itself. The *Shāstra* says that the ultimate Reality is Supreme Experience, a term which of course includes all *Saṅskāra* or tendencies acquired in prior lives (since creation is beginningless and since the *Māyīya Mala* seldom subsides altogether). Does not this savour of Darwinism in the theory of evolution or the theory of Reincarnation? Thus these tendencies may be treated as superpositions on Consciousness or Reality. But what is the first apprehension of revived and awakened Consciousness while evolving—surely it is *Asmitā* or the concept of "I-ness" designated by Dr. Eriksen as "self-feeling." The subjective apprehension of *Asmitā* as Self is no doubt different from the apprehension of any objective presentation at this stage of evolution even. It forms the root of the unobjectifiable Ego on the subjective side of a psychological process. So that this *Asmitā*, the psychic presence as reality, became the first manifestation of *Chit* as *Shiva*, which was perceived through His assuming a waking attitude as *Shiva-tattva*, but waking to what—at first to noumenality and then to phenomenality. This is how the Subject saw that he had got an active or Power

aspect called *Shakti-tattva*. This *Āsmitā* or *Shiva-tattva* is called the psychologically subjective and awakened aspect of Reality ; i.e., this is the psychic and subjectivé aspect of wakeful Consciousness or *Chit*, that began to see the universe, whether unmanifest or manifest, as different from Him,¹ which is consequently different from Supreme Experience in Its true form.

The *Shāstra* gives various etymological interpretations of the term *Shiva* or awakened Reality. Some of these have been enumerated by Nīlkantha Dīkshit in his commentary on “*Shiva-tattva Rahasya*” ; a short summary thereof is as follows :—

(a) *Shiva* = *Shobhana* = *Sarvajñatva*, etc. He, who has got the attribute of all-knowingness (*Sarvajñatva*), etc., is called *Shiva* ; since the “*Shiva Purāna*” says :—

(8) “*Sarvajñatā triptiranādibodhah
Svatantratā nityamalupta-shaktih
Anantashaktishcha Vibhorvidhijñah
Shadāhurangāni Maheshvarasya.*”

All-knowingness (*Sarvajñatā*), contentment (*Tripti*), that which is eternally conscious (*Anādibodha*), the state of being purely self-dependent (*Svatantratā*), ceaseless perception of conserved *Shakti* (*Nitya-alupta-Shakti*) and the feeling of being the possessor of unlimited Powers ; these are the six limbs of all-pervading *Maheshvara*, as has been stated by those who are conversant with the divine precepts (as opposed to *Arthavāda*) :

(b) He is called *Shiva*, because He illumines from being pure : His purity is due to the absence of the three *Malas* (*Ānava*, *Kārmana*, *Māyīya*), to which the *Jīva* is ever subject ; these *Malas* of course appear after the awakening of Supreme Experience : the “*Vâyaviya Sanghitā*” says :—

(9) “*Athavāshesha-kalyāna-gunaika-ghana Īshvarah
Shiva ityuchyate sadbhih Shiva-tattvārtha-vedibhih*”

Those sages, who know the true meaning of *Shiva-tattva*, call that *Īshvara* or *Shiva*, which is the sole condensed Being,

possessing unlimited attributes to do good only. The said work further says :—

- (10) “ *Anādi-mala-sangshlesha prāgbhāvāt svabhāvatah
Atyanta-parishuddhātmetyato'yang Shiva uchyate* ”

The Being, whose very nature represents the stage previous to Its becoming associated with the *Mala* (which is the condition in evolution, and the beginning of such association is due to the subjectification of the first presentation, but impossible to be exactly assigned as creation is beginningless), is extreme purity itself, that pervades everywhere, and so He is called *Shiva* :

(c) “ *Shete'smin sarvam,* ” i.e., the whole universe rests in Him, therefore He is called *Shiva* (*Shi+Van*). The resting place of *Chit-Shakti* is *Paramashiva*, and this *Chit-Shakti* is the real cause of every manifestation ; i.e., apart from Her being the material cause, *Shakti* is also the instrumental cause for the manifestation of the universe as it is :

(d) *Sham+Kvan+I*. which means that which is beyond the active aspect, i.e., the changeless static Being behind the changefulness : (*Sham*=To be calm or appeased) :

(e) *Vasha+Ach* : By transposing the letters and replacing *A* by *I* we get *Shiva* : *Vasha* means Will ; so *Shiva* is the reservoir of the prime Will, which latter is *Parāshakti* in the form of *Chit* :

(f) “ *Vashti lokahitam,* ” that which wishes the good of the universe :

(g) “ *Shivam mangalang karoti* ” that which does good to *Jīva*.

The above are all definitions of *Sakala Shiva*, the first assumér of awakened, subjective aspect, but there is also a *Nishkala* aspect of Him ; which the “ *Shruti* ” defines as :—

- (11) “ *Nishkalang nishkriyang shāntang niravadyang niranjanam* ”

He is partless. He is without activity. He is changeless. He is without any *Dosha* and without any *Mala*. The *Nishkala*

aspect is attributeless, so it is said :—

- (12) “ *Srishtyarthang sarvalattvānāṅg lōkasyotpatti-kāraṇāt*
Yoginām-upakārāya svechchhayā grihnate tanum
Tathaiva yoginānchāpi jñānīnāṅg mantrināmapi
Japa-pūjā-nimittāya nishkalang sakalang bhavet ”

He, out of His own free Will, assumes forms for the purpose of evolving the thirty-six *Tattva*, for causing the rise into existence of the creation of the universe, and for the benefit of those who practice *Yoga*. Similarly for assisting in the performance of *Japa* and worship by the *Yogī*, the wise men and those who practice recitation of *Mantra*, *Nishkala Shiva* manifests as *Sakala*. This shows that *Nishkala Shiva*, by adopting the *Guṇa* (attributes) of *Parāśakti*, may become *Sakala* or *Saguna*. All this is possible after awakening.

Of course active Reality or Consciousness is a perennially awakened principle. But in the dreamless-Sleep state It is introspective Supreme Experience, for want of apprehension of any presentation due to complete abstraction; although Its content is perfection of Experience all the time. In the dream state, It becomes engaged in some sort of preconceived presentations. But in the waking state, It is ever busy in apprehending presentations, that at first appear as arising out of the existence of Self and ultimately happen quite externally to the cognizing principle. Thus the awakening of Reality, when denominated as *Shiva*, may be properly interpreted as the awakening for the apprehension of the flux of world-manifestation, i.e., when Its introspection attains tendency to go outward. This state is called “ *Sakala-bhuvano-daya-sthiti-laya-maya-līla-vinodanodyuktah*,” that is the state of being “ ever wakeful in the blissful play of the repeated acts of Creation, Maintenance and Dissolution of all the worlds which issue from Him.” He is mere illumination and the conserved *Shakti* remains merged in Him in this state.

THE MESSAGE OF THE BUDDHA

Blessed are the full moon, the Visakha star,
The month Vaisakh and the seat of Kapila,
When and where thou wast born, O Buddha
And blessed became the land of Bharata :
Thou, O Royal Prince and yet a friend of Bhikshus !
Never thy glory shall cease on earth.

Many think life is a hollow dream,
But become immersed in worldliness ;
Thou disentangling thyself in youth
And overcoming passion showed the truth :
In thy youth the renunciation thou tookest
Proved the excellence of self-abnegation.

“ The physician of the soul,” “ The eldest best brother ”
called,

O the subduer of sense's lust in temptation,
Serene in heart and holy in life,
In conduct stern regarding thy own self,
But to all else around thee thou
Most gentle in sympathy and compassion.

Thy words of nectar-sweetness unheard of before,
Of compassion to every life without distinction
And abstention from violence that thou didst teach,
Hearing the hard-hearted abject became kind :
“ Observing *ahimsa* to every living thing,
My brothers, enter the perfection of self.”

Heart overflowing with charity for all,
Every life was holy in thy thought,
Good man or bad or the lowest creature

Thou didst entwine all in equal love :
 —If one raises his hand on the least of them
 The sword of righteousness trembles in sheath.

“ Meeting unlove with unlove unloving cannot cease,
 Love only engenders love ;
 Loving only transmutes strife to peace,
 Hearken the Supreme wisdom this,”—
 Thou didst proclaim to men,
 —The world’s salvation lies in observing it.

The friend of the poor, the loved of the good !
 The truth and just thought that thou didst teach,
 And just act and resolve that should be,
 Hearing many became gentle and good ;
 Thousands of men, thousands of thousands of them,
 Even thy father became a Bhikshu and thy disciple.

Bandits many and rich *Sreshthis* that were
 Observing the majesty of thy life and character
 Turned good and righteous in thy time ;
 Even a courtesan became a living saint ;
 Offering her riches at thy feet
 Ambapali became memorable in her age.

Acts of man from birth to birth
 Never quenched his attachment of work,
 But fanned the desire to be born again ;
 —Cause and effect, effect and cause,
 Round and round revolving in a circle,
 In meditation thou sawest his comings and goings.

If man is born now, was born before,
 Will be born again, though some sages taught,
 Suffering is concomitant with birth none thought :

Thou alone didst discern it,—“Tathagata” called,
And seek the remedy and find—
Merging in Brahma, unborn and that dies not.

The riddle of life thou didst solve at last :
Mysteriously upon thy consciousness dawned
The wondrous light of Nirvana,—
Dispelled the old stored-up darkness within :
Ineffable joy filling the heart
Release from birth and death thou didst proclaim.

In Nature everything happens by fixed laws,
The same laws govern the life of man,
Nothing happens, thou sawest, without a cause ;
The present is the fruit of a former life,
It will be the seed of a future one,
Acts make or unmake its character.

Countless lives thus men have passed,
Countless more they shall have to live,
Thoughts and acts again and again
Inevitably fetter them to births,
All through Maya clouding the understanding
Of desire and body’s inalienable relation.

No desire, no body’s need,
No body, no need of birth,
By overcoming the desire in life
Man’s sorrow and suffering shall cease ;
In the Primal Spirit he shall merge
Never more to go out thence.

What amazing secret thou didst discover
That cloud break the chain of birth and death
That rising from spiritual meditation

Thou exclaimedest, thou wouldst stop body's building,
 Wouldst not be fettered to birth and death ?
 —Such wondrous mystery none knows up to now.

What secret wisdom thou didst teach ?
 —The profoundest ever revealed to man,—
 If man would refuse to live as man
 He would live as God, freed from birth and death.
 Such news of excelling joy and ever unheard
 To the world was like a fairy tale.

Self-extinction thou didst not teach,
 Self-extension thou didst not preach,
 But the giving up of all that belongs to it ;
 A deeper apprehension of the mystery of existence,
 Through knowledge world's deliverance from sorrow
and suffering,
 —Thy teaching not marked by breadth but depth of
mentality.

Unfettered from birth, Nirvana-attained,
 Thou wentest out to preach world's good,—
 Desireless act and desireless *Sadhana*
 In which man is not fettered to act :
 No desire for crop—no need of field,
 No birth—no act, no act—no birth.

Despite work was not by thee forbidden,
 But unselfish work springing up in abundance
 From man descended to the lowest life :
 Thy golden rule of life and conduct
 Is as the code of conduct for men and nations
 And bystander of their restraint and kindness now.

Work thou didst never abolish, but rather
 Proclaimedest the new religion of loving work :
 “Observing all rites and fasts and kneeling all day

Are fruitless all, but rising up with work in hand,
 Helping the sick, the poor and in distress
 Ever let thy stream of life be flowed out."

"Of all renunciations of thy self is the best,
 Of all gifts of thy life is the highest ;
 In such renunciation and such gift
 Reward's enjoyment cup is smashed ;
 Thus shalt thou rest in Brahma then
 Merged as a water drop in the ocean."

The kind in act and the meek in heart
 Shall inherit the earth is told :
 Thy life, O Buddha, proves the truth ;
 If all are not associated with thy name
 Yet thy lovable life and teaching quaint
 Aptly go to become the rule of life of men.

" My body will perish, but not the Buddha,
 He will live for ever in his message of love,
 Be not unconsolated because I die," to thy disciples
 thou saidst :

In the fulfilment of the truth of thy utterance
 The kingdom of God shall be established on earth—
 In Truth-Eternal. Wisdom-Brahma all shall dwell.

Whoever came near were charmed.
 By thy unique personality, and hearing thy teaching
 The learned bowed at thy feet as also common men,
 The rich and the poor all, as if they found a price-
 less treasure

Leaving their dear relatives and homes
 Went out to serve the world for thy attachment.
 Inspired by the majesty of thy teaching

To many a land thy disciples went ;
Hearing thy peerless message they preached,
Seeing their selfless lives, saintly character,
Many believed in thy teaching then,—
More Buddhists than other believers are on earth so still.

Like other messiahs never claimedest relation to Brahma
But in godly virtues thou becamest adored of men ;
The virtuous and evil-livers everywhere all
Contemplating thy transcending life and character,
Overflowing with high reverence and love,
Feel happy as if they are thy disciples all.

G. C. GHOSH

THE INDIAN JUDGE

(*A Comparative Study.*)

The judge occupies a pre-eminent position in the modern state. He is the guardian of the rights and privileges of the people against the encroachment of private persons and the aggression of executive officers. His function consists in interpreting the laws of the country, and applying them to individual cases. He has got to settle not only private disputes but bring under review executive action. Now the way he discharges his duty is of vital importance to the people. The legislature may lay down good and whole-some laws. But they would not be of any avail if they are not ably, promptly, and impartially applied. Without right administration of justice, good government is out of the question. "There is no better test of the excellence of a government than the efficiency of its judicial system, for nothing more nearly touches the welfare and security of the average citizen."¹ Indeed, as Laski says, "There is rarely a better index to the quality of the state-life than the justice it offers to its citizens."²

Now to attain efficiency in judicial administration "We require legal knowledge and skill, impartiality, incorruptibility and independence in the persons forming the judicial tribunals."³ Without looking to the interest of any, without consulting personal profit or party gain, without grinding national or communal axe, the judge has got to decide a case on its own merits. He is no respecter of persons. Neither the smile nor the frown of any authority, however high, may influence his verdict. For his judicial decision, he must be independent of

¹ Lord Bryce—Quoted by Munro in the *Governments of Europe*, p. 512.

² *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 128.

³ Henry Sidgwick—*Elements of Politics*, p. 456. •

all external control. "For what they (judges) do in the process of making and applying law, they must be answerable to no one except their own conscience."¹

In order to secure this independence of the judiciary, both Locke and Montesquieu advocated the complete Separation of Powers which they thought "to be the secret of freedom."² The three branches of Government, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, must be separated and clearly distinguished from one another. They must constitute practically three independent air-tight compartments. Their combination any way would be fatal to the liberty of the citizen. "When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates," observes Montesquieu, "there can be no liberty; because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner."

"Again, there is no liberty," continues the same authority, "if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control; for the judge would be then the legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with violence and oppression."³ This doctrine held long the imagination of the people of Europe and America. It seemed to have enshrined all political wisdom. In the constitutional practices of the present day world, however, there has been a wide departure from this principle. So far as the relations between the executive and the legislature are concerned, the doctrine has been completely thrown overboard in the leading States of Europe. They have adopted parliamentary form of government in which the executive and the legislature are not

¹ H. J. Laski—*A Grammar of Politics*, p 129.

² *Ibid.*, p. 104. Also see Gettel—*History of Political Thought*, p. 254.

³ *The Spirit of Laws*, Vol. I, p. 168. Translated by T. Nugent.

only not separate, but the executive is really a committee of the legislature.

But, however, modified the principle of separation of powers may have been in actual constitutional operation, the fact remains that the judiciary should be, in all respects, immune from any external control. In this aspect of the problem, the assertion of Montesquieu still enshrines the vital truth. Neither the executive nor the legislature should be given any opportunity to interfere with the independence of the judge. "It is the business of the judge to be the task-master of the executive. He has to see that its interpretation of its powers is never so elastic that it either arrogates novelty to itself or bears unequally upon the body of citizens. To such ends as these, it follows that every executive act should be open to the scrutiny in the courts ; and the decision of the judiciary should always be binding upon the executive unless the legislature otherwise resolves."¹ We thus can at once see that "to make it (the judiciary) in any sense subordinate to the executive is to make impossible the performance of the most urgent function within its province."² The combination of judicial and executive powers is clearly inadmissible, for in that case the judicial decision will only cloak the executive tyranny. The judicial power will only be used to subserve executive expediency. The administrator may launch upon a certain line of action for reasons of state. An independent judge may declare it illegal and set it at naught. But in case, the administrator himself was to interpret the Law, he would certainly interpret it in favour of his own executive action.

Now if we are to take away the judges altogether out of the influence of the legislature and the executive, the logical system would be to vest their election in the sovereign people. Neither the legislative organ nor the executive body should have anything to do with their appointment.³ Many of

¹ Laski—A Grammar of Politics, p. 298.

² *Ibid.*, p. 300.

³ Burgess—Political Science and Constitutional Law, Vol. II, p. 322.

the American States, imbued with extreme democratic tendencies, have accepted this principle of popular election.¹ In France also during the revolutionary days, the judges had to be elected directly by the people. The Revolution preferred this system only to ensure the reciprocal independence of the different branches of Government.² But the "elected judges run the risk, in the administration of justice, of being at the mercy of their electors. They may be led to favour their friends or seek to avenge themselves upon their enemies."³ Besides, the judges, to be efficient, would require some kind of specialised skill and experience. But "these qualities cannot be regularly obtained by any system of popular election."⁴ The popular electors do not constitute the fit body to sift out the technical qualifications of the different candidates in an impartial, scientific and judicial spirit. They would simply be swayed by other extraneous forces and the persons they would elect would much often make square pegs in round holes. Merit will have no chance of being rewarded. It is, therefore, a truism, as John Stuart Mill observes that "of all officers of Government, those in whose appointment any participation of popular suffrage is the most objectionable are judicial officers. While there are no functionaries whose special and professional qualifications the popular judgment is less fitted to estimate, there are none in whose case absolute impartiality, and freedom from connection with politicians, or sections of politicians, are of anything like equal importance."⁵ In actual operation, the system of elective judges has been found wanting in the American States. Proper persons have not been elevated to the bench and as a result the character of the judiciary has been almost hopelessly lowered. The principle of popular election which was once advocated

¹ Bryce—The American Commonwealth, Vol. 1, p. 505.

² R. Poincaré—How France is governed, p. 234.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴ Munro—The Governments of Europe, p. 520.

⁵ Representative Government.

to ensure the independence of the judges has now succeeded only in inducing timidity and discouraging their independence.¹

Nor has the system of legislative election fared any better. A few of the American States have required their legislature to elect the judges.² The judges of the Swiss Federal Court also are elected by the Federal Assembly.³ But "election by modern legislatures means party elections, and party judges are bad judges. The very conditions of election by party are the negation of the judicial frame of mind."⁴ In fact, as Professor Laski urges, "either popular election as in America, or Legislative election as in Switzerland, is neither of them adequate. Appointment by the executive has, on the whole, produced the best results."⁵ The framers of the American constitution were all imbued with the spirit of the doctrine of the separation of powers. But even the statesmen of such political conviction gave the executive head of the state all initiative in matters of federal judicial appointment. "All the judges of the courts of the Central Government are nominated by the President, confirmed by senate, and commissioned by the President."⁶ It certainly testifies to the wisdom of their action that the people of America to-day have more faith and confidence in the federal judges appointed by the executive than in the state judges elected directly by the people.⁷

In most European countries as well, judicial appointment is made by the executive. In France, the experiment that was made during the revolutionary regime has been abandoned and it is the executive that now nominates the judges.⁸ Thus the land

¹ Bryce—*The American Commonwealth*, Vol. 1, p. 507. Also see J. R. Marriott—*The Mechanism of the Modern State*, Vol. II, pp. 309-312.

² *Ibid.*, p. 505.

³ J. M. Vincent—*Government in Switzerland*, p. 203.

⁴ R. N. Gilchrist—*Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions*, p. 131.

⁵ *A Grammar of Politicians*, p. 302.

⁶ Burgess—*Political Science, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 322.

⁷ Bryce—*The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, pp. 271-2.

⁸ R. Poincaré—*How France is governed*, p. 235.

of Montesquieu himself, the exponent of the principle of separation of powers, has refused to undertake the luxury of elective judges.

In Britain also, the judges are appointed by the executive. There are no elective judges in the country.¹ Moreover the supreme judicial officer, the Lord Chancellor, occupies, at the same time, the portfolio of justice in the supreme executive body, the cabinet. In him, therefore, the executive and the judiciary meet, and to this extent, the principle of separation of powers has been frankly given the go-bye. All other judges in the state are appointed by him. It might be surmised that this arrangement would make the judiciary a hand-maid of the executive, that the judges would be obliged, under the circumstances, to serve the exigencies of executive administration. But "leading American lawyers and judges have frequently paid tribute to the independence, promptness and impartiality with which justice is administered by English tribunals. One reason can be found in the position of absolute independence which all the judges of English courts enjoy. All of them are appointed and hold office for life."²

The question of the tenure of office now, therefore, comes out prominent. It is "of the greatest importance in determining independence; a precarious tenure has a tendency to work against independent action; a permanent tenure encourages it."³ Of the three branches of Government, the judiciary is naturally the weakest. The executive dispenses the honours and holds the sword of the community. The legislature commands the purse and prescribes the rules by which the duties and rights of every citizen are regulated. The judiciary, however, has no influence over either the sword or the purse. It is, therefore, in constant danger of being influenced and overpowered by the other two

¹ Munro—*The Governments of Europe*, p. 277. See also Lowell—*The Government of Eng.*, Vol. II, p. 451.

² Munro—*The Governments of Europe*, p. 277.

³ R. M. Dawson—*The Principle of Official Independence*, p. 16.

branches of Government. Now to counteract this influence and to follow a straight path of its own, it requires permanency in office which contributes the most to its firmness and independence. "That inflexible and uniform adherence to the rights of the constitution and of individuals, which we perceive, to be indispensable in the courts of justice, can certainly not be expected from judges who hold their offices by temporary commission. Periodical appointments, however regulated, or by whomsoever made, would, in some way or other, be fatal to their necessary independence."¹

"On the whole it seems best that judges in all grades should ordinarily hold office during good behaviour."² They must not hold office during the pleasure of the Executive or the Legislature. That would simply make the judiciary subservient to either of the other two branches of Government—an undesirable contingency. Once appointed, they should hold office for life. Nor should they look to the executive for their promotion in office and emoluments. "Promotion by the executive from a lower grade to higher may be as dangerous to independence as the power of dismissal, since it would be practically much easier for the executive to reward judicial subserviency by promotion than to punish its opposite by dismissal."³ Now whichever body would determine the future promotion of the judges would control, to a great extent, their will and conscience. It is, therefore, a good system, accepted in many modern countries that there must be no promotion in the judiciary. Promotion in office constitutes no doubt an excellent incentive to the earnest spirits in any service. In the case of the judiciary however, it would do more harm than good. "It may be taken as a general rule that the promotion of an efficient public official is an excellent thing for the man himself, for his fellow officials, and the public service.

¹ The Federalist—No : 78.

² Sidgwick—Elements of Politics, p. 464.

³ Ibid., p. 465.

as a whole. The conspicuous exception to this rule is the judiciary.”¹

In the U. S. A. all the Federal Judges hold office during good behaviour, *i.e.*, are removable only by impeachment.² The judges are appointed to a fixed post on a fixed salary. They labour under no fear of a transfer from one post to another for a decision not to the liking of the executive.³ Nor do they expect any favour at its hand for any action after its mind. Neither hope of promotion, nor fear of degradation affects their independence.⁴ In the British judiciary, also, there is no promotion system. The inferior judges, however, can be removed from the bench at the instance of the Lord Chancellor. The amount of protection given to the lower grade federal judges of the U. S. A. is thus to some extent denied to their British compeers. The Supreme Court judges, however, can be removed only on an address of both Houses of Parliament.⁵ In France also both by law and by usage, security of judicial tenure has been well established.⁶ But the promotion system which has been put down as dangerous to judicial independence constitutes the very basis of the French judicial organisation. “All judicial posts except the very lowest are filled by promotion.”⁷

This elevation of the judges from a lower to a higher grade in France, of course, does not depend wholly upon the freaks of the executive. The minister of justice determines it, only with the help of an expert commission. But it cannot be said that extraneous influence and back-stairs pressure have no bearing

¹ R. M. Dawson—The Principle of Official Independence, pp. 58-59

² Bryce—The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 220.

³ The Italian higher judiciary suffers considerably from this difficulty, and its independence is, of course, correspondingly impaired. See A. L. Lowell—Governments and Parties in Continental Europe, Vol. I, p. 177.

⁴ Bryce—The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 231.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁶ Munro—The Governments of Europe, p. 526.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 520.

upon it. In fact, other factors, than seniority and merit much often decide the future of a judge. This is certainly not a congenial atmosphere for the growth of judicial independence and impartiality. The efficacy of the principle, therefore, that the judges should be appointed to a fixed post on a fixed salary is still unquestioned.

Now once the judge is given an opportunity to exercise his independence, we should see how his efficiency can be ensured. Without thorough legal knowledge and skill, none on the bench can do full justice to his duty. Before, therefore, a person is elevated to the bench, he should be expected to possess a thorough grounding in the legal principles and practices. Both in England and the United States, the judges are recruited from practising lawyers of sufficient experience and standing. And for the higher courts in England, the judges "are habitually taken from the leading men at the bar."¹ This promotion from the bar to the bench is natural and easy and at the same time it contributes most to the efficiency of the judges. Practising and experienced lawyers not only possess a good grasp of the scientific principles of law but at the same time get accustomed to legal procedure. They live and move in legal atmosphere and surroundings. They remain behind the scene long enough to see through the subtlety of cases and get at the kernel of truth. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that they alone should be elevated to the bench. In fact "an appointment to the bench is regarded by most lawyers as the crowning stage of a successful career at the bar."² The high honour and dignity that attach to a judicial position are always inviting to the able and ambitious among the lawyers. Again in the interests of justice and fair dealing, good relations between the bench and the bar are indispensable. Now these can be easily ensured if the leading members of the bar are promoted, as a matter of course, to the bench. A lawyer-judge has naturally a good deal of sympathy

¹ Lowell—The Government of England, Vol. II, p. 469.

² Munro—The Governments of Europe, p. 519.

and respect for the profession to which he once belonged.¹ The bar also has a good amount of regard for the position now occupied by one of its own leading ex-members. This mutual respect and sympathy also inspires popular confidence in the judiciary. From the bar to the bench, it is therefore, a most natural step.

In the 18th century, the administrative system had absolutely broken down in India. "Lack of governance" was the pre-eminent feature of the time. The collapse of the mighty Moghul Empire had let loose all the forces of separatism and sectionalism in the country and heralded the Great Anarchy with all its horrid results. The East India Company, that was gradually stepping into the shoes of the Great Moghuls could not, for some time, grasp the full significance of its new position. In Bengal it remained, for many years, in power without responsibility. And even a high British Officer in India who has traced the rise of the Company's power in this country, has been constrained to observe that these years of misrule constitute "the only period of Anglo-Indian history which throws grave and unpardonable discredit on the English name."² At last the situation became so grave that not only the Company's Directors themselves had to be prepared to face administrative responsibility but His Majesty's Government also began to interfere in Indian affairs and "regulate" Indian administration. But it was not possible to transplant overnight a cut and dried governmental system to the Indian soil. The Britishers were new to this country and unfamiliar with its social traditions, cultural background and economic system. Without a thorough and systematic exploration of administrative

¹ "The Federal judge who has recently quitted the ranks of the bar remains in sympathy with it, respects its views, desires its approbation." Bryce—*The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 265.

² Sir Alfred Lyall—*British Dominion in India* (1905), p. 143. Also see L. S. S. O'Malley—*History of Bengal, Behar and Orissa under British Rule*, p. 198. "It was essential to discontinue the vicious system under which the company was a kind of sleeping partner, receiving revenue without assuming responsibility."

and economic facts it was not possible for the Company to impose a ready-made administrative structure upon India. All that the East India Company could do during the first half-century of its rule was to make administrative experiments. Most of its governmental measures were naturally tentative in character. No step could be taken all at once on a permanent basis. The crying need of the hour was strong government. The resurrection of law and order was the prime duty of the administration. In this matter, the Company's government occupied the same position in India which Henry VII, the first Tudor, occupied in England after the Wars of the Roses. The forces of disorder that were now devastating the land had to be checked and subdued and an administrative structure was to be reared that would guard against the anarchical traditions of the last one century. For the discharge of this duty of the hour, a corps of strong and efficient officers was indispensable and it stands to the credit of Lord Cornwallis that he was able to roll back the tide of corruption among the Company's officers and instil into them a new spirit and a new ideal. He was successful in creating a true civil service for administering the Company's affairs and putting it on a sound and solid basis.¹ Cornwallis, of course, "had no belief in Indian agency and narrowed the field of their employment."² It was a settled policy with him to make the Company's service a close preserve for his countrymen. The Charter Act of 1793 made this policy sacrosanct and shut out the Indians altogether from any honourable administrative ambition.³

.Now in those rough and troublous days, if the prestige and majesty of the Government were to be upheld, its officers must act with promptitude and vigour. Concentration of energy and effort was essential for the rapid discharge of duty. Niceties

¹ P. E. Roberts—*History of British India* (1921), pp. 225-27.

² O'Malley—*History of Bengal, Behar and Orissa under British Rule*, p. 282.

³ Sec. 57 of the Statute 33, Geo., III, C 52. See the Public Service Commission Report (1886-87), p. 11.

of modern administration were out of place in that age of turmoil. The doctrine of the separation of powers which was coming into vogue at the time in Europe and America, could not fit in with the Indian situation. Concentration of powers and authority and unity of command were the principles advocated and mostly accepted.¹

When Lord Cornwallis came out to India in 1786, he promptly united the functions of civil and criminal judge with those of an executive and revenue officer. The collectors were made "civil judges and magistrates also."² After a few years of his stay in this country, however, Cornwallis changed his mind and was convinced of the incompatibility of judicial and executive functions, combined in the Revenue officers.³ This step, of course, was not final. During the first decades of the Company's Administration, everything was, as a matter of course, on an experimental basis. Now all the functions of Government were vested in one body, now they were to a certain extent at least, divided and separated.⁴ Any way the tendency was towards union and not separation of powers.

For administrative convenience, no doubt, Civil Judicial functions were at last permanently separated from general administration and vested in the District Judges. Criminal justice, however, remained combined with Police and executive powers.⁵ In the year 1829, some new offices were created in the persons of the Commissioners. Each of them was to be in charge of four or five districts, and, in addition to revenue work was to go out in circuit as session judge.⁶ The supreme control

¹ Joseph Chailley—Administrative Problems of British India, pp. 442-43.

² *Ibid.*, p. 443.

³ Section I of Regulation II of 1793 passed by the Governor-General in Council; see the Separation of Judicial from Executive Duties in British India, edited by P. C. Ray, p. 12.

⁴ Before the regime of Wellesley the G. G. in Council was the highest court of the Company. But Wellesley did away with this arrangement. See O'Malley, p. 208.

⁵ Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, p. 38.

⁶ O'Malley—Bengal, Behar and Orissa under British Rule, p. 351.

over the Police was also vested in these officers¹ so that the Commissioners became responsible at once for higher criminal justice and supreme police duties. The executive and judicial functions were combined in their hands. A few years later, some changes, of course, were introduced and the higher criminal justice was taken away from the hands of the Divisional Commissioners and made over to the District Judges.² This was a reform in the right direction. But while higher criminal justice was mostly separated from executive duty, lower criminal justice remained combined with police functions. The District Collectors were the Controllers of the Police and at the same time discharged the magisterial duties.

This combination of powers, this "patriarchal"³ form of justice might have suited the Indian situation during early British rule, when strong government was the prime necessity of the day. It was, however, quite out of tune with the political condition of India in the thirties of the last century. The people of the older provinces had now been accustomed, for over half a century, to stable government. Anarchical forces had been exorcised and law and order definitely established. It was time that judicial and executive powers which had been concentrated in single hands should now be completely separated. The union of criminal justice with police function might have been warranted in unsettled times, but its continuance in normal peaceful days was only an unhealthy anomaly. There were even British Officers in the service of the Company who brought out into bold relief the mischief that was being committed every day under the system. "The union

¹ Gilchrist—Separation of etc., p. 37.

² See O'Malley—Bengal, etc., p. 351. (In some districts, however, the Commissioner of the Division remained still vested with judicial duties. See the Autobiography of Nabin Chandra Sen, Vol. II, pp. 269-70.)

Cf., also Sir Henry Cotton—Indian and Home Memories (1911), p. 163.

"By a very objectionable arrangement, which was shortly afterwards set aside, the Commissioner of Chittagong exercised all the functions of District and Sessions Judge."

³ Sir Richard Temple—Men and Events of my time in India (1882). p. 74.

of Magistrate with Collector has been stigmatized as incompatible, but” observed Sir Frederick Halliday in 1838, “the function of thief-catcher with judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice. So long as it lasts, the public confidence in our criminal tribunals must always be liable to injury, and the authority of justice itself must often be abused and misapplied.”¹ The Magistrate was Constable, Prosecutor, and Judge all in one. He was to prevent crime, apprehend and prosecute offenders, and himself sit in judgment upon their alleged offence. As a judge, he was expected to bring a fresh and open mind while trying a case. Entrusted, however, as he was with executive and police functions also, this unbiassed and unprejudiced attitude was out of the question. As a prosecutor, his natural tendency was towards taking for granted the guilt of the prosecuted person. Sitting on the bench in a different capacity, he could not certainly shake off the prejudice already formed in his mind.² Hence “to secure justice, an unbiassed judge who has no responsibility for the prosecution, seems indispensable.”³

The District Officer in 1837 was certainly saddled with too heavy a responsibility and unless he was relieved of some of his duties even the camel’s back would be broken. Now the duties that should have been taken away from him were the judicial functions which he was discharging with such a detriment to the character of Justice. Illogically, however, the Government separated from his charge the revenue functions which were now vested in a separate officer, the Collector,

¹ Minute of dissent in the Report of the Committee which sat in 1837 to draw up a plan for the more efficient organisation of the police. See the Separation of Judicial from Executive functions. Edited by P. C. Ray, p. 14.

² A British I.C.S. Officer gave the following piece of precious advice to young Nabin Chandra Sen : “So long as you do not get any contrary evidence, you should regard every defendant as guilty.” See Nabin Chandra Sen’s Autobiography, Vol. II, p. 15.

³ Sidgwick—Elements of Politics, p. 477.

while he remained still endowed with both judicial and police functions.¹

This arrangement also did not last long. Administrative exigencies again demanded some kind of reshuffling of the system. In the year 1853, Sir Cecil Beadon, then Secretary to the Government of Bengal, submitted a note in which he advocated the reunion of the magisterial with revenue functions.² This set the ball rolling. A long drawn out struggle now began between two of the ablest of the Company's Officers with regard to the question of the separation of powers. Sir Frederick Halliday had already changed his front and gone back on his views of 1838. He was now a zealous convert to the Oriental theory of government enunciated by Sir Cecil Beadon.³ He now resisted vehemently the contention of Sir John Peter Grant that the only separation, not only desirable but indispensable, was that between the executive and judicial powers. Sir Frederick held that in India this logical separation would be simply disastrous in its effect. It would wound the prestige and self-respect of the district officers and bring the administration into contempt among the Indians.⁴ This controversy raged for some years at a stretch and at last the matter was taken up by the Police Commission of 1860.

The Government of India were not altogether unmindful of the incongruous combination of judicial and executive functions in the same hands. In issuing Instructions to the Police Commission, it pointed out that "the functions of a Police are either protective and repressive or detective, to prevent crime and disorder, or to find out criminals and disturbers of the peace. These functions are in no respect judicial. This rule requires a complete severance of the Police from the Judicial authorities, whether those of higher grade or the inferior magistracy in their

¹ Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, pp. 38, 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

judicial capacity.”¹ The Police Commission also noticed the anomaly of such a union of powers and recommended that as a rule the official who was to collect and trace out the links of evidence, and prosecute the offender should on no account sit in judgment on the case. While this was the general opinion of the members of the Commission they had not the courage to follow it up to its logical extent. They made an exception in favour of the District Officer. While other magistrates must be shorn of all their connection with the Police, the District Magistrate must still remain vested with supervisory and controlling authority over this institution.² Thus the separation of judicial from executive functions was to be arrested half way. And we shall soon find that even the concession that was made to the demand for separation came to nothing under our administrative arrangement.

On the basis of the recommendations of the Police Commission, an Act was passed by the Government of India in 1861. It confirmed the union of judicial and executive functions in the hands of the District Officers. “The actual executive control of the Police passed to the Superintendent of Police, but his work in the detection and prevention of crime was supervised by the District Magistrate, who also tried criminal cases.”³ Now and again attempts have been made since then to separate the functions and make the judiciary an independent branch of Government.⁴ And once at least this question came within practical politics. In 1906, Sir Harvey Adamson, the Home Member of the Government of India, adumbrated, at his own instance, a scheme before the Legislative Council. Here he pointed out that the Government were going at last to introduce the much

¹ The Separation of Judicial from Executive duties in British India, Edited by P. C. Ray, pp. 27-28.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

³ Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Powers, pp. 92-3.

⁴ In the year 1899, a memorial signed by Lord Hobhouse and others was presented to the Secretary of State pointing out the anomaly of combining Executive with Judicial business.

desired separation step by step. He also informed the Council that the experiment would be made first in Bengal.¹ Ultimately however, everything ended in smoke. Nothing came out of all this. The District Magistrate, even to-day, is not only the executive head of the district, but also controls the minor criminal justice within the area. This arrangement has been maintained chiefly on the plea that the prestige and influence of the District Officers would suffer considerably if judicial powers were taken out of their hands.

They are, so to say, the "Mainstay" and the "Keystone" of British administration in India. Upon their power and prestige, the whole fabric rests. And in case, their hands come to be weakened the whole British administrative system would collapse all on a sudden.² "The District Magistrate who is the eye and ear of Government should hold in his hands all the threads of the different branches of the administration, and should have the officials in all those branches under his general control."³

Now the District Officer, as a first class Magistrate, "can pass sentences of imprisonment up to two years and of fine up to Rs. 1,000." Besides, the District Magistrate is an appellate Judge as well. "From a conviction by a second or third class Magistrate an appeal lies to the District Magistrate."⁴ In his capacity as the District Magistrate he has also certain powers of control over all other Local Magistrates.⁵ He can transfer a case from the file of one to that of another Magistrate. He has also the right to call for and look over their records. And what is more important than the rest is the fact that the future of other Magistrates considerably depends upon his opinions about them.

¹ Gilchrist, p. 122.

² See the extract from the Minute of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, quoted in Separation of Judicial from Executive Powers, Ed. by P. C. Ray, p. 139.

³ See the Article of Sir Charles Elliott in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" for Oct., 1896.

⁴ Kale—Indian Administration (1928), p. 414.

⁵ Chailley—Administrative Problems of British India, p. 413.

The promotion of the Deputy Magistrates is altogether in his hands. Upon his confidential reports, hangs their future.¹ Under these circumstances, it is palpable that the separation of magisterial from police duties which has been effected in the case of the other Magistrates is nothing but a misnomer.

The District Officer is the controller of the Police and the head of the Magistracy. In every case, therefore, in which the Police is interested and the District officer himself is directly or indirectly a party, honest and impartial justice would be out of the question. The predilections of the District Magistrate would find a natural weight with the subordinate Magistrates and they would decide the case, always to the satisfaction of their chief. Hence "to make a judge's promotion dependent on the favour of the chief police officer is a direct and most unwholesome incentive to him to gratify his master's wishes; and so long as criminal courts are virtually under Police control, it is hopeless to expect from them either justice or independence."² The late Mr. Monomohan Ghosh pointed out very lucidly in a press interview how the trying Magistrates were instructed in his days, by the District Officer as to the turn their judgment should take. "I know of many instances" observed Mr. Ghosh, "in which what are called demi-official 'chits' in India have been sent by the District Magistrate during the progress of a case to a subordinate Magistrate engaged in trying it, telling him how to proceed in matters which are purely judicial."³ Judicial independence was thus out of the question, rather judicial subserviency was the rule. In the case, *Constable Narsingh vs. Messrs. Corbett and Simkins*, Mr. Pennell, the District Judge of Chapra, castigated the subservient attitude of the Deputy Magistrate, Moulavi Zakir Hussain. He pointed out "it certainly does seem to me that Maulavi Zakir Hossain's

¹ Nabin Chandra Sen's Autobiography, Vol. V, pp. 52-53.

² The Right Hon. Sir Richard Garth—Statement printed in "India" for August 1893; see P. C. Ray—Separation of Judicial, etc., p. 148.

³ The interview published in "India" for Dec., 1895.

predilection for satisfying his superior at all costs might find more legitimate indulgence on the revenue side. And it will be a grave scandal if he be retained as a Magistrate in this neighbourhood.''¹ This case along with many others of like nature illustrates the danger to individual liberty and freedom, from the union of executive and judicial powers in the hands of the District Officer.² The executive all on a sudden discovers that a particular individual is not sufficiently respectful to its authority and majesty and has done something not to its liking. It would then proceed to apply its Police powers and get the man into custody. And the next step it would take would be the requisition of its judicial powers for maintaining its executive fiat. Not that the District Officer himself would try such cases. But he would only see that some other Magistrate would do the needful.³ Criminal justice in India is thus a hand-maid of executive high-handedness. Instead of being the guardian of the rights and liberties of the people, it constitutes an excellent handle in repressing their privileges and curving their freedom.

The union of incompatible functions has again not been the only bane of the Indian judiciary. The methods of recruiting the judges have also taken away considerably from their efficiency and integrity. Almost all the higher judiciary to-day, both civil and criminal, is manned by the Indian Civil Service. And all the lower Magistracy also is run by the Civil Service either of the Imperial or the Provincial grade. Only the lower civil judicial offices are filled otherwise. The Munsifs form a cadre of their own and are altogether out of the control of the executive. They are appointed in theory by the Provincial Government, but in reality by the High Court, whose nominations are accepted without any alteration by the Government. Their promotion and transfer are also determined by the High

¹ P. C. Ray—Separation, etc., p. 348.

² Cf., "We were encouraged then to exercise considerable executive interference with the ordinary course of justice." Sir Henry Cotton—Indian and Home Memories (1911), p. 94.

³ See the cases in P. C. Ray—Separation, etc., pp. 263-327.

Court. Formerly, the Munsifs were recruited from the ranks of the clerks of the Judge's Courts. The study of law had not yet been undertaken in an extensive scale and on a scientific method. The Indian bar had not yet been properly organised. The *peshkars* and *sheristadars*, who had been inside a law court and had as such an opportunity to breathe the judicial atmosphere and pick up the legal technicalities, were, under the circumstances, the most suitable persons to be elevated to the bench. They had already earned some acquaintance with the judicial procedure and as Munsifs managed somehow to tackle the petty cases before them. They had, however, no grounding in law and the practice of recruiting the Munsifs from their ranks could not, therefore, be made permanent. Meanwhile law colleges were started and the study of law became scientific. And about fifty years back, the system came into vogue that law graduates with some years' practice at the bar should be appointed to these judicial posts.¹

For many years, this practice was maintained. The Public Service Commission of 1912-15, however, thought that the three years' experience at the bar which was demanded of every candidate for the Munsifship was really not a very essential condition. It would be better if the Munsifs were directly recruited from the law college and then posted as assistants to some District Judge. This period of probation over, they should be given an independent bench.² To-day the practice is rather irregular. Now and again practising lawyers are appointed to these judicial positions. Now, however, distinguished law-graduates are appointed direct to

¹ See the Report of the Public Services Commission (1886-87), p. 25. And also Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, p. 26.

² See the Report of the Islington Commission, pp. 191-92. "This arrangement (that persons only with at least three years' experience at the bar should be recruited) has the disadvantage that it delays recruitment to the detriment of an officer's pension and prevents his reaching a position of real responsibility young enough in life. In practice also the period is not sufficient to enable youngmen to have acquired any real experience and is thus of little practical use."

the bench. No experience, as a lawyer, is demanded of them. This has not been a step in the right direction. We have seen already that the best way to ensure the efficiency of the judges is to recruit them from practicing lawyers of quite a good standing. Three years' experience, as had been demanded hitherto, would, no doubt, accustom an intelligent man to the ways of the law courts. It would be better, however, if some time more be spent at the bar before his promotion to the bench. The British custom of recruiting judges from lawyers, of at least five years' standing satisfies all the requirements. This system has got to be introduced in our country in the matter of recruiting the lower judiciary. Whatever training a law graduate may undertake during his probationary period cannot, in any way, compensate for the real experience he may achieve at the bar.

Lower criminal justice is administered by Civil Servants of either the Imperial or the Provincial cadre. In fact, most of the petty criminal cases are decided by the Deputy Magistrates. But neither these officers nor the junior Indian Civil Service men, who are their coadjutors in this matter, are whole time criminal judges. The Deputy Magistrates belong to the executive branch of the Provincial Civil Service. They are recruited primarily for executive work and much of their time they devote to executive business.¹ Their appointment is made not on the basis of their knowledge in law, but on the ground of their general fitness for all-round executive duty. Practically, most of these officers get no legal training before their appointment. Even while in service, and actually administering criminal justice, their knowledge in law does not go beyond a perfunctory acquaintance with the sections of Indian criminal code.² Now as Magistrates

¹ See the Report of the Public Services Commission of 1886-7, pp. 228. The statement made in this Report as regards the duties of these officers is equally true to-day.

² "The majority or practically all of them have no grounding whatever in the principles of law, and get no training whatever in criminal jurisprudence which

their responsibility is quite a heavy one. Those among them with first class powers may sentence a person to two years' hard labour. The public may naturally expect that those who are called upon to discharge such highly responsible judicial business should have a thorough and systematic legal training. But as a rule, not only do these officers not bring with them at the time of recruitment any comprehensive legal knowledge, but in the service itself they have no opportunity to make good their defect. Their probationary period is not exclusively devoted to legal affairs. Nor is their further career dedicated to criminal justice alone. They have got to combine their judicial work with all other matters of public business. Naturally their legal knowledge remains, throughout their official life, limited to the sections of criminal law which they picked up some how at the time of the departmental examinations. It is high time that this system should be completely overhauled. With the complete separation of executive from judicial functions which, we have seen, is long overdue, criminal justice also may be given over to the Munsifs.¹ Not that the same person would discharge both civil and criminal responsibility. But the inferior criminal judges should be appointed on the same basis and should hold office on the same conditions as the Munsifs. A comprehensive legal training at the college followed by a reasonable experience at the bar would make an excellent qualification for the criminal judge, as for the Munsif.²

enters largely into the performance of their duties, etc." See separate note by M. B. Chaubal in the Islington Commission Report, p. 237.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

² See the "Bengalee" of the 12th August, 1927, on the question of the appointment of Presidency Magistrates. "The Indian Civil Service or the Bengal Civil Service men do not get a sufficient legal training. No doubt many of them turn out to be excellent magistrates even without any proper legal training. But the advantage of the training which a practice at the bar implies cannot be supplied even by long experience in the service. The executive bias which is often apparent in our magistrates serves only to make the magistracy less respected by the public. And freedom from that bias can be secured most effectively by practice at the bar and the legal training and attitude of independence which such practice implies."

The principle of recruitment which we advocate for the lower judiciary is still more urgent in the case of the higher justice. Graver responsibility is involved in this field and greater acumen and insight are called for, on the part of the judges. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that persons only with a proper legal training and with a requisite legal experience at the bar should be raised to such onerous judicial posts.

Hitherto, the higher judiciary has been formed mostly by the members of the Indian Civil Service. These superior judicial positions have been mainly reserved for them by statute.¹ During early British rule, it was, of course, indispensable that these officers alone should discharge high judicial duties. The Indian legal system was then in a state of flux. Indian customs and traditions were being slowly influenced and modified by English Common law and equity. Out of this intermixture, a new legal system was being gradually evolved. Under these circumstances, the officers of the Indian Civil Service who had imbibed the spirit of English social ethics and had at the same time made themselves familiar with Indian conditions were the fit persons to settle all legal disputes.²

For a considerable period of time again justice was not looked upon as a special branch of government that required specialised training to conduct. It was taken to be a part of general administration. Hence officers who could discharge revenue duties to-day, or police functions to-morrow, might easily occupy the judicial bench the day after. Even when Civil Judicial functions were separated for administrative convenience and vested in the District Judges, these officers were not to take up permanently the judicial line. In their onward

¹ The Statute of 1861. See the Public Services Commission Report (1886-7), pp. 17-18.

² See the Minute of Dissent by Sir Abdur Rahim in the Islington Commission Report, p. 434.

progress from the bottom to the top of the service, they were, for a while, to fill the position of the District Judges.¹

It thus comes to this that men untrained and inexperienced, were entrusted with high judicial responsibility. They naturally proved to be square pegs in round holes. The result was what could only be expected under the circumstances. There was a frequent miscarriage of justice and the law courts came to incur public odium and censure. Most of the Judges were not accustomed to judicial procedure and had no systematic and detailed acquaintance with the laws which they were called upon to apply. The High Court began to complain and demanded an immediate change in the system of the appointment of the Judges.² Many of the experienced officers themselves now came to hold strong views about the system in vogue. They tried to bring home to the Government that the position of the Judges was far from enviable. The Indian bar had now been properly organised and attained quite a high standard of professional efficiency. The procedure of the Courts was no longer vague as before, it had already come to be clear cut and definite. The laws were no longer ill-defined. Hence general ability and stout common sense were not sufficient qualities for a man now to make an efficient judge.³ Good legal training and constant judicial experience were demanded of them. It was high time that the judicial and executive functions should be completely separated and continuous judicial practice provided to those engaged in the adjudication of cases. One officer not only demanded an absolute separation between the executive and

¹ Even all on a sudden an absolutely inexperienced man might be raised to the bench of the Sadar Court. When John Russel Colvin was elevated to such a highly responsible post in 1848 "the objections to the appointment were many. With some he had no experience. With others, he had no temper. Again he had no knowledge of legal matters." See Colvin's *Life by Colvin* (*Rulers of India Series*, p. 155.)

² See the opinions of the High Court of Fort William in 1864 and 1866, inserted in P. C. Ray—*Separation of Judicial, etc.*, pp. 63-66.

³ See the note of F.R. Cockerell of the Indian Civil Service to the Government of Bengal the 25th July, in 1868,—P. C. Ray, pp. 105-113,

judicial classes of officers but actually suggested that the future judges should have at least some experience at the bar.¹ Without really a further legal equipment, it was not possible for the judges even to cope with the lawyers arguing a case before him. The Government of India were, however, not yet ready to introduce a complete separation of judicial from executive duties. All judicial functions, from lower magistracy upwards, could not be concentrated in a corps of officers altogether distinguished from the executive branch. But though magistracy remained combined with other administrative functions, the Government of Bengal, now under the leadership of Sir George Campbell, thought out a plan for a more efficient discharge of both executive and superior judicial duties. In 1873, the Indian Civil Service in this province was divided into two branches and the so-called parallel promotion system was introduced. After several years of service, an officer was to choose definitely the line of work he preferred. He might go over to the executive and administrative branch or finally enter upon the judicial career. Of course, the choice of the officer himself was not always to prevail. The Government reserved the right of discretion in the matter. In distributing the officers between the two branches, the Government were to consider their desires and achievements and at the same time the needs and exigencies of administration. The object of Sir George Campbell in introducing this system was "to secure better training for judges and executive officers alike, and to prevent officers shifting at random from the executive to the judicial branches of the service, and *vice versa*."²

The judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service, however, has never been able to capture the imagination of the officers. The administrative line has always been popular with them. Ambitious and capable men find more openings for distinction in administrative work. Greater freedom of action and the more

¹ The opinion of Rivers Thomson, 25th July, 1868 in P. C. Ray, p. 121.

² Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, pp. 105-6.

varied nature of duty in this field have also attracted the sturdier spirits.¹ Besides, the administrative officers command greater respect and wield greater influence and power over the people. The judicial officers cannot but look upon with envy the high prestige which the executive officers enjoy.² It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the able and the efficient among the officers would always seek an executive career, and the judicial branch would be simply the dumping ground of the idlers and the sluggards.

Of course, an attempt had long been made to make the judicial service more popular and attractive by financial inducements. A system of judicial allowance was introduced and those who would join the judicial branch would have the financial benefit of this extra income. Only recently however the Lee Commission recommended the abolition of this practice.³

Now after the introduction of this system of parallel promotion, the Indian Civil Servants have no doubt ceased to move like a shuttle-cock between the executive and judicial duties. Those who cast in their lot with the judicial branch to-day, may have the benefit of continuous judicial experience throughout their career. This regular judicial practice on the part of the judges is certainly an asset to the Indian judiciary. Regular work in the same line always facilitates business.⁴

The Civilian Judges to-day naturally come to possess greater insight into the character of cases than formerly. Their acquaintance with the details of judicial procedure also is not so very fitful and half-hazard as in the sixties and the seventies

¹ John Russel Colvin by A. Colvin (Rulers of India Series), pp. 155-6.

² Dyarchy—Lionel Curtis pp 145-46.

³ The Lee Report—p. 32. "This advantage in pay was given in view of the fact that, in the past, the general attractions of judicial work were inferior to those on the executive side, and consequently a higher rate of pay had to be offered to induce men to enter the Judicial Branch voluntarily. We do not consider that this consideration any longer applies".

⁴ The Federalist No : LXXII. "That experience is the parent of wisdom is an adage the truth of which is recognised by all."

of the last century. But even all this improvement cannot make good the fundamental defect which the Civilian Judges always labour under. They have never received any systematic and thorough training in legal principles nor ever have they any experience at the bar. It is always difficult to make individually a scientific study of a subject like law and that too in the late years of life. And it could not certainly be expected that all the Civilian Judges would at all make any such attempt. The Islington Commission on the Public Services appreciated this difficulty and supported the idea that liberal study allowances should be given to the officers who would like "to undertake whilst on leave, the courses of study leading up to a call to the bar."¹ This scheme, on the face of it, is not quite bad, but we do not see why, at all, the judges should be recruited from the Civil Service when that means an additional drain on the public purse. The services that the public derives from these judges do not, by any means, constitute the right return for the total amount spent upon them. At a lesser cost, but with a more profitable return, many of the front rank young lawyers may be induced to go over to the bench. It really makes no meaning to appoint an untrained man to a judicial post at a greater cost, when a trained man is available at a lower public expense. From the stand-point of the litigants, and general social welfare, the sooner this method of recruitment is stopped the better. "A civilian judge" observed Sir Abdur Rahim in his excellent minute of dissent in the Islington Commission Report, "who has never been behind the scenes, never drafted a plaint or a written statement nor examined or cross-examined a witness in his life must be at a considerable disadvantage in arriving at the true and important facts of a case."² It is, therefore, high time that the practice of appointing Civil Service men to the bench should be given the go-bye and lawyers of reasonably long practice should be promoted to these posts.³

¹ The Report, p. 178.

² P. 434.

³ The Islington Commission also recommended that "in view of the ability, attainments

The Indian Civil Service has encroached even upon the sacred precincts of the High Courts. In the year 1861, the Sadre Courts of the Company and the Supreme Court of the Crown were amalgamated and transformed into the present High Court of Judicature.¹ The Sadre Courts of the Company were all constituted by its own officers, while the Supreme Court was formed by the Judges recruited direct from the Bar in England.² Both these elements have been maintained in the High Courts of India to-day. And it has been statutorily fixed that at least one-third of the judges in these courts must be members of the Indian Civil Service. Another one-third must be recruited from the English Bar. The rest should be appointed either from the subordinate Civil judiciary or from among the pleaders practising before the High Court for a period of not less than ten years. Of the Indian Civil Service Officers to be appointed to the High Court Bench it is demanded that they must not be of less than ten years' standing and must have exercised the powers of a District Judge for at least three years.³ We have seen already that even the duties of a District Judge should not be discharged by an I.C.S. man who is simply deficient in the principles and details of law and has at best only a perfunctory acquaintance with the legal procedure. Now if his appointment to the District Bench constitutes an injustice to the litigants and the public his promotion to the High Court Bench is more condemnable still.

With very few exceptions the Indian Civil Service Judge has always been a disastrous failure in the High Court. The bar here is highly efficient and influential. The cases brought before

and influence of the legal profession in India, the administration would benefit from some bar appointments...such an arrangement would concede an important principle and afford valuable experience of the possibilities of this method of recruitment." pp. 169-70. It was recommended that forty higher judicial posts should be reserved for men recruited from the bar. In Bengal, up to this time, only three appointments have been made on this principle.

¹ Joseph Chailley—Administrative Problems of British India (1910), p. 411.

² *Ibid.*, p. 409.

³ Section 101, Sub-sections (3) and (4) of the Govt. of India Act.

it for adjudication are mostly complex and intricate in character. The judges are naturally expected to have a thorough grounding in even the minutest details of the laws involved. Their previous experience in handling such cases inspires confidence and respect. But the Civilian Judge who is mostly innocent of the detailed knowledge of the laws he is to apply and has never had any experience in dealing with such complex matters, naturally comes in for castigation at the hands of the lawyers pleading before his court. The respect of the bar for the bench dwindles, as a matter of course, and the confidence of the public in the judiciary comes to be shaken. The system of appointing judges has, therefore, to be changed. Only lawyers who have practised before the High Court for quite a number of years, have been behind the scenes, and earned acquaintance with the nature of cases commonly brought before the court, should be elevated to the highest bench in a province.¹ The connection of the Indian Civil Service with the judiciary should be immediately and finally discontinued.

NARESHCHANDRA RAY

¹ Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—The Indian Constitution, p. 154.

O, LIFE'S FEVER CURE !

O Lord of love and truth,
 My guide on path of ruth,
 I supplicate Thy grace
 O let my heart be taught
 To value all as naught
 That covers of Love the face—
 That glorious face divine,
 By fancy called as Thine
 —The fancy of my race.
 I know not what Thou art,
 If whole Thou art or part,
 'Tis sin to call Thee 'this',
 Thou art but what Thou art
 The joyous jewel of heart,
 The ceaseless loving kiss.
 Some say there is naught but Thee
 Some, Thy works all I see—
 What I praise or blame.
 All saints and sages spell
 Thy name, but none can tell
 Hast Thou in truth a name.
 What is and then is not
 What's gained and then is lost
 Works either way in heart ;
 Now it seems a joy supreme
 And then of pain the cream
 Are they Thy playthings pure ?
 I run to hold them fast
 But ere I hold they 're past.
 Of naught can I be sure,
 O cure life's fever, cure.
 For love Thine may I life endure,
 And may I this dark self abjure !

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJ

INDIA IN THE EYES OF EUROPE ¹

I

It is quite clear to me that, having become conscious of their national interests at home, the people of India, at least a certain section of them, especially those who have established world contacts, are beginning to realize that they have wider interests—world interests—and they must acquire and defend them abroad. This fact is very evident to me, that you have asked me to speak on a topic, discussion of which will mean an appraisal of Europe's attitude towards Indian aspirations, Indian life, Indian institutions and the people of India as a whole.

I suppose that you are fully aware of the fact that "Eyes of Europe" may verily mean the eyes of the world, because the American continents are mere expansions of Europe; and to-day views of many of the oriental scholars and thinkers, statesmen and politicians, even religious leaders and social workers are influenced by the culture and outlook of Europe. Thus to me the topic has a great significance and it may mean "What is the position of India before the World?"

I feel very diffident about discussing the subject, because our recent visits to Europe were not undertaken for the purpose of studying the problem of "What does the world think about India?" but we went to Europe as "stateless persons without passports" to seek peace and some security. In fact, while in Europe, many times, I deliberately refused the opportunity of speaking or writing on India. We are now very "respectable people" as the United States' State Department has recognised our status of "regular American citizens," back to the land of our citizenship.

¹ An address delivered by Dr. Taraknath Das, at the International House, New York, under the auspices of the Hindustan Association of America, on December 3, 1927, Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland presiding.

Even if I were entrusted with a mission to study world public opinion regarding India, it would be very presumptuous on my part to give an authoritative opinion on such a vast subject. To find out the views of one Government towards the other and to transact business of importance, nations have their Ambassadors, Ministers and their attachés who are constantly at work. Economic Commissions, Industrial Missions, Labour Delegations, Cultural Representatives of all sorts, such as educators, newspaper men and women, social workers and others, go to various countries to make special study of certain phases of a nation's life. They gather information and digest it and even then, they at times come to wrong conclusions. Then again the impression formed at a certain time in a country through the contact with a group of people may not form a correct picture of the situation even a few days later. World opinion is relative and it is never absolute; it is a result of cross-currents of world events and interests, including "the gentle art of propaganda." If the people of India are interested in "world public opinion," they will have to create a machinery for constant observation and dissemination of facts about India in various parts of the world.

Although the Anglo-Saxon World is most interested in India, and some section of it is very actively engaged in forming international opinion to justify their stand against Indian aspirations, I shall not discuss this phase of the question. Therefore, I shall give my attention to the views of the Latin World, Teutonic World, Slavic World, Scandinavian World and the League of Nations regarding India.

II. THE LATIN WORLD AND INDIA.

The Latin World, *i.e.*, the French, the Italian and the Spanish peoples and those who are influenced by Latin culture, form a very important factor of the world; and their influence is bound to grow. *Then again these people do not cherish race-prejudice to such an extent as other Western people do.* At the

outset, it must be taken into consideration that the Latin peoples have the tradition of being in contact with India from very ancient times—even before the Christian era. The Latin peoples were the pioneers in establishing Indo-European relations. The Italian merchants, the Portuguese mariners like Vasco da Gama and French statesmen took interest in India for their own gain.

(a) *France and India.*

It was only a little over hundred years ago when Napoleon was actively engaged in the formation of an alliance with Tipu Sultan against the British. Even less than fifty years ago, French statesmen took the initiative in forming a Franco-Burmese Alliance, which resulted in an unprovoked attack on Burma by the British Indian forces and dethronement of the late King Thibeu and annexation of Burma. France has a vast colonial empire in Asia and small possessions in India. Thus the French are very keenly observing what is happening in India. They regard India to be the heart of Asia as a whole and every development in India will have its direct and indirect bearing on their political and economic interests in Asia.

The masses in France and other western countries are completely ignorant regarding India. In fact it must not be forgotten that the masses do not form public opinion, but they merely absorb the ideas presented to them by the leaders of a country. They are moved by mob-psychology. In France, among the intelligent public, there is genuine interest for India's cultural, economic as well as political nationalism. A section of these leaders of French thought are anti-Indian in a certain sense, because they are in favour of an Anglo-French understanding in World Politics or they do not want to have any British enmity in World Politics. They do not want to do anything or to be associated with anything which may even be interpreted as pro-Indian and thus anti-British. But in France there are people who have genuine interest to study cultural life

of India and they are to be found in French University circles. Prof. Sylvain Levy's interest in the *Viswabharati* and the cordial reception accorded to Indian cultural representatives such as Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Jagadishchandra Bose, Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, Prof. Kalidas Nag and others, by the French universities, are some of the evidences. Indian students are very welcome in France. During my short stay in Paris, I had the privilege of coming in contact with a few French scholars and I invariably found them to be deeply interested in India. But there are very few Indians in France who are helping the French scholars and the French people to know India better. Knowledge cannot be acquired without contact, and unfortunately there is the lack of adequate cultural contact between India and France.

In this connection I may say that the dark side of Indian life was very glaringly presented in Paris for months in succession during the last year. In Paris, in one of the public gardens an angle of Indian life was shown in a "show" called Indian village, with hundreds of Indians from the most backward South Indian villages. I had the occasion to write about the painful impression of it in the *Modern Review of Calcutta*. As Igoroty village-life, shown in some of the exhibitions in America, has done harm by spreading a very wrong impression of the life of the Filippino people, so this "show" has done a great deal to spread misconception of Indian life. I may say that a similar show was shown in Munich, Berlin and other cities of Europe.

However, the trend of French thought on India can be fairly understood from the study made by various French savants regarding India, as a part of the British Empire. Prof. Albert Demangeon, Sorbonne University, in his authoritative work on British Empire, which is a study in colonial geography, and in his other works, makes various interesting comments and asks significant questions. Let me quote a few passages :—

"The flood of wealth that has flowed into Great Britain since she has

been exploiting the tropical world has proceeded to a large extent from India, and it was there in particular, that the fortune of the merchants of London was made...To her (India) the East India Company owed that unheard of prosperity of which Macaulay said that history knows nothing to equal it...By tributes imposed upon the Indian princes, by taxes levied on the people, by personal profits of the Company's agents, and by export of gold, precious stones, and fine textiles, there were built up enormous 'Indian fortunes' which came to England at the very time when the country was heading for the industrial Revolution and had most need of capital. With this wealth the coal mines, the blast furnaces, the iron works, and the cotton and woollen mills of Great Britain were enabled to set up their new machinery and assume industrial supremacy in the markets of the world'' (pages 238-39).—*Albert, Demangeon: The British Empire. New York, 1925.*

In another work the author makes the following remarks :—

"India is an entire world. An Indian revolt driving out the English would shake the foundations of the British Empire; it would change the map of the world. India is the tropical colony for exploitation. Immense, rich and thickly populated, she represents for her masters at once a fortune and a defence. It is through India that the British Empire assures its destiny. India is the halting place of British commerce to the Far East. India gives the fleet places of support for the sea routes. India recruits for the army legions of high-spirited soldiers; native contingents fight for Great Britain in China and South Africa. During the Great War, India supplied more than a million men, of whom more than 100,000 were killed. It may be said she conquered Mesopotamia and vanquished Turkey. India is for Great Britain an enormous market; two-thirds of her importations come from English sources; she furnishes 51 per cent. of the tea, 73 per cent. of the coffee, and almost all cotton. An immense British capital is invested in mines, the factories, the plantations, the railways, and the irrigation work for India; India pays the interest on probably more than 1,350 million pound sterling. India keeps busy an army of British officials whose salaries she pays and whose savings go every year to Great Britain. She pours into British coffers the interest on her public debts, the pensions of old officials, the governmental expenses for her administration. More than 30 million pounds sterling a year is the estimate of the sums that India pays in the United Kingdom to her creditors, her stockholders and her officials. At that we do not

know how much she brings to the merchants who trade with her and the shippers who transport her goods. Never has the term exploitation been better applied" (pages 209-210).—*Demangeon, Albert: America and Race for World Domination. New York, 1921.*

The French savant enquires into the possible future of the British rule in India and says :—

"Of all the Colonial Powers, Great Britain is the one that rules over the largest number of people in the tropics. India alone forms a gigantic block of over 300 millions of natives. In the future something other than clever diplomacy and a strong military force will undoubtedly be necessary to keep India. Only a policy of freedom and equality in gradually increasing proportions, will succeed in prolonging that paradoxical association between Great Britain and India, between the tiny island and the vast continent. But will such a policy always suffice?" (pages 277-278). *Demangeon, Albert: British Empire.*

His observations on the evolution of Indian Nationalism is exceedingly interesting :

"What we are witnessing in India is the slow toil of preparing national solidarity in the face of European domination. It would be unwise not to admit that the future of British rule is compromised by the very principle on which this movement is founded. From the political point of view the guidance of the country will pass gradually from the hands of the English to those of the Indians while from the economic standpoint, the Indians, by managing their own affairs, will work in the interests of their own country instead of those of Great Britain."—*Ibid*, p. 261.

Regarding the future Government of India, he asks the following interesting and suggestive question :—

"The political geography of India is therefore in process of evolution. Will she become, like European continent, the natural framework of several independent states? Or will she, like Russia, form a single state collecting a diversity of races, regions, religions under one sway? Or, again, will she like the American continent, become a republic associating under a single flag a confederation of more or less autonomous states?" *Ibid*, 254.

In this connection I may say that there are not many Indian scholars and statesmen who are actively engaged in working out scientifically *an outline of future government of India under Indian control*. During the last few years crores of rupees have been collected by Indian nationalist organizations and spent in various programmes, but so far as I know, nothing substantial has been done by Indian leaders and scholars for working out a plan of the future government of India. It is high time that a *Committee of Indian Political Scientists*, and not politicians, if necessary assisted by some western experts, be appointed to prepare *the Constitution of the United States of India*, which should replace the present Government of India Act.

France has played the most significant role in the field of world civilization. It was the French thought and ideals that inspired Thomas Jefferson to pen the immortal document of *the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America*; and it was France who acted really as a God Mother to the Republic of the United States of America. As long as the United States exists, it will be a tribute to French civilization. France has indirectly brought into existence the independent states of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and others. To-day France is deeply interested in spreading the influence of her culture all over the world. France wants that scholars from all parts of the world may come to her and feel at home. Only recently the French Government has allotted sites (free of cost) in Paris to all nations which wish to establish centres for the students of their nationals. It is a great pity, so far as I know, that there will be no special centre for Indian students in Paris. Owing to the lack of foresight, the people of India and their leaders, their Princes, and merchant-princes have not seen the supreme necessity of establishing permanent cultural contact with France. There are Indian Princes who squander annually hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling in lavish luxury in Paris, but none has seen fit to take the step for

building a centre for Indian students in Paris, although Japan, and other nations such as Great Britain and United States are doing it for their students.

From the standpoint of World Politics, French statesmen are interested in India, although they may never say so. It is very natural for them to be so; because they have seen what the Indian soldiers did for France during the World War, particularly at the Battle of the Marne. They realise that the centre of gravity of World Politics has shifted to the Far East and to the Mediterranean; and no practical statesman can ignore the value of India's man-power, economic strength and strategic position, in the equation of future balance of power. *But, do you know of any one of India's politicians who are thinking of the future destiny of India in terms of international relations?*

(b) *Italy and India.*

After my travel in Italy from Naples to the Italian lakes—the most charming spots in Europe—and after my close observation of an awakened Italy, I realised the importance of Italy in the field of world culture and world affairs. Italy is the mother of the Eternal City, Rome, which is the centre of the most powerful religious organization in the world—the Catholic Church. Italy is geographically nearer to India than any other European countries, and new Italy appreciates Indian people's struggle for nationhood. The struggle for Italian unity and independence happened only less than three quarters of a century ago. There is not an Indian nationalist who is not familiar with the works and ideals of Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cavour and King Victor Emmanuel, the heroes of Italian Independence. It may be well to remember that the Italian patriots spread the doctrine of "God, Country and Humanity" and thus they felt that the cause of liberty should be fought in every part of the world. This was not an empty expression for Garibaldi and his followers; because Garibaldi once wanted

to go to India to help the Indian rebels during the so-called Sepoy Mutiny. But as he was engaged in the work of liberation of Italy he could not leave his country; and when he was about to embark for India, he had to abandon the idea, because the rebellion was suppressed.

The followers of Mazzini think of Italy in terms of one of the oppressed peoples and their rights. In his new book "Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy," Signor Nitti, the Ex-Premier of Italy, gives expression of the feeling of sympathy towards the oppressed peoples of the Orient. Among other things, he writes :—

"The illustrious ruler of an oriental State visited me a few years ago and he asked my advice. After I had answered all his questions I was anxious to give him a last piece of advice :

"Mistrust European Capitalism, it is animated by a spirit of plunder. Facilitate trade between all countries. But never, for any reason, grant special concessions which restrict your independence and freedom of action in any way" (p. 155).

Fascist Italy is generally looked upon with suspicion by many Indians; but after a very careful study and interviews with various Italian statesmen, I have come to the conclusion that Fascist Italy has great interest in establishing closer cultural, economic and political connection with India. First of all it should be borne in mind that Fascist Italy is not interested in anything or any nation on purely sentimental basis. Italy needs British support to secure further territories in Africa and in the Near East; whereas Great Britain needs Italian support very badly in the Mediterranean and the Near East. Thus Italy is practically an ally of Great Britain and her foreign policy affects adversely some of the peoples of the Islamic World. However, it was in the International Philosophical Congress held in Italy, that Indian philosophers such as Professor Dasgupta and others were given recognition on equal footing. It was Italy which took the initiative of sending a cultural mission to "Indian India," by sending the foremost Italian scholars in

the *Viswabharati* and the Italian Universities presented a library of Italian literature to the same institution. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's reception in Italy by Premier Mussolini is something of great international significance. I was in Como, to the Volta Exposition, held in memory of the great Italian scientist, one of the fathers of electricity,— and India was to be represented by the Indian physicists of repute—Professors Bose and Shah—in the International Congress of Physicists. Italy is anxious to receive scholars from other lands and Indian students are welcome to Italian Universities ; and it is not very difficult for accomplished Indian artists to secure exceptional opportunity to finish education in fine arts. Rome is the home of the International Agricultural Institute where practically all nations of the world are represented. Italian interest on the question of Immigration Problem, Opium Evil, Codification of Private Laws as well as other matters present opportunity for India's collaboration in the cultural field.

Some two years ago when I was in Italy after my visit to Germany, Austria, France and Switzerland, I felt that it was only a question of time when Italy will have a mandate for Syria which France will be glad to get rid of. It seems that before long Italy will secure control of Syria. If that happens, a section of Indian politicians who only think in terms of "extra-territorial patriotism" would be bitterly opposed to friendly relations between Italy and India ; *but the nationalist India must learn to think in terms of "Indian interest first" and they should realize that India will have nothing to gain by following an anti-Italian policy.*

The progress of Italian shipping and industry makes it imperative for Italy to seek new markets for finished products. Indian raw materials of cotton, jute and other products are the necessities to feed the Italian factories. *It will depend upon the far-sighted Indian patriots to promote cultural, economic and political co-operation with Italy in terms of reciprocity. There*

is every reason to think that when such an initiative is taken by responsible Indians, they will receive cordial response.

(c) *India and Spain, Portugal and Latin American Republics.*

Spain and Portugal are the mother countries of the Latin American republics. Spain is going through a new awakening, and her influence is bound to grow in all parts of the world, particularly in the Latin American countries, the field of world economics and world politics, the influence of South African Republics are bound to be on the ascendancy. Spanish people are favourably inclined towards the aspirations of the people of India. If cultural, economic and political relations are developed between the Spanish-speaking world and India, it may help in solving Indian Immigration Question. *In South American countries there is no race-prejudice and millions of Indians can live there with honour and dignity and they will find opportunity to give unfettered expression to their ability in all fields of human activity.*

On the whole, there is less race-prejudice in the Latin World; and the Indian students will find a far more congenial atmosphere in France, Italy and Spain to study than in other parts of the western world. Of course, there is the language difficulty; but that should be overcome by Indian students by studying French, Italian and Spanish, and above all French.

III. GERMANY AND INDIA.

It is universally recognised that of all the western nations, German people have been deeply interested in Indian (Hindu) thought. During the last twenty-five years more books on Sanskrit literature and various schools of Hindu philosophy have been published in Germany than in India. German interest in Indian culture is tremendous; and Indian scientists, poets and scholars are given the heartiest hospitality by the cultured Germans.

German industrialists realize the importance of India better than any other people. Before the World War Germany was on the road to commercial ascendancy in India. It caused real rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. During the World War, Great Britain carried on propaganda all over the world to the effect that one of the German War Aims was to conquer India. Even when the World War was over, certain restrictions were imposed for five years against Germany starting any business in India. It is to the interest of German industrialists and merchants to promote economic and commercial co-operation whenever it is possible.

At the present time, Germany has no political ambition in Asia; she knows that she can never secure a foothold in Asia, without creating certain conditions which would be dangerous to her own real interests. It is generally recognized in Germany that politically free India will be an asset to Germany from a commercial point of view; and from the standpoint of international relations, freedom of India will increase Germany's power and influence in World Politics, whereas it will decrease the power of the present colonial Powers of the West.

Germany knows that it was Indian forces that destroyed the Turkish forces in Arabia. The fall of Turkey was the beginning of the end of the German Empire. Germany realizes the menace of the Indian soldiers, fighting for Great Britain. During the World War, Germany intrigued with the Indian nationalists for an abortive rising in India. During the recent years, after the French occupation of the Ruhr, Germany realized the difficulty of the helpless and disarmed Indian people and then she had to follow the tactics of the disarmed—the Non-violent Non-co-operation. To-day partially disarmed Germany has no control over her national defence; defeated Germany, bound to pay an enormous sum for reparations, does not enjoy the full control over her finance and Germany has not the full freedom of choosing a foreign policy, lest it may bring about the wrath of the former enemy powers which might destroy

the possibility of her quick recovery. *However, it is certain that Germany will recover her position as a great Power when Austria and Germany will be united as one nation of more than 70 millions of forward-looking and hard-working people. It is generally hoped that the future relations with the Teutonic World and the Orient will be based upon understanding and justice.*

During the World War, malicious lies were spread about Germany and the spirit of German culture; and now Germany is anxious to redeem herself in the eyes of the world. So German educational institutions are welcoming foreign students and they are doing all that is possible to spread German culture. Japan, of all nations, has fully realised the significance of it and the German-Japanese Institute has been established in Berlin. *Germany is thinking in terms of Young Asia, the free Asia of the future. Under the circumstances, except some of the opportunist officials, the leaders of Germany in the field of culture, industry, and politics look with sympathetic interest upon the peoples of the East, particularly India. Although Indian soldiers fought against Germany during the World War, the German people do not bear any grudge against any individual Indian; on the contrary, during my long stay in various parts of Germany, I was accorded utmost consideration.*

IV. RUSSIA AND INDIA.

Russian interest in India goes back to the days of Peter the Great. Due to Anglo-Russian rivalry of the past India had to suffer in many ways. A few years before the World War, because Russia joined hands with Great Britain in her Asiatic policy, the attitude of the Russian Government was anti-Indian. But with the advent of the Soviet Government in Russia, the situation has changed in India's favour.

It is generally regarded that the Soviet leaders were interested in World revolution, liberating all the subject and oppressed peoples of the world. However, if Soviet Russia

would not have been attacked by the Tsarist reactionaries, who were supported by Great Britain and other Powers, the Soviet Russian leaders might not have taken so keen an interest in the programme of liberation of the peoples of Asia, from the capitalistic Powers of the West. After ten years of experiment, with the change of internal economic policy in Russia, Soviet Russian attitude towards other nations has changed considerably. To-day it is fully realized by the Soviet Russian leaders that they need peace for the consolidation of the State. Instead of preaching class and world revolution, they have accepted the fact that there has come "*the stabilization of the Capitalistic World of the West,*" and the Russian leaders want to remain in peace with the capitalistic world, provided the latter does not attack the Soviet Government. This change of policy, coupled with the firm ascendancy of Stalin over Trotsky group, means that the Russian Government will not take the initiative in starting any further adventure of fomenting wars of revolution in the East against the Western Powers. *But Russia, for her own protection, will do her best to promote friendly relations among the peoples of the Orient.*

Even during the regime of the Tsars, the Russian universities carried on Oriental studies on an elaborate scale. This has not been given up ; on the contrary, it has been intensified in every sense of the word. The Soviet Government is not satisfied to confine the work of Oriental studies carried on by eminent Russian scholars, but they have made special arrangements for Oriental students to study Russian history, literature and to train some Oriental students who would be imbued with Russian ideals. For instance, the establishment of the Sun Yat Sen University at Moscow, is to train Chinese youngmen and women, and at the same time to spread Russian cultural and political influence in China. This activity of the Soviet leaders is often denounced as a special brand of propaganda and opposed to the interests of other nations.

But after a close analysis we find that the Russian leaders are only trying to follow the path of the Americans, who have established the Tsung Wai University at Peking, maintained by the Boxer Indemnity Fund and hundreds of American institutions have been established in China. The Boxer Indemnity Scholars in American Universities are instruments for promoting American culture and American interests in the Orient. Soviet Russian leaders are only trying to follow the footsteps of America and other nations in this particular matter.

Soviet Russia, having all forms of civilization within her borders, and the Russian people and Russian statesmen being less prone to exclusiveness on racial grounds, are sympathetically inclined to Asian culture and institutions.

Russian interest to attract the intelligentsia of India, is seen in the invitation extended to the Indian leaders, journalists and educators to participate in the celebration of the Tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Government. Men like Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Professor Radhakrishnan, Mr. Subhaschandra Bose, Mr. J. M. Sengupta, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Professor K. T. Shah and others are not communists, but they were invited. Russia wants to remain on friendly terms with India. *Russia has not forgotten that it was during the Crimean War, that Indian soldiers were for the first time brought to Europe, by the British Government. Russia also knows very well that if there were no unrest in India during 1919-1922, Indian troops would have swept through Persia to Black Sea regions. For her own self-interest, Russia is keenly alive to establish friendship with the people of India.*

V. SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES AND INDIA.

It is sufficient to mention that the interest of the Scandinavian countries in Indian thought and aspirations is genuine. They have shown their friendly attitude on every suitable

occasion, by according proper recognition to Indian scholars such as conferring Nobel Prize to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. The Scandinavian countries are not imperialistic and they want to remain neutral in all international conflicts. Thus the public opinion of the Scandinavian people is a very valuable asset ; and *from my personal experience I know that the British Government has carried on propaganda in Scandinavian countries to counteract all activities in favour of Indian freedom.*

VI. INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

It has been rightly said by an Indian statesman that "for the sake of India's political future and for all that is dear to us, India will tremendously gain by contributing to the formulation of the world opinion, which is bound to become a great force." No nation, which wishes to cultivate world public opinion, can ignore the institution of the League of Nations. India, as a member of the League, should utilise it to the fullest extent. But this is not being done by the Indian people. On the contrary, India is in many ways being misrepresented in the League of Nations, because under the existing system the person sent to the League to represent India, except on rare occasions, do not represent the Indian people and their aspirations : they act as mouthpieces of the alien Government. But this can be changed if the Indian people take a determined stand against the present method of selection of Indian representatives to the League of Nations. They should insist that none should be sent to the League to represent India who does not enjoy the confidence of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

There should be established at Geneva an India Information Bureau, free from British Government or League control, and under the guidance of an able and recognized Indian leader, familiar with world politics. Some may contend that the establishment of an India Information Bureau will be of no value ; but that is not the case, and I have seen effects of agitation by representative Indians on two occasions, *e.g.*, the

Opium Conferences and on the International Labour Conferences. In the Opium Conferences, Sir John Campbell, representing India, made all kinds of absurd claims regarding the Indian opinion on the Opium Question. But when, through my efforts, a petition, signed by Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Rev. C. F. Andrews and many All-India Congress leaders representing at least a quarter of a million people, was presented to the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations, the British Government had to change its tactics. In fact, two years after the incident and due to the pressure of international public opinion, the British Indian Government has agreed that within ten years it would stop exporting opium from India for any other purpose than strictly medicinal. Since then there are investigations going on in India, apparently to adopt some means to change British Indian Government's opium policy, so that it may meet Indian support. The other instance was the protest of the Indian Chamber of Commerce against the appointment of an Englishman to represent Indian employers in one of the International Labour Conference. The protest was carried on in a very effective and businesslike manner by Hon. Mr. Haji, M.L.A. He raised the question of the validity of the credentials of the English gentleman, who was sent by the British Government to represent the Indian employers. He raised such a row in the local press and in the Credential Committee that the British Government had to take steps to defend its position. Due to the support extended by other Government delegates to the British Government, the Englishman was allowed to participate in the conference as a duly chosen delegate. But it should be noted that since this incident the British Indian Government has shown anxiety to consult the wishes of the Indian Chambers of Commerce in selecting employers' delegate to the International Labour Conference.

In the League of Nations—its secretariat, International Labour Office—India is most inadequately represented, although

she pays annually a large sum of money towards the maintenance of the League. However, it is a matter of great pleasure to note that Dr. J. C. Bose, the eminent scientist, has been representing India in the League's section of International Intellectual Co-operation. It must be emphasized that under the present circumstances, India does not derive the full advantage of her membership in the League of Nations, because of the attitude of the British Indian Government and also because of the lack of international outlook among the Indian politicians.

VII. INDIAN RESPONSIBILITY.

International public opinion is created through international contacts. Thus, if the right kind of international public opinion regarding India is not in existence in the world, at least a fair share of the blame lies with India, for not establishing the right kind of contacts. If we compare the number of Indian students, businessmen and politicians who are now abroad with those of the Chinese, it will be quite apparent that India is lagging far behind China. Thus there is enough room for redoubling Indian energy to acquire and augment Indian efficiency and to establish the right kind of international contacts. In certain parts of the world, the people of India are dubbed as "coolies ;" the blame is with the Indian people for not doing their share by sending out the very best of their men and women to all parts of the world. Ancient India, which was held in honour by all countries, did not send coolies abroad ; on the contrary sent teachers, commerce-kings and colonists. *India should learn from England that she should not send second class men to do a first class job. One Vivekananda, one Tagore, one Gandhi, one C. R. Das, one Tata, one Bose and a few others have received world recognition, because they have climbed to the top of the ladder of achievement through their own efforts. If India wants to be respected by the world, then she must produce more first rate men and women ; and she should send thousands*

of Indian scholars, merchants and representative men and women all over the world. •

In this connection I must mention that to-day there are more Indian students in England than any other part of the world outside of India. According to the latest statement of Prof. Paranjpye there are at least on the average 1,500 Indian students in English Colleges and Universities and they spend at the rate of no less than £150,000 a year. What is India gaining by them in an international way, in a cultural way and in the field of economic development of the country? The majority of these students are in English universities to qualify themselves so that they will secure good positions in various departments of the Government of India. This is very important. *But it is needless to emphasise that if 1,500 students were scattered in various universities of continental Europe they would have done greater service to India by bringing about a closer and better contact with Europe and India culturally, economically and politically.*

In conclusion, I wish to emphasise the point that if India wishes to gain respect from the world, if India wishes to secure recognition abroad, if India is to secure and preserve her interests abroad, Indian national efficiency must be increased and Indian universities should afford facilities in training young men and women in all foreign languages and should not restrict its activities in teaching English alone. Indian universities should send a large number of "Travelling Fellows" to foreign universities. It is also imperative to raise the standard of Indian universities and to establish Chairs on history and culture of other peoples—French, German, Italian, Russian, Chinese, Japanese and of course American and English.

There is a distinct responsibility for those Indian students who are now abroad and who have realised the immense significance of establishing international contacts in various ways and specially through universities. Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K.G., in an address, entitled, "The Value of

Knowledge in International Relations," delivered before the International Federation of University Women, held at Bedford College for Women, England, July 12, 1920, made the following significant remark :—

" Then the universities are becoming increasingly important in the life of nations. The roots are going deeper and deeper every year into national life. As countries become democratic so do the roots go down deeper and become more democratic. I quite agree that universities are not everything in national life, and that rapprochement and good understanding between universities of different nations would not by themselves ensure good relations between nations. *But I am equally sure of this, that you will not have good relations on a solid and secure basis between two nations unless the universities of these two nations are in touch and friendship with each other. That, I think, is absolutely true.*"

If you are interested, as I take it that you are interested, in promoting cultural, economic as well as political interests of India in an international scale, then, do all you can to spread correct information regarding India through every avenue of human activity, and particularly the universities of the world. You will meet with all kinds of obstacles, but you must work for the regeneration of India at home and abroad and you will receive support from all those who believe in World Peace, Human Rights and World Brotherhood.

TARAKNATH DAS

Poor leaf—you had played with the evening and the morning breeze, you had reflected the rays of heaven. You had held upon your glossy surface the pearly dewdrops at night—but all your worth is now forgotten.

Failing to find any response I concluded that when cosmos evolved out of chaos, the element of anarchy was not annihilated.

RASHRANJAN BASU

THE DOG-ROSE IN THE HEDGE

The days on swift revolving wheels
Bring back the dog-rose time
When, ten waste years ago, you first
Came to me in your prime.

How fresh the fragrance from your bloom !
How level-poised your glance,
Pricking the nerves to ecstasy,
Making the pulses dance !

O golden hours when face to face
We stood or sat agaze !
O blissful hours, when side by side
We thrid the headland's maze !

The sea half vested, half betrayed
Each gracious, glistening limb,
As red-rose cheek or glowing thigh
Flashed o'er the water's brim.

Alas ! too soon relentless Time
Forbade that converse sweet,
And ne'er but in some world to come
Shall Ind with England meet.

P. MONDFORT

HISTORY OF SEVA-GY

[*Translator's Note.*—Several French travellers, merchants, physicians and adventurers visited India during the middle of the 17th century. Some of them, like Bernier and Tavernier, came to the country before the first sack of Surat, others like Thevenot and Carré arrived at that famous port when Shivaji had already become a terror to the timid merchants trading there. It is, therefore, natural that Shivaji should be mentioned in their published and unpublished works, though their information cannot be always expected to be accurate. Robert Orme, that indefatigable and industrious historian, was familiar with the works of Tavernier (1642-1666), Bernier (1655-1667), Thevenot (1665-1667), Dellon (1669-1676), Carré (1668-1673), De La Haye (1670-1674), and an anonymous work entitled *Relation ou Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales* published at Paris in 1677. He mentions *Histoire de Sevagi et de son successeur Nouveaux Conquerans dans l'Inde* by Pere D'Orleans, Jesuit, added to his *Histoire des deux Conquerans Tartares qui ont subjugué la China* (Paris 1688), but does not seem to have any knowledge of the unpublished manuscript of François Martin, the famous Governor of Pondichery, "Memoires sur l'établissement des colonies Françaises aux Indes Orientales, 1664-1694." Nor does he refer to the contemporary letters of Baron and Blot now in the colonial archive of Paris or "Journaux des voyages de France a Suratte a la côte de Malabar, a celle de Coromandel, Malaca Syam, etc. par le navire le Vautour de la compagnie des Indes en 1676 jusqu'en 1680" (now in the Marine archive A. M. B*. 7) which briefly refers to Shivaji's Karnatik expedition.

Of the published French works, Bernier, Tavernier, Dellon and Thevenot have long been rendered into English. The first three can be briefly dismissed as they have nothing but brief, though sometimes eulogistic, references to Shivaji. Thevenot, however, attempted a short biographical sketch of the Maratha hero, and Prof. J. N. Sarkar's claim for Pere d'Orleans' *Histoire de Sevagi* to be the earliest biography of that prince cannot, therefore be, maintained. Monsieur de Thevenot reached Surat Bar on the 10th January, 1666. He was a well educated man and his posthumous work was translated into English as early as 1687. Chapter XVI of *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot* (pp. 27-30) deals with Shivaji, and Orme was of opinion that Thevenot's account of Shivaji is more reliable than that of any other travellers. A short summary of the

brief chapter may therefore be added here to illustrate its glaring inaccuracies and the comparative superiority of Carré over Thevenot as a biographer of Shivaji. According to Thevenot Shivaji was born at Bassein and was 35 in 1664 when he sacked Surat. Thevenot does not mention the Afzal Khan incident but tells us that Shivaji's father died in prison at Bijapur. His version of the surprise night attack on Shaista Khan is also slightly different from the current account. Shivaji, he informs us, induced one of his officers to enlist in the Moghul service with a body of cavalry and this man so far won the confidence of Shaista Khan that Shivaji had no difficulty in surprising him in his bed chamber and taking away a daughter of the Khan who was treated with all honour. According to Thevenot Shivaji himself explored the shortest and safest route to Surat in the disguise of a Fakir. As to the amount of the spoil the rich city yielded, the French writer says—"It is believed at Surat that this Raja carried away in jewels, gold and silver to the value of above thirty French millions ; for in the house of one Banian he found twenty-two pound weight of strung pearls besides a great quantity of others that were not as yet pierced " (p. 29). We are also told that the convent of the Capuchins and the Christians in general were spared at the request of Father Ambrose. Jai Sing's expedition is omitted but Shivaji's visit to the imperial court is described. The Maratha prince effected his escape by means of a passport he had secured on the pretence of joining the Moghul expedition to Kandahar. Thevenot shared the common belief of the time that the hardships of the journey had caused the death of Shivaji's young son. His brief account is concluded as follows : " The Raja is short and tawny, with quick eyes that shew a great deal of wit. He eats but once a day commonly, and is in good health ; and when he plundered Surrat in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, he was but of thirty-five years of age."

De La Haye has not much to say about the Maratha hero. He mentions the first sack of Surat (pt. 1, 106 of his Journal) and informs us that the European nations removed their belongings from the doomed city. He further adds (pt. 1, p. 110) that the Musulmans of Surat were compelled to undergo some expenses to defend their city from the expeditions of Shivaji, a rebel prince who had plundered Surat thrice within fifteen years. Nothing is known about the author of *Relation ou Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales* except that he left for India in 1671 with M. Belot, the French Director of Surat, in the *Jean Baptiste* and he returned home after visiting Java and the adjacent islands. According to him Shivaji was descended from the ancient Emperors of India and a

relative of the Great Moghul (p. 53). Shivaji's fleet manned by the Malabarais used to scour the sea and plunder the merchantmen. The spoils were distributed among the sailors and only a small portion was reserved for their master (p. 54). Shivaji used to extort money from the merchants of Surat at regular intervals, and in 1670 he surprised the city at the head of twenty-thousand good soldiers and took more than forty-thousand (Rupees ?) principally from the English and the Dutch Factories without demanding anything from the Royal Company of France. A company of eight hundred men had appeared before the French Factory but Monsieur Carron, the Director-General, took a firm attitude and succeeded in frightening away the disorderly Marathas. The city was plundered for eight days, a large number of houses and shops was demolished, and from one of the shops Shivaji took forty pounds of fine pearls besides a large quantity of gold chains and precious stones (pp. 55-57). *Histoire de Seva-gi* by Pere D'Orleans was translated into English by Mr. Jadunath Sarkar a few years ago. "This account," says Orme, "which is very short is composed from one written at Goa. It does not give a single date, and only a few facts, without precision and better known before."

Barthelemy Carré had accompanied Carron, a Dutchman, who had left the service of his own country to be appointed Director-General of the French Company by Colbert and arrived at Surat in 1668. He went home in 1671 and returned to India again in 1672. In 1699 was published his *Voyage des Indes Orientales mêlé de plusieurs histoires curieuses* at Paris in two small volumes which contained among other things an interesting biography of Shivaji whom Carré ardently admired. In the first volume was recorded what Carré had learnt about the great prince during his first voyage and his mistake about the date of the second sack of Surat was probably due to his absence from India when it occurred. He carried the narrative in his second volume supplementing the History of Seva-gy with what he learnt about him subsequently. The new chapter is therefore entitled "Sui te de L'histoire de Seva-gy" or sequel to the history of Seva-gy. It is needless to say that Carré's work is of unequal value. His account of the two sacks of Surat, the Maratha raid into Bardes and Shivaji's conciliatory policy towards the European merchant nations is substantially correct, but there is much in his History and its sequel that is no better than ordinary bazar gossip. About the early career of Shivaji he was hopelessly ignorant. Probably he had learnt during his sojourn in the country that Shivaji was originally a subject of the King of Bijapur but he did not know that Shivaji had already asserted his independence long before he

surprised Shaista Khan in his seraglio. I am, however, unable to share Orme's view that "All that he says in the first, which relates only to the outset of Seva-gi's fortune, is either erroneous or too confused to be reduced to order." As the readers of the following pages will perceive, Carré shows a fairly good knowledge of the chronology of the events he sets to narrate. He starts with the Shaista Khan incident (1663), then follow the first sack of Surat (1664), the expedition of Jai Sing (1665), journey to Agra (1666) and the second sack of Surat (1670). The only instance of any chronological mistake that can be detected in this chapter is that regarding the Maratha invasion of Bardes which took place in 1667 but which Carré places before the arrival of Jai Sing in the Deccan. Otherwise this chapter is flawless if we judge it from a chronological point of view alone, and the historical errors, if we except the early career of Shivaji, are by no means serious. In mere volume Carré's biography of Shivaji is inferior only to *Vida e acçoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevagy* of Cosme da Guarda among contemporary European works on Shivaji, but in accuracy and wealth of details it was practically unrivalled at the time of its publication. Figures in square brackets indicate the page number of the original work and in every case the old spelling of proper names has been retained. I am very glad to avail myself of this opportunity of publicly acknowledging the help I have received from my friend and colleague Mr. Sailendra-nath Mitra, M.A., in translating Carré's History of Shivaji which is now placed before the public —S. N. S.]

[49] In 1669¹ Surate was for the second time plundered by the army of Seva-gy, one of the greatest men the East has ever seen. In his courage, the rapidity of his conquests and his great qualities he does not ill resemble that great king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus. The history of this Seva-gy, pertains in a way to that of Surate [50] and from what I have learnt during my voyages, nothing will be more appropriate for recital to our people who are born for war and more accustomed to fight than to trade.

After becoming the king of great Mogol and having placed on his head a crown that did not belong to him, Aurengzeb thought only of establishing his authority and of getting rid of all those he feared. He began exactly as do almost all the kings

¹ 1670 is the correct date.

of the East. He shut his father in a castle for the rest of his days and took the lives of his two brothers, who to avenge the injustice he had done them, and pretending to release their father, must have put him to no indifferent embarrassment.

He then turned his thoughts [51] to war, not so much to extend the boundaries of his empire as to keep his subjects occupied at the commencement of his tyranny and make them submit to it by impoverishing them. There was also a *raison d'état* sufficiently important though very unjust and it appeared to him to be still stronger for his purpose in taking up arms.

The kingdoms of Golkonda, Visapour and Decan had entered into a league with a reciprocal promise of joining forces against their enemies as was done in Europe in ancient times, by the three great cities of Peloponnesus, Argos, Messene and Sparta. They maintained one another with all their power and this triple alliance had rendered them almost invincible. [52] Aurengzeb, who had formed a design of conquering these kingdoms, the grandeur of which was offending his pride and causing him some anxiety, made a grand levy of men and money throughout his state and sent a powerful army to the Decan under the command of his uncle Cakestkam. The Decan more exposed than the other (two) kingdoms was seldom without armies and was continually attacked by the Mogol and defended by its neighbours. This was between these crowns a source of eternal war as we today find the Netherlands to be between the kings of France and Spain.

Cakestkam took the field and at the rumour of his approach the kings of Visapour and Golkonda [53] took up arms. But the king of Visapour whether from weakness or cowardice seemed inclined to make up with the Mogol and forthwith become a tributary. He made this strange resolution without remembering that this would break up the league and ruin him through disunion. Seva-gy, the Prime Minister of the Prince, a personage dominating his master, was as usual present in the

council when the king placed his plan before it and if he (Sivaji) had not spoken as was his duty to do the proposal would have been unanimously accepted. He fully perceived that flattery and a desire to please the king would quite suffice to approve so pernicious a resolution, at the same time he could easily see that the jealousy he inspired would turn [54] the opinion of the assembly in favour of the king and not of him and that if the king was not obliged, nobody cared if all were lost. He urged all the reasons that the interest of the state, the glory of the Prince, the fidelity due to the allies, could suggest to him in support of his opinion, the emulation of his rivals rendered him more eloquent than he usually was. He spoke with great ability about the forces of the kingdom, the advantages of its situation, and the resources necessary for war. (He expressed) that the Mogol was not (so) strong (as) to be feared, and that whatever the sentiments followed by others, contrary to his desire, his own was to defend themselves. He did not know how to pay his court at the cost of the [55] glory of his master. "As to the rest," said he, "I propose nothing that I am not prepared to execute at the risk of my life, and I make bold (to assert) that with very few troops I shall arrest the progress of Cakestkam or chase him out of the kingdom."

All proved useless ; number prevailed over good sense and weakness over valour. It was resolved not to postpone the despatch of an envoy to the Mogol but in the meanwhile the preparations were to proceed under the guidance of ordinary commanders and under the orders of the king. The generals had realised that in a decisive engagement Seva-gy would be charged with the sole care of military affairs and while he would earn honour they would remain in oblivion and [56] obscurity. This was what made them controvert his opinion with all ardour. They introduced into their discussion touches which applied to him personally and which to the king had this meaning that Seva-gy aspired to greater things under the pretext of repelling the Mogol. In short, they preferred to

expose their country to the disgrace of slavery to having it liberated ever by the hands of another.

Seva-gy left the council shocked at their disregard of reason but he was still more offended at the defiance meted out to him personally. Henceforth he thought only of vengeance and of establishing himself over those who believed themselves to be over him. He had nothing else in view but resentment [57] and did not even reflect upon the crime he was going to commit. He employed his skill and discrimination to discover among the people whom fortune had attached to his person men who would enlist in his cause, men who loved prospects or friendship more than duty, if alliance be called friendship, alliance which is not formed from virtue.

Seva-gy having made his choice and having enlisted a sufficiently large number of nobles in his intrigue held aloof from the court on the plea of ill health and retired to his own lands there to devise some means of breaking forth with all success.

The departure of the minister displeased neither the king nor his favourites ; they had been equally smarting under the the superiority of his [58] genius. They felt relieved and paid no attention to the sequel. Seva-gy having assembled his partisans, seized a very strong citadel on the frontier of the kingdom near Decan and gave orders to march the troops that side. All the provinces were in commotion. and as grand levies were made the roads became full of soldiers ' rushing to join their regiments. This helped effectively to conceal his designs of revolt, and the troops of Seva-gy could not be distinguished from those of the king.

This lord who was immensely wealthy, possessed among other qualities a liberality [59] verging on extravagance. He caused large sums of money to be distributed through his officers among the soldiers to secure better unity among them and to attach them all to his person. They swore, every one of them, to follow him wherever he would lead them. Loaded with

wealth and full of hope about the future these men had no difficulty in taking this oath. They promised more than what had been asked and added that they would serve him against their own king, a vain pledge that could bind only those who had no idea of law or government. He knew how to profit by the effect of presents and the good disposition of his army, and he decided to utilise it for an enterprise that would have seemed foolhardy [60] if it had not been justified by success. This was to attack in his own camp the commander of the Mogol troops who was entrenched very near Aurengabad, the capital of Decan where he was waging war. Seva-gy found a special pretext in the alliance formed between his master and the king of Decan. The desire of diverting the storm to help an allied prince revealed the courage and justice (underlying) of his enterprise. Indeed he needed only the order of the king of Visapour but on the other hand he himself felt pleased in carrying out an advice he had given and he drew upon the territories of Visapour all the forces of the Mogol who would not fail to wreak their vengeance. This prince (the Mogol) had no reason [61] to suspect that Seva-gy was not fighting under the orders of the king, his master, and he could not as yet be informed of the truth as he afterwards was. Before setting out Seva-gy left in his fortress a garrison of old veteran soldiers and officers under a commander whose courage and fidelity he knew, thus securing a key to the kingdom of Visapour and a place of security where he could retire when necessary. He then drew towards Aurengabad with only six thousand lightly armed men and the best troops he had.

The Mogol general was very far from his army, in an ill-fortified camp and near a seraglio where he spent his time in love and [62] pleasure. The city blockaded and within sight of the huge army he considered himself immune from insult. In the roads of the camp were seen only the eunuchs and slaves, the ministers of the general's pleasure. His treasures were not

better guarded than his person. He had huge sums of gold and silver (coins) with which he provided the two things that demanded it most, war and debauchery. Seva-gy assembled his principal officers and when they had discovered the importance of his enterprise he apprised them of its feasibility and pointed out that it was easy for men like them to carry off Cakestkam with all his riches. He exaggerated the obligation which the king of Visapour, their common master, would owe them and the recompense [63] they must expect therefrom. For in the East, as among us, able men always know how to palliate the hardihood of their rebellions by misrepresenting the interest of the prince.

Near the camp of Cakestkam there was a small (but) very dense forest very suitable for feints of war. It was there that Seva-gy concealed his soldiers during daytime waiting for cool obscurity of night. Cakestkam was not upon his guard, and although he had his sentinels placed, the example of the commander had spoilt the soldier and discipline was but little observed. It is true that couriers had reported that troops had been seen on the outskirts of the forest, but no suspicion was entertained thereof, in the belief that it might be the residence of some great lord of Indostan, who was repairing to the court of the Mogol.

Night came. Seva-gy, without noise and under cover of darkness, conducted his troops to the middle of the enemy's camp. The night was extremely dark and there was no moon. One can imagine the disorder that prevailed when all of a sudden these men, hitherto unperceived by any, flung themselves sword in hand upon whomsoever they met. Forthwith the air resounded with the cries of the unhappy ones who felt to have been assailed unawares, and with the increase of the noise the alarm of the camp spread to the town. The Governor of the town thought that the advanced guards had been attacked and the enemy was preparing for [65] a general assault. It was not known whether the besiegers or the besieged were most troubled.

Both the parties considered themselves betrayed and as the horrors of the night still more increased their suspicions there was nothing that was not imagined at that moment. The son of the general, a young man of good countenance and great prospects, who had, unfortunately come from the army the day before, to receive his father's orders, immediately mounted a horse and was ready to offer resistance. He behaved valiantly and with a band of men whom he found about him, gave a performance of mettle and fire, as could be expected of a brave young boy, little accustomed, however, to the chances of war. His ardour carried him too far and his virtue cost him [66] his life. He fell pierced with wounds, a pitiable sight that must have moved even those who had caused it. Others who had held back, abashed by the sense of having abandoned such a commander, tarried no longer when they saw him dead. His father who was in his seraglio, learnt at that moment of the misfortune of his son and of his own and there was weeping and wailing all around. The women tore their hair and beat their faces surrounding a father rendered motionless by the magnitude of his affliction. At last the bravest (men in the army) hurried up and ranged themselves near his person, resolved to perish to the last, in order to prevent him from being captured, and they achieved their object by an obstinate defence.

The cause and the origin of the tumult were yet unknown. They did not know whether the enemies had come to surprise them or the army had risen against the general. To ascertain what it was, fire was lighted throughout the camp but their dismay redoubled when by the dim light of burning logs they recognised Seva-gy and the subjects of the king of Visapour. It was not suspected that all the soldiers of the king (of Bijapur) were not near and that they had not come to lay siege to the town after defeating the army. General Cakestkam was wounded during the tumult with two sword cuts and as it was necessary for him either to vanquish or to die, he performed deeds of extraordinary bravery. Day approached and they would have

seen it clearly [68] if the light preceding it had not been obscured by the consumed logs. The rumour spread that the army of Visapour was on its march and its first ranks would soon be perceived. Seva-gy gave order for retreat, to avoid being overwhelmed as he would surely have been if his enemies could discover the small number of his men. The battle order was so well preserved among his troops that maddened as they were with killing and pillaging they left off as soon as the command was issued and retreated in good order, loaded with spoils of which however greater part they had to forego in obedience to orders. The density of the forest favoured their retreat and the fright they had left behind them, gave [69] them time to regain their posts, before the break of day. They were in safety but those in the camp no longer considered themselves secure.

Seva-gy was not content with this success, which could only satisfy a less ambitious person. But it gave him little pleasure to have pillaged the camp and to have committed such a great carnage there with so few troops without any loss except that of some soldiers. He had wanted to capture the Mogol general and he believed he had accomplished nothing for he had not been able to do what he wanted.

The second enterprise of Seva-gy was against Surate, which he caused to be pillaged by his army, with the object of enriching himself and to accustom his men to glory [70] and if that had not sufficient force, to follow him at least in the expectation of spoils. He had not got much of the treasures of this opulent city to carry on the long wars in which his revolt and valour engaged him yet he was not ignorant of the maxim of the seditious that once you rise against your lawful prince you are a rebel for ever.

Surate was without any defence that could arrest (the attack of) an army. And the courage of its inhabitants certainly did not serve as ramparts. The merchants, who abounded in the place, had little experience of war and intent on the preservation of their private merchandise only could but

feebly contribute to the smooth conduct of public affairs [71] that sometimes demanded the sacrifice of private interest. Besides many Indians in Surate had, owing to their ideas of morality which approached that of Pythagorus, so great a horror for bloodshed that they would not kill the meanest animal, far less massacre men, a very good sentiment if everybody shared it. It was in the following manner that Seva-gy conducted his enterprise.

He travelled only during night in order to conceal his movement and avoid heat. During daytime he retired to places hidden by the woods that sheltered him from the heat of the sun. There his soldiers reposed at ease and the horses refreshed themselves in the rivers, the banks whereof supplied them with abundant [72] forage and it entailed the soldiers no trouble or risk.

He was master of the country and soon appeared at the gates of Surate, and the only thought of the citizens now was how to guard against plunder. But the misfortune of the city was imminent. Being half a day's march from the town, Seva-gy had already made preparations, not for an attack on the bastions but for a signal of plunder. In assigning quarters he had made an exception (in favour) of the residences of the English, the Dutch and the Capuchin Fathers. The latter were exempted on account of the general regard for them as good religieux, and in order that he might not have the appearance of scorning popular respect for their persons. The rest (were excepted) because he knew that they were provided with fine cannons [73] and that there might be veteran soldiers in those houses. Besides, (he thought) it would be very easy (hereafter) to be allied with the Europeans trading in India of which, he foresaw there might be need one day.² The French had as yet no establishment at Surate.

² This is fairly corroborated by the Dutch account of the first sack of Surat. Shivaji had indeed sent a Greek named Nicholas Colosta to demand money of the Director of the Dutch company without specifying any sum but the latter answered "that there

Everything being thus arranged Seva-gy advanced as far as the gardens on the environs of the city. The Governor had been informed hereof ; but he had so little suspicion of any one coming to attack him that Seva-gy managed to enter the place without any difficulty, for his soldiers did not outwardly look what they really were, as they were leading with them some beasts of burden with their arms hidden. Each of them knew where he should repair but they followed no orders in their march [74]. People mistook them, as Cakestkam had done, for the retinue of some powerful Indian whose equipages were constantly seen moving in Surate, presenting among other things, the appearance of a whole army.

The soldiers had time to take their posts in (different) places of the city and on the big roads without being questioned by any inhabitant or stranger as to what they were doing and by whose authority. Seva-gy coolly gave his orders even as he liked, as if it were in a town that had already recognised his authority and none came forward to oppose him. Meanwhile the tumult quickly spread on all sides. The signal was given and the soldiers commenced the pillage. All on a sudden they [75] fell upon whomsoever they found at hand irrespective of age or sex. They killed some of them while the rest fled away, carrying what they could and leaving to the avarice of the troops what they could not. Then they entered the houses, plundered them and placed their spoils on their horses and in the carts (chariots) they had brought for that purpose. There was no form of cruelty that they did not practise upon women and old people who had been detained in their lodgings through

was very little money at the factory but that if a present of some spice would please Sivagy he was willing to give him same. The Director further charged the Greek to remind Sivagy that at Vingurla he had never troubled the company but rather shown him friendly by giving them free escorts and therefore he quite hoped Sivagy would protect the company's servants in Surat against the evil minded." It seems that no serious effort was made to molest the Dutch though they suspected that the houses in their neighbourhood had been set to fire with evil intention. Dutch Records, India Office Transcripts (English Translation), Vol. 27, DCCXIX.

weakness or age. They wanted thereby to make them disclose where the rest of their treasures was concealed. The two governors could not but be pensive in their despair, their only care being how to hide themselves [76] and the more valuable things they possessed. They were swayed by their interest and avarice which made them override the dictates of duty. At last the governor of the castle opened artillery fire upon the town. He shot at random and if it was to a certain extent fraught with danger in regard to Seva-gy's soldiers, it rendered the destruction of the people of Surate most certain. The cannon demolished their houses and set them ablaze at the same time that the enemy despoiled them of their furniture and emptied their stores.

Seva-gy was on horseback, with a small number of officers watching the carts and laden horses to march to the place of rendezvous. The sack lasted for three days and three nights.³ Seva-gy then left Surate [77] as easily as he had entered it having found in one single city all the wealth of the East and securing such war funds as would not fail him for a long time. There remained only the preparations. His followers were obedient and Seva-gy soon made the East see in a rebel subject a conqueror worthy among other things of being compared to the greatest men. Hitherto he had himself commanded his army without the assistance of any one, but as he wanted to augment (his forces) greatly he appointed besides himself four Lieutenant Generals and gave them large sums of money both for furnishing themselves with what they needed to maintain their rank and for distribution among their companies. He sent men to all sides [78] with money to enlist soldiers. Others he sent to watch the attitude of the Mogol and the king of Visapour. When he had mobilised a big army he did not hasten to attempt the things he had planned. He had among

³ According to the Dutch Records Shivaji entered Surat on Wednesday the 18th January, 1664 and the Dutch Factors learnt on the 20th that Shivaji had left with his plunder.

his troops many youngmen, novices still in the profession, whom he had collected from all sides. To accustom them (to their profession) he encamped for nearly three months in bare fields, teaching them how to handle horses and fight and training them carefully in all the exercises of the military art.

On the other hand the Mogol was offended by the affront that he supposed to have received from the king of Visapour. He could not make out whether Seva-gy had attacked him [79] of his own accord or by the order of his master. However he entered the kingdom. He captured some places and gained some advantage in a few engagements. The troops of the king were very inferior in number and valour. The king of Golkonda came to the rescue of his ally with a powerful army and repelled the Mogol, who however did not lose his hope of revenge though he found himself constrained to postpone his vengeance.

Seva-gy spent this time in occupying several places of Visapour and at last made the Mogol realise that he had acted on his own initiative in his attempt upon the person of Cakestkam. He entered the maritime towns, almost all of which he found unprovided, the [80] king having withdrawn his troops to wage war against the Mogol; the gates which could not have held long, were thrown open to him (Seva-gy) at the first report of his name, which was so great that resistance seemed useless, for resistance would do nothing but add to his glory. He selected the maritime places as they were easier to defend and more difficult to attack. Apart from the convenience of the ports and the freedom (they offered) of putting out to the sea, his further reflection was that by occupying the coast and treating well the Europeans who came to India he might make them love him and serve him.

In fact along the stretch of the sea where he was the master, there never passed a ship of Europe to which the Governors did not send [81] refreshments with all the good

offices that could hardly be expected by an allied prince. I passed that way in 1668 with two ships of the company and we were treated in a manner which was beyond our expectation. It was an act of his policy, but it was also due to the preference he felt for the people of Europe and above all for our nation, whom he held in esteem for the renown they everywhere enjoy as the most warlike nation in the world.

He captured several other towns, fortified by nature and by the hand of man and he made his way into places that were believed to be inaccessible. The forces of the king of Visapour being divided [82] were less capable of opposing such a conqueror, who had all the qualities of a great general and above all a clearness of resolution and an unusual activity that almost always proves decisive in affairs of war. Hardly had he won a battle or taken a town in one end of the kingdom, than he was at the other extremity causing havoc everywhere and surprising important places. To this quickness of movement, he added like Julius Ceasar, a clemency and bounty that won him the hearts of those his arms had worsted. He made inroads into the territories of the Portuguese who had given him offence ; he wrested from them the island of Bardes⁴ and after desolating the country [83] caused them great anxiety for Goa. He then retraced his steps, re-entered the country of the Mogol, subjugated a big province and levied large contributions and demonstrated to him (the Mogol) that he was able alone without the help of Golkonda or Decan, to hold his own and further that he was about to cause an affront to the heart of his states. If Seva-gy possessed military qualities to such a high degree he was no less a capable man knowing more than one way of reaching his goal.

He practised upon tradesmen and toiling merchants in

⁴ Lakham Savant and other fugitives used to cause trouble to Shivaji's subjects from their safe retreat in the Portuguese territories and Shivaji sent retaliatory expedition o Bardes in November 1667. See Pissurlencar, *Portugueses e Māratas*, p. 17.

such a way that during the different voyages they were obliged to make, they took care of speaking well of him, praising his method of governing and making [84] men's minds yield to it. He contrived it in such a way, all the more sure as it was imperceptible, that they spoke like disinterested persons. Then, on their advice he closely followed his reputation and did not allow the enthusiasm to cool down—an enthusiasm which so much propagandism had roused for him in the hearts of the people. By all these means Seva-gy reached such a degree of power that the Grand Mogol apprehensive of (the loss of) his state prepared himself as best as he could to wage a war against him. Aurengzeb recalled his uncle Cakestkam and loaded him with all the honours worthy of his rank and age, to console him for all that had happened to him and for the death of the young prince, his son. He gave him, [85] along with the government of Bengale and the office of General of the army, the title of Viceroy over all the lands held by Emir Jumla, that famous Persian who had quitted the court of Golkonda where he was held in high esteem, to be in the service of the Mogol who owed much to his prudence and his counsels. It meant an honourable retirement for Cakestkam and an occasion of putting in his place some one who had more vigour and greater firmness and was better fitted to resist the progress of Seva-gy, whose valour, like a rushing torrent, carried every place he fell upon. He selected Jesseingue a powerful lord of his court, who had rendered him excellent services [86] in the affairs he was engaged in at beginning of his reign.

Jesseingue set out with instructions to retake the places Seva-gy had conquered from the Mogol. He had secret instructions among others to spare no pains to win over Seva-gy and to induce him to accept the command of the Mogol armies. Seva-gy marched straight to the front of Jesseingue to offer him battle. Jesseingue refused to fight. He knew how to conduct himself so as not to be forced easily. Jesseingue

invested a strong town⁵ and when his work was sufficiently advanced he laid siege with great military skill.

The defence of the besieged was so vigorous that the Mogol General despaired of reducing [87] the place and preferred entering into negotiations with Seva-gy to persisting any longer. He offered him on behalf of his master great honours and position if he would enter into his service. Seva-gy lent his ears to these proposals and entered into an agreement that placed him at the head of the Mogol forces and opened so grand a career to his valour.

His valour shone in the war he waged against the king of Visapour and if he had not stained his great deeds by the disgrace attached to his ruining the motherland, he would have deserved unbounded praise. The Mogol wanted to employ Seva-gy in the war he was preparing to wage against the king of Persia. He [88] therefore invited him to come to his court and to render his sojourn there more agreeable he made him a Raja, the highest dignity to which the king could raise those he wished to honour. He also gave his son an office of distinction and placed him much above the young lords of his age.

Seva-gy appeared at the Court of the Mogol with all the pomp and *eclat* befitting his rank and reputation but he went there so well accustomed to honours and with such an air of nobility that he was regarded as a man much above his fortune. There was no kind of good treatment that he did not receive from the Prince. He was not (however) equally well regarded by everybody. Cakestkam was absent [89] from the court, but there were his wife and a large number of followers who came either of their own accord or on purpose. These were the enemies Seva-gy had made the day he attempted to capture Cakestkam ; the jealousy, common to great people, was aroused for him more than others and it irritated those very persons so furiously that they made a very serious intrigue to ruin him.

⁵ Carré undoubtedly refers to the sieze of Purandar by Dilal Khan.

The wife of Cakestkam, an arrogant princess by birth, considered herself bound by honour to pursue the murderer of her son, who had done her husband an egregious offence and had only missed killing him; a man moreover, who had sacked the wealthiest and the most flourishing city of the Mogol. She was so near the king and had raised against Seva-gy so powerful a party [90] that they resolved to arrest him. The king desired to give this satisfaction to the afflicted friends of his uncle but he offered, according to his word and in view of the need that he had of Seva gy, to open to him the means of escaping shortly after his imprisonment.

These manœuvres of the king hardly succeeded; he pleased none by wishing to satisfy everybody. Seva-gy only felt the injury done to him and the party of Cakestkam deemed the flight of the prisoner very improper, the facility of which betrayed the king.

Seva-gy returned to his army, saw well that he could depend upon none for rest and conceived the idea of founding a lawful kingdom by force of brigandage. He heartily caressed [91] his officers whom he called his brothers and friends, living with them in familiarity and hoping for every distinction by their care without giving himself any. He conducted himself with great ability, affecting nothing, making others to propose things to which he appeared to be indifferent but which he very fundamentally desired,

When he considered himself in a condition to expect everything from the good will of his men, he gave a splendid feast to his generals and when he had a good cheer, after having been in toasts of wine nominated king by some of his assistants, the army responded with acclamation and cries of joy. He was proclaimed king of all the lands he had conquered. The principal officers and the chiefs of the troops took the oath [92] of fealty. He founded for himself a kingdom at the expense of the kings of Visapour, Decan and the Mogol.

Tired of victory he wanted to secure his conquests by limiting them. The Mogol army was prepared to fight him ; he was short of money ; partly in the different wars he had waged and partly in the court, he had exhausted his treasures. This is what made him resolve to plunder Surate for a second time. He took himself there in a manner different from before.

He therefore opened a transaction with the Governor^o over a piece of intelligence and when an understanding was reached with him, he haughtily demanded of the city of Surate a sum of ten millions (threatening that) otherwise he would come himself to plunder it. What I have to say about this transaction [93] I have learnt from an officer, who had no doubt about it, for he was in the service of the governor when this treason was plotted. Under this appearance of unreservedness and this very air of brutality, Seva-gy concealed his deceit and believed to have placed the governor in safety from the side of the court. But the traitor was punished for it and lost his life as we shall see anon. I shall not go into the details of this second enterprise; suffice it to say, that having sent word to the inhabitants about the day and hour he would enter into Surate, Seva-gy exactly kept his word. He might have some twelve thousand men with him and it was astonishing how a town sufficiently well fortified and inhabited by more than [94] four hundred thousand men did not make the least resistance ; either terror had damped their spirit or so many people, differing so much in nationality and interests and so little used to arms, embarrassed one another sooner than rendering aid to one another and to the city. Seva-gy wanted to

^o Francis Martin was at Surat in March 1670. He says that a second attack from Shivaji was apprehended at the time of his visit. The Governor consulted Monsieur Carron about the defence of the city which was open on one side but did nothing to remove this defect and this led Martin to suspect that the Governor had a secret understanding with Shivaji—"le gouverneur nen fit rien néanmoins l'on croioit aussy quil avoit intelligences avec Sivagy." François Martin, *Memoir sur l'establissemens des colonies Française des l'Inde Oriental*, fol. 92, ob. (A. N. T*. 1469).

plunder at ease and he came to Surate to take booty and not to fight. He was at peace with the Governor. He sent an officer of his army⁷ to the residences of the three nations of Europe he dreaded most, the French, the English and the Dutch and gave them a timely notice to display their standards on the top of their terraces that they may be saved thereby from the fury of the soldiers.

[95] We had been established at Surate only for a year. M. Carron, who was at the head of our merchants showed that even in a very advanced age, for he was seventy years old, he preserved courage and resolution. He thanked Seva-gy and caused thousand obliging things to be told him through the officer who had come to warn him to be on his guard ; but he led him to the environs where the merchants of France had gathered and made him take note of the number of artillery that was quite ready to play and told him clearly that the quarters of the French were considered safe by means other than that of Seva-gy's clemency.⁸

Seva-gy was at the gates of the town and the Governor had climbed to the castle carrying there [96] some counsels befitting a traitor and calculated to bring about the success of his treachery. This was to demolish a wall that covered the march of Seva-gy and this gave Seva-gy great facility for making his troops file up. This was to open the town to Seva-gy and ensure the success of his plan, under the pretext of firing upon him from the top of the fortress. It was intended to arm every

⁷ The Dutch Resident at Surat also wrote—"A messenger had come from the invader to assure us that no harm would befall us if we remained quiet." India Office Transcripts, English Translation, Vol. 29, No. DCCLXIII.

⁸ This is contradicted by the Dutch Resident who writes: "The French did not attempt to make any opposition although at that time they numbered 150 whites, had about a dozen cannons of fair calibre, 400 fire balls and a large number of grenades, and they quietly suffered that two of their black servants were shot before their eyes, notwithstanding by valuable present they had obtained from Shivaji's representative the declaration that they should be free from molestation." India Office, English Translation, Vol. 29, No. DCCLXIII.

one but it was intended too late; the enemy was already in the town. The violence was extreme and no one was spared. Our French people behaved boldly and wore such a confident look that they saved their houses from pillage. They even compelled the soldiers to leave the neighbouring houses where they had been led by fury and avarice. [97] To judge by his bravery M. Carron, even with the coolness of the Dutch passed for a Frenchman.

The treason of the Governor of Surate having been reported, the Mogol resolved to get rid of him by poison, and in the same way as he had caused Jesseingue, Governor of Decan, perish for the same reason, a means unworthy of a Prince who exercises upon his subjects absolute right of punishment.

The Mogol has always near his person a large number of Faquiers who are called friends of God for making themselves friends of men and who conceal disgraceful sins under the mask of extraordinary piety. These Faquiers are skilful poisoners and their art is so fine that its effect is difficult to detect [98] until it is beyond remedy. They make extensive use of perfumes as things to be least refused and they know how to put in a scented letter or a boquet, or a fruit a poison that kills immediately.

It is the custom that when anybody is highly successful either in civil affairs or in war, the Mogol thanks him by letters and in felicity these letters are received with profound respect and grand ceremonies ; before being opened they are placed upon the head and to be kissed they are carried several times to the mouth. Often the joy is not long. These letters suffused with a subtle poison mingle the tears with the pleasure of receiving them. The Mogol [99] addressed to the Governor of Surate such a letter impressed with a poison in which the most learned Faquier had exhausted all his skill. The Governor had assembled all his friends and the chiefs of the Europeans to receive this honour. He fell stiff dead in kissing the letter according to the custom of the country. Our surgeons who opened his head

found without difficulty trace of poison. Judicious men made this reflection that this kind of penalty that befall only the person of the guilty and render the conduct of the Prince dubious lost the two great effects of punishment—*viz.*, example and the precaution that it may not occur.

Such is the history of Seva-gy, who while we were at [100] Surate made himself the subject of discussion throughout the whole of the East and rendered his name terrible to many a king who had experience of his arms or his intrigues which he conducted with equal skill.

SURENDRANATH SEN

EDIEANA

I often think of thee and weep
Edieana,
My path is rugged, dark and steep
Edieana,
I cannot lose my thought in sleep
Where'er I be sad memories leap
Edieana.

Often does my soul rebel
Edieana,
Against the peace it loved so well
Edieana,
My thoughts are like the winds of Hell
Raging in some dismal cell
Edieana.

I tread the darken'd lanes alone
Edieana,
The Autumn winds complain and moan
Edieana,
I care not for their sullen tone
Have I not grief enough my own?
Edieana.

Time goes by on steady wing
Edieana,
And bears off Hope, a weakened thing,
Edieana,
Pain strikes my heart-chords till they ring
They groan perchance, but never sing!
Edieana.

Reviews

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1924-25, edited by J. F. Blakiston, officiating Director General of Archaeology in India.

This report, edited by Mr. Blakiston with the assistance of Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, contains a detailed account of the work of conservation, exploration and research undertaken or carried out by the officers of the Archaeological Department in the year 1924-25. What lends special interest to the volume is the illuminating note on the prehistoric civilization of the Indus (Sindhu-Sauvira=Sophr or Ophir ?), valuable sidelights on which were obtained from the discoveries of Mr. Hargreaves at Nāl in Baluchistan. Mr. Page's note on the Orissan caves and Sir John Marshall's account of the terra cotta votive tanks at Taxila raise the important question of the cultural connection between Egypt and India.

The student of religious history will note with special interest (a) the discovery at Harappa of a large cone of dark stone resembling the Sivalinga of modern times, (b) the clearing of the north and west faces of the basement of an early Chalukya temple at Badami which revealed a frieze of sculptured panels depicting scenes from the early life of Krishna, (c) the discovery of a fine image of the Fish incarnation at Vajrayogini and (d) the application of the epithet *Pitāmaha* to the Buddha in a Mathura inscription of the 14th year of Kanishka. Of special interest to the student of political history and geography are the Lakshmanesvara temple inscription (p. 33), the Velvikudi grant (p. 117), the Mattepad plates (p. 117), the Urlam plates (p. 118) and the epigraph engraved on a copper-plate at Elephanta (p. 120).

Mr. Longhurst has an interesting note on the huge rock sculpture at Mahabalipuram known as Arjuna's penance, which seeks to support the view that "the whole scene is a symbolical representation of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas" (p. 106).

The Report, useful and informing as it is, contains not a few mistakes and misprints: *is* is hoped (p. 1), at the Akbar's tomb (p. 3) *gage* 2, magnificent (p. 4), clearnnee (p. 51), Udabhāuḍa (p. 51), prallel (p. 62), Gupta Galleay (p. 124), Matsya Purana (Chapter 169 for 269). The date c. 850 A.D. for "Mahindrapala" deva (p. 86) is a bit too early. The fact that Vinayakapaladeva is mentioned in a Chandella inscription does not prove

that he was himself a Chandella. He was almost certainly the Gurjara Pratihara king of the same name, the suzerainty of whose family was acknowledged by the early Chandellas. The earliest known historical king of Assam is not Susthitavarman (p. 94), but Pushyavarman. It is not easy to understand why officers of the Archaeological Department prefer the name "Andhra" (pp. 18, 30) to "Sātavāhana" which alone is met with in the inscriptions of the line of Simuka.

HISTORICUS

Memoir of the Life of the Late Nana Farnavis, compiled from Family Records and Extant Works by A. Macdonald, Captain in the 18th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, and now Reprinted from the Original Edition of 1851: Together with an Autobiographical Memoir of the Early Life of Nana Farnavis, translated by Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, late Resident at the Court of Satara with an Introduction by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., for the University of Bombay. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927, pp. 181, price Rs. 5.

The book is well printed, nicely got up and well illustrated and we wish we had nothing more to add. But a reviewer has a heavy public responsibility and must not in any way mislead the unwary and uninitiated readers. The present work has been reprinted under the auspices of the Bombay University and the Historian Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta has enthusiastically eulogised the authorities of Bombay University for their sound "business capacity" and publicly proclaimed that no literary fraud could succeed with them. The work has been edited by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, one of the seniormost members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and a well known writer on Indian historical subjects. It has already received the benediction of the *Modern Review* of Calcutta, the self-styled "leading monthly of India." An unwary reader may, therefore, accept the Memoir of Nana Farnavis on its face value and treat it as a carefully compiled biographical work of real merit. It is nothing but a literary fraud perpetrated more than half a century ago and accepted by the sound "business-men" who guide the academic policy of the Bombay University as a genuine scholarly work. Who Captain Macdonald was we do not know. Principal Rawlinson accepts his statement as unimpeachable truth and tells his readers that the author "used in its compilation, original MSS., family records and verbose conversations with the relations and personal attendants of Nana Farnavis.....This work,

like Grant Duff's great classic, is, therefore, based on material which is partly no longer extant." He might have added that it is as reliable, as trustworthy and as accurate as Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* for Captain Macdonald, it appears, knew his Grant Duff much better than the Bombay Pundits. Except the first few pages where he gives a brief account of the early life of his hero based on a fragmentary autobiography, the entire work has been copied from Grant Duff, word by word, line by line and page by page. He had necessarily to omit much and had therefore to add an occasional sentence here and there to serve as a connecting link between the fragments he had selected and copied from Grant Duff. If Principal Rawlinson had even glanced at some of the letters published in the appendix (but omitted in the reprint) of the original edition he would have at once discovered that Captain Macdonald was hardly competent for any serious historical enquiry for he quotes two letters supposed to have been addressed by Nana to his father in 1761 after the third battle of Panipat and on the 8th June 1801. Principal Rawlinson claims to have modernised the spelling of proper names and corrected several obvious misprints. But we are sorry to find that his implicit faith in Captain Macdonald led him to overlook obvious mistakes, which might have been detected by a reference to Grant Duff. The name of Raghoba's adopted son Amrit Rao frequently occurs in this work but unfortunately Captain Macdonald or his printer converted the name in several places to Annunt Rao, while they reproduced Grant Duff's spelling in other places. It is a pity that Principal Rawlinson could not detect this discrepancy, but on p. 40 he modernised the spelling of this proper name as Anant Rao although the individual is correctly described as Raghoba's adopted son. Similarly, on p. 56 the Maratha Admiral is called Anantrao Dhulap probably because his name is spelt as Annunt Rao Dhuleep by Macdonald although the correct name is Ananda Rao. Similar mistakes have been committed in connection with fairly well known Europeans of that time. Thus on p. 31 Mr. Bolts is called Botts and W. H. Tone (p. 127) is called W. R. Jones. It should be noted that these mistakes are found in the original edition. Subah Bakshi (p. 97 footnote) is evidently Jivba Bakshi, the commander of Sindhia's army. Are we, therefore, to infer that the revision of the text was not made by Principal Rawlinson? Some of the footnotes of the original edition have been omitted and while Macdonald never fails to mention the sources of his notes it is seldom done in the reprint. The reprint, therefore, cannot be recommended even as a trustworthy selection from Grant Duff. The Bombay University and Principal Rawlinson earned

the thanks of all students of Maratha History by bringing out a critical edition of Kasi Raj Pandit's account of the third battle of Panipat, and they will render an important service to the cause of Maratha History if they bring out a reprint of such valuable rare works as Tone's *Illustrations of Some Institutions of the Marhatha People* and L. F. Smith's, *A Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the Service of the Native Princes of India*, and if they can spare funds for more voluminous works, those of Thorn, Blacker and Prinsep. A really well annotated edition of Grant Duff is long overdue.

MARATHA

The Mahatma Letters to A. P. Sinett from the Mahatmas M. and K. H., transcribed, compiled and with an Introduction by A. T. Barker, Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. \$7.50.

No two more interesting characters were brought before the public in the past generation than the Masters M. and K.H., known in India and elsewhere as Mahatmas. Are they persons who have actually lived, are living, or are they fictitious? Gandhi to-day is spoken of generally as Mahatma Gandhi. No unusual cause of wonder is attached to the title. Gandhi is a man in the flesh and he has earned the title Mahatma, the appellation of mastership, by conquering his bodily wants. But the Mahatmas M. and K.H. are said to be more than physical beings. They have so far conquered physical desire that many of the laws of nature are no longer hidden to them, but are known to and understood by them. This is said to be the case, so much so, that acts to be brought about by others only as miracles, are to them the accomplishment of ordinary feats.

The discussion regarding the identity of these two, and the "school" to which they belong has been going on, now furiously, now abatedly, for a number of years. It has taken place so heatedly and a denial of their actual existence has been so often heard that even the Society founded as a result of their teachings has been threatened with being rent in twain. The doubters have claimed that the Masters M. and K. H are but the figments of an imaginative woman's brain. It has been said that Helena Petrova Blavatsky, first writer to bring the Masters to the attention of people interested in psychism, made them up from whole cloth and that the letters supposedly transmitted to her from these two teachers in the

Himalayas were written by her. Theosophist and wanderer, storm-centre of spiritualistic phenomena, discussed and often misunderstood, she continued to put forth the claims that the letters were genuine and that the Mahatmas K.H. and M. were real.

The letters were not written to Madame Blavatsky exclusively. Although she remained to the end almost the only one who could receive them and in turn pass them on to the one intended to be the recipient, many of them passed through her to others and those that passed to Mr. Sinnett, often in answer to questions he directed to the Masters through Madame Blavatsky are those included in the present volume. The story of this transmission reads like a fairy-tale. How delightful it would be if there could be on earth, persons who had sufficiently mastered material laws that they could control physical manifestations at will! Self-denial and the attempt to reach the stage of conquest of one's self would not then seem to be in vain.

The battle between material objects and the desire of spiritual life has long been carried on. There are many in the world to-day, who, even as Tolstoi, are not only willing, but eager to leave the haunts of men to seek refuge in the forest knowing that so long as man is surrounded by turmoil of economic life he must in some way be distracted by it. Is it possible that Tolstoi was but a soul who could no longer endure the contact with earthly men and possessions and that his retirement was the first step in that lonely search for truth that eventually leads Buddhaward, yes, even Christward, though perhaps in a different sense?

Then in death, not a candle of life snuffed out, because his physical body has been left behind, but an entity who has for the first time mastered the secret of the greatness of the inner ego, and standing on the threshold of that initiation which is the goal of the occultists.

The Masters M. and K. H. were but Tolstois progressed to an unknown degree, serving one whom they mention repeatedly as the Chohan, rapidly approaching the end where incarnation upon the earth was no longer a necessity.

Many of the passages of *The Mahatma Letters*, deny the existence of God, particularly God who is but the elevated picture of man himself. The teachings are Buddhistic, placing Nature's law in supreme position; the universe a whole whose manifestation is coupled with the laws of Karma and rebirth. Even gods are but part of the chains of Karma. The study of occult philosophy is a deep subject. It is deep and fascinating and the more one plunges into it the more is he interested. *The Mahatma Letters* are teachings, replete with references to people and events

concerned chiefly in this respect with those who founded the Society. To a person outside the Society, this extraneous matter in the letters would not be attractive. But above and dominating this is a teaching so profound, a spiritual problem reflected in so many interesting lights that what might appear to be gossip falls by the wayside. The personal references may be omitted. The reference to the question of the existence of the Masters may be disregarded. There will still be meat enough for ample philosophic discussion. One reading or a dozen will not suffice.

A discussion of Esoteric Buddhism would involve endless time. In a book *Esoteric Buddhism*, Mr. Sinnett has endeavoured to include and interpret the teachings he gleaned from the Mahatmas. A doctrine of religion is not complete until it embraces all the facts concerning life and wisdom. No doctrine is ever remotely complete until it has investigated the theories of Karma influencing so thoroughly the life of the East yet so totally disregarded by the West.

If these are the truths of nature, and so the occultists believe, they ought to be cognized and brought into relationship with human contact. If they are not truths, true but false, then they ought to be refuted. But neither affirmation nor refutation may be made fairly without investigation. It will be said of course that the altruistic proof lies after death, but an investigation could be made which would be as sound as many other theories of life.

Certainly to the writer, a belief in those doctrines has given to life a much wider scope.

The Mahatma Letters, whatever else they may do, make the possibility of immortality much more real and endow it with an actuality to which one is related.

Not only now but in the hereafter as well, an expanded vision is not to be despised.

This, in an almost inexhaustible measure, is the gift of the *Mahatma Letters*.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

Ourselfes

THE LATE DR. PASUPATINATH SASTRI.

The University has sustained a severe loss in the sudden and premature death of Dr. Pasupatinath Sastri which took place on the 5th February last. After an exceptionally brilliant academic career, Dr. Pasupatinath chose the field of education for his activities and he joined the University as a Post-Graduate lecturer. His unassuming character, vast erudition and profound love for Sanskrit lore and learning, his knowledge of German, French, Greek and Dutch languages enabled him soon to take up an enviable position on the staff of the University and scholars from all parts of India approached him on many a puzzled question on Hindu Sastra and Philosophy. Dr. Pasupatinath welcomed the enquiries with alacrity and he took real delight in these abstruse discussions. He avoided limelight and thus the public had very few opportunities of coming in personal contact with him but to his students and colleagues he appeared like one of those traditional ancient *pandits*—simple, truthful and full of humility. Although pursuing the humble vocation of a teacher, his life and character served to soothe and fortify those who required strength and solace.

The revival of the orthodox learning was very near his heart and he worked heart and soul for the growth, development and popularisation of Sanskrit. The *Sanskrit Sahitya Parisat* bears testimony to his constructive genius and organising capacity. He was the life and soul of the institution and the *Parisat* owes its present influential position to his energies and indefatigable labours in its service.

In spite of his multifarious activities, Dr. Pasupatinath has left behind a number of scholarly works amongst which

the following deserve special mention :—Selections from Sāyana's Commentary, Introduction, to Pūrba Mīmāṃsā and German and French Readers.

At the time of his death he was engaged upon a critical edition of Raghunandana's *Smṛiti*.

He was only forty-three when he died and a life full of promise has thus been prematurely cut short and Sanskrit scholarship is all the poorer by his demise. His life might be summed up as

“Though deep, yet clear, though gentle, yet not dull
Strong, without rage, without overflowing, full.”

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PROFESSOR PAUL BRÜHL.

Professor Paul Brühl, whose association with this country dates back to the year 1882 when he took up a Professorship at the Rajshahi College, never spared himself and certainly did not spare his pupils. We are sure the appeal made in the following manifesto, which we gladly publish, will have a hearty response from the friends, pupils and admirers of Dr. Brühl.

Dr. P. Brühl, University Professor of Botany in the Calcutta University, is retiring very soon. He has spent about forty-five years of his life in Bengal and during this period thousands of students have received their education from him in various branches of science. He started his career as a Professor in the Rajshahi College and after a long term of service as Professor in the Bengal Engineering College retired from Government service as its Officiating Principal. After his retirement he was appointed Registrar, University of Calcutta, in succession to Dr. Thibaut and continued in that post until he was appointed to the newly created post of University Professor of Botany in September, 1918. This post he has been holding up to now. He will be retiring at the end of the present University session. Apart from mere teaching Dr. Brühl has always been engaged in original research the results of which have been published in various periodicals from time to time,

At a meeting of the past and present colleagues and students of Dr. Brühl held on the 3rd December, 1927, in the Botanical Laboratory of the University College of Science, a committee was appointed to consider the steps to be taken to commemorate the long and meritorious services of Dr. Brühl to the cause of education and science in Bengal and to collect funds for the purpose.

The committee propose that the commemoration should take the form of :—

- (a) founding a gold medal in his honour ;
- (b) hanging a portrait of his in the Botany Laboratory ;
- (c) giving a farewell party, presentation of an illuminated address and a suitable souvenir to him.

The committee consider that a sum of Rs. 2,500 will be needed for carrying out the objects in view. Looking to the large number of students who have received their education from Dr. Brühl, the committee hope that the required amount, and even more, will be readily forthcoming.

It is proposed to hold the farewell meeting at which the presentation will be made in the beginning of March, 1928. Contributors are, therefore, requested to send in their contributions as early as possible so as to enable the committee to settle the definite form the commemoration is to take. Contributions should be sent to the undersigned for which a formal receipt will be issued.

BOTANICAL LABORATORY,
35, Ballygunj Circular Road.

S. P. AGHARKAR,
President,
Brühl Farewell Committee.

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MAHENDRANATH PRIZE.

•Professor Satischandra Ray, M.A., addressed the following letter to the Secretary, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts.

DEAR SIR,

The Mahendranath Prize was founded about seven years ago ; but it is a matter of regret and disappointment that no award has yet been made owing to lack of response on the part of our graduates qualified to compete for it. I, therefore, propose for the consideration and approval

of the Board of Higher Studies in Economics, a temporary modification of the original terms of award, for six years. The original terms will *ipso facto* come into force after this period, when, it is expected, writers of the required standard will be forthcoming.

The accumulated interest on the endowed funds amounts to Rs. 1,445. After six years this will rise to Rs. 5,000. I propose that our lecturers be invited to write monographs on any five of the following subjects on an honorarium of Rs. 1,000 each. This honorarium may be increased, if funds permit, in the case of subjects of special interest and difficulty. The subjects, I propose, are :—

1. The Indian Tax System or the Incidence of Taxation in India.
2. Indian Railway Administration and Economics.
3. Economic Imperialism in India.
4. History of Indian Commerce.
5. Local and Central Finance.
6. A Scheme of Village Reform.
7. National Wealth of India : with a special treatment of the economic condition of the people of Bengal as affected by internal and external causes.
8. The Theory of Hoarded Wealth.
9. Indian Nationalism—with special reference to communal differences.

An invitation may be made to not more than one Teacher of the Dacca University if the Board considers that he is specially fitted to write on one of these topics.

Yours truly,
SATISCHANDRA RAY."

It is needless to state that the proposal has been accepted and that the Members of the Board have been invited to write on one of the topics as suggested by the donor.

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A MUNIFICENT DONATION.

We are glad to announce that the widow of the late Mr. Radhikamohan Ray has expressed her desire to make over to the Calcutta University 3½ p. c. Government Promissory Notes of

the face value of Rs. 1,50,000 for founding a scholarship to be named *Radhikamohan Educational Scholarship*.

* * *

UNIVERSITY READERS.

Professor Arnold Sommerfeld, Foreign Member of the Royal Society of London and Professor of Theoretical Physics in the University of Munich, has been appointed a University Reader to deliver a course of lectures on *Atomic Structure*.

Professor Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D., of the University of Lucknow, has also been appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of six lectures on *Land Problems*.

* * *

DEANS OF DIFFERENT FACULTIES.

The following gentlemen have been elected Deans of the different Faculties :—

Arts—Professor Jnanranjan Banerjee, M.A., B.L.

Science—Sir Praphullachandra Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S.

Law—Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, *Suriratna*, *Vidyaratnakar*, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A., LL.D., M.L.C.

Medicine—Principal Kedarnath Das, C.I.E., M.D.

Engineering—Principal T. H. Richardson, M.A., B.A.I., M.I.C.E., M.I.E.

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DATES OF DIFFERENT EXAMINATIONS.

B. Com.—

The next B. Com. Examination will commence on Tuesday, the 1st May, 1928.

Medical—

The next Preliminary Scientific M.B. and Final M.B. Examinations will commence on Tuesday, the 24th April, 1928. D.P.H.—

The following dates have been fixed for the D.P.H. Examination, Parts I and II for 1928 :—

Part I—Tuesday, the 1st May and again on Monday, the 30th July, 1928.

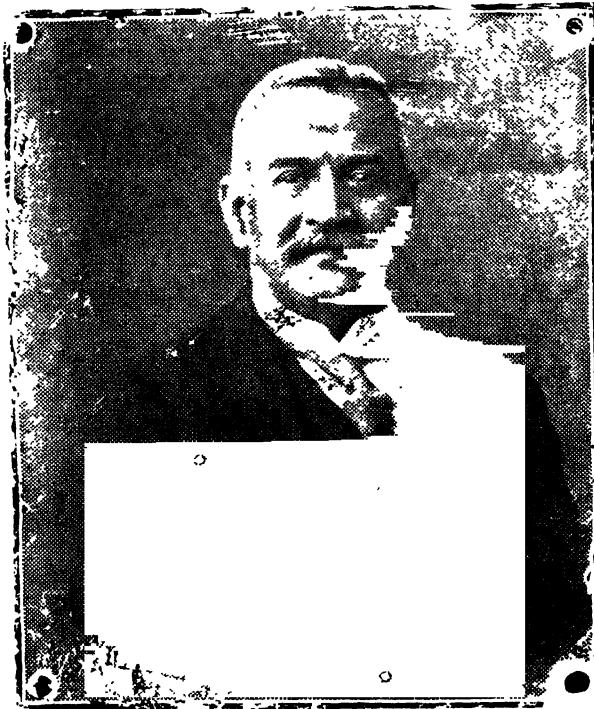
Part II—Monday, the 23rd April and again on Monday the 13th August, 1928.

* * *

THE KEDARNATH BANERJEE MEDAL.

The Kedarnath Banerjee Gold Medal has been awarded to Mr. Rameschandra Pal, M.A., M.L.

The Calcutta Review



THE RT. HON'BLE SIR SATYENDRAPRASANNA

Baron Sinha of Raipur

By courtesy of Forward]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1928



THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION

I.—HIS EXCELLENCY THE CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS¹

VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is my privilege to address you to-day for the first time as Chancellor of this University. I find myself occupying this position as Governor of this Presidency, and it will be my duty and desire to use my best endeavours as Chancellor, to assure the efficiency and progress of this University. Education, in all its branches in Bengal, is a matter which demands the anxious and constant consideration of any one occupying the position of Governor.

It is many years since I was in close and intimate touch with University life, and I can say without hesitation that the idea that one day I might be faced with the responsibilities of Chancellor of a University, let alone two, was not one of my youthful fancies. My four years spent as an under-graduate and graduate at Cambridge, and later as a Member of the Court of a Provincial University, enabled me to gain some experience of what a University could, and should, do for those whom it

¹ Delivered by His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Francis Stanley Jackson, P.C., K.C.I.E., Chancellor, Calcutta University, on Saturday, the 11th February, 1928.

undertakes to prepare for the larger life, and what a University can be expected to give to, and what it might expect to receive from, the men and women who come under its charge.

I have already addressed, in my capacity as Chancellor, the University of Dacca in Convocation. There is an essential difference between the two Universities, which provides added interest for one so directly connected with both. In Calcutta, the University can claim experience and tradition, which come with age. The number of students, including those in the numerous colleges affiliated to it, amounts to over 30,000, including 12,000 in Calcutta, and appears at first sight to involve a staggering proposition. This University wields a great influence and bears a correspondingly great responsibility.

Dacca is young and relatively small. It is unitary and non-affiliating. It was fortunate in having the advantage of the Sadler Commission's report, upon which to base a new organization, and this it wisely decided to adopt. Calcutta, on the other hand, in whose interest the report originated, has so far preferred to follow a cautious attitude, apparently awaiting the time when the path of change has been surveyed and tested, and it may feel justified in moving forward upon lines suggested in that report.

The University of Calcutta, as an organized Corporation, which numbers amongst its sons names greatly honoured in the academic and educational life of this Province, has jealously maintained its right of criticism, and indeed of rejection, of proposals, from whatever quarter they may come. Its considered judgment as to what is best in the interests of higher education in this Presidency, must always be treated with the greatest respect. It is nearly ten years since the Sadler Commission made its famous report upon this University, and though many of the recommendations in the Report have been adopted in the Universities of other parts of India, they have not so far been favoured here. I feel, however, we are fast verging towards a general consensus of opinion that changes, serious and

far-reaching, are overdue, and I shall watch with sympathy and interest your efforts to modernize your constitution in conformity with present-day requirements.

I know well that University life in India differs in many respects from that in an English University. In Bengal, a University has far wider and more difficult functions to discharge than a University in England. A large number of the men who go to the Universities in England have had the advantage of the experience of the corporate life of a big school, whereas in Bengal so far the conditions of school organization are less advanced. In England, in the schools, in work and in play, the boys are trained under strict discipline, which is a sure foundation upon which the formation of character can be based. In Bengal, the Universities have imposed upon them the difficult task of doing or of attempting to do for the students what the schools have often neglected to do.

The value of a University course must depend to a large extent upon the use the individual makes of it. It relies for its good name and standing upon the way in which the students respond, not only to the rules and regulations and customs, which must be established in any University worth the name, but also to a sense of responsibility for, and a pride in, the well-being and dignity of the University, to which they should consider it an honour to belong.

The Calcutta University can claim to be the oldest and largest in India. It stands in the midst of the first city in India. The aims of all those who have the interests of this University at heart should be to strive to make it worthy of the pre-eminent position it should hold. The capacity of the students of Bengal, if trained from the start upon a sound foundation, is such as should enable them to attain to the highest distinction. The honours degree here should be such as will bring real joy and pride to the successful, and be comparable to the standard of any other University. I am glad to know that most of you are determined by steadily raising

standards, wherever possible and required, to keep up the credit of your University.

I feel a particular interest in the student life of this University. My life at the University of Cambridge was that of an ordinary student. I did enough work to keep out of trouble and to enable me to take my degree. I entered with a full heart into all the pleasures and amusements it afforded, and I dare say I occasionally enjoyed some of those outbursts, which are common to the exuberance of youthful spirits. My admiration for those who gained the highest distinction was unbounded. At the same time I realized the incalculable value of the facilities for organized games and sports from which, if properly played, so many useful lessons can be learnt. From experience I can commend sport for 'varsity men as a much better game than politics.

I have been impressed by the amount of money annually spent upon University and higher education by Government, relative to that spent on elementary education. The support which a University can expect to receive from Government must be based upon visible results. It depends upon the proper appreciation by all connected with the University of its objects and purposes, and a determination to avoid and resist all attempts from outside and from self-interested quarters to make illegitimate use of the University corporate organization for other than legitimate University objects.

Now I should like to offer my congratulations to those graduates who have been awarded their degrees by this University to-day. I trust you will jealously guard its good name and advance its reputation. Your influence will not be measured solely by the knowledge you possess. No one is better aware than yourself, except perhaps your Examiners, how little you really know of those subjects in which you have taken a degree, but I trust that you have acquired through your work at this University a power of clear judgment, a self-reliant and just intelligence and ability to discern the true from the false, the

real from the apparent. If you have done this you may, indeed, be hopeful not only of a successful career in any walk of life you adopt, but of being able to render useful service to your country.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a matter of regret for me that my first visit as Chancellor of this University could not be made under happier conditions. I am informed that amongst those who took an active part in the disturbances which occurred within the neighbourhood of the University last week, when an attempt was made to interfere with, and offer resistance to law and order, were students of this University. It is not the function of the University to question the rights of individual political opinion, but the unseemly conduct of members of the University, acting no doubt under the incitement of outside influence, is calculated to shake the confidence of the supporters and well-wishers of the University's progress. It is obvious that an institution which includes amongst its members some so devoid of a sense of order and discipline cannot be regarded otherwise than with anxiety and misgiving. As Chancellor it should be my duty and pleasure to assist as best as I can your just requests for support from Government. This I am prepared to do, but I am alarmed lest Government may feel it their duty to consider seriously whether the measure of support which is at present given, might not, in the general interests of education, be diverted into other channels from which experience has shown they may expect better results. The University should support the College authorities in any action they may think necessary to take, to enable them to restore a spirit of orderly study and to prevent a recurrence of such incidents, which bring nothing but disgrace and disaster to all concerned.

I feel there is no one who has been more disappointed and hurt by recent events than the Vice-Chancellor. I know how he has laboured with selfless devotion upon the task of administering this University which should stand out as one of Bengal's most treasured and valued possessions. During his term of office he has shown sound vision and a masterly grasp of the

problems of organization. I can associate myself with the Vice-Chancellor in the work he is doing to secure for our University, through its standards in degrees and its general administration, a position second to none in India.

In the conditions of sensitive instability, which characterize public opinion in India at this moment, and which appear to have affected the student life of this University, what is required more than anything else is a frame of mind, informed of accurate knowledge, responsive to discipline, actuated by a sense of justice and determination to subordinate private interests to public welfare. The situation immediately in front of us is one of anxiety and difficulty, but such a position arises to be faced and overcome. To succeed, the willing co-operation of every distinguished son of the University is expected. No good results ever came from refusing to face facts or shirking responsibility. Cool heads and calm consideration should enable us to find a satisfactory solution and assure *that* quiet and orderly progress, which is necessary if this University is to fulfil its useful purpose.

II.—THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS ¹

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

On behalf of this University I beg to offer a cordial welcome to Your Excellency on the occasion of your presiding for the first time over the Convocation as our Chancellor. We feel confident that Your Excellency's known devotion to the true interests of our young men and sympathy with educational ideals will be of great assistance to us in overcoming the financial difficulties and extraneous disturbances with which we are unhappily faced.

The year that has just expired has been, on the whole, uneventful for the University. We mourn the departure from our midst of our former Chancellor Lord Lytton, who kept an intimate touch with this University throughout his tenure of office. This Senate is the poorer by reason of the death of three eminent Fellows who had adorned it for several decades and rendered high service to education, I mean Sir Kailas Chandra Bose, Dr. Henry Stephen and Prof. Adhar Chandra Mukherji. A few other gentlemen have ceased to be Fellows by reason of resignation or the expiry of their terms, but they are happily in the land of the living.

II

All the teaching work in the province up to the degrees for graduation, is conducted by the Colleges, and not by the University directly. These Colleges are of three kinds, namely, those maintained by the State, by Missionary Societies and by private bodies. In Calcutta alone besides the seven Government Colleges, five Mission Colleges, and one aided Medical College,

¹ Delivered by Jadunath Sarkar, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, on Saturday, the 11th February, 1928.

there are five private Colleges. Aid from public funds is given to all the non-Government Colleges for equipment, etc., to the extent of Rs. 1,29,000 every year, and a few of these institutions receive, in addition, small maintenance contributions from the State.

But these private Colleges have been recently faced with a great difficulty; while their expenditure has increased through their having undertaken to teach many new subjects and taken affiliation in Honours in addition to Pass, their income has declined by reason of the economic distress prevailing in the country and the consequent fall in the vast numbers which a few years ago used to enter for the degree course in Arts or Science. Most private Colleges are now passing through the lean years, and unless the standard of teaching is to be deplorably lowered, they must meet together and devise means for increasing their income and for reducing their expenditure by inter-collegiate co-operation. When they have thus done their duty, I venture to appeal to Your Excellency's Government to grant more liberal aids to these colleges for their maintenance.

III

Turning to the University's own teaching side, which is known as the Post-graduate Department, I have great pleasure in appending to my address a list of the research work done by the University teachers in Arts and Science during the last year. It is a record of activity, remarkable for its range and variety, and I venture to plead that as soon as our political atmosphere ceases to be charged with electricity and is freed from the capricious gusts and cross-currents of popular passions and popular delusions, the earliest opportunity should be taken by the Bengal Government and Legislative Council to place the Post-graduate Department on a permanent basis by assuring its necessary income for the future in the form of a block grant, as is the case in many other Indian Universities. I repeat the appeal made by me last year for public support to the

schemes first of placing the University lecturers on a graded scale of pay, so as to induce them to remain here instead of improving their prospects by going elsewhere; and secondly of building residences for them close to the University in order to develop the corporate life of the University and bring the teachers and students into constant daily contact. With frequent changes in the staff and with teachers who can be met only during the prescribed periods of lectures or tutorials, it is impossible for any University to do its work properly and for even the most gifted and devoted teacher to give his best to his pupils, for under these adverse conditions it is physically impossible for a teacher to inspire his students or mould their character. Calcutta cannot aspire to be an Oxford, by merely engaging highly qualified lecturers, if the social facilities of Oxford are absent here. With our University teachers freed from anxiety about their future, and enabled to live close to their boys in what the last Royal Commission on the London University recommended as "a University quarter," there would be a great improvement in the research done by our teachers and advanced students and a great elevation of the academic standard, in return for our present expenditure. In this respect helping the teachers would really be helping the community.

IV

This is the one day in the year when we cannot help thinking of our duty and our destiny as a corporate body. It is true that every educational institution must justify its existence by trying to raise the general level of knowledge among the people. That is a duty which a University shares in common with the humblest school, though in a different degree. But what is the special service that the country expects from the University? What new element should a true University contribute to national life?

It is true that for the noblest creations of literature or art, the world has not to look up to the Universities exclusively or even mainly. That is the special field for the play of individual genius, and we know that genius is a very wayward child. But in every civilized country, the Universities have been, with rare exceptions, the nurseries of the leaders of the people's thought and of the captains of national enterprise;— and not of the supreme directors alone, but also of the intermediate agents through whom their work is carried on.

The original investigation of truth, the discovery of the secrets of Nature, the opening of new paths for the march of the human mind,—this is the work not of the multitude, but of a select few. Such leaders of thought and discoverers of science must ever be a small minority; they form what the Greeks called an aristocracy, *i.e.*, a body of the best men in intellectual power and strength of character. While an aristocracy of birth hardens and narrows down to an exclusive caste in a few generations, an aristocracy in the ancient Greek sense of the word is the supreme need of every people that wishes to live and advance in the world.

V

At the same time, the University is the strongest force on the side of democracy. In medieval Europe, the Christian Church gave the freest and fullest opportunity to intellect and character, irrespective of birth. In that world of rigid caste, hereditary status, and ancient conventions, the Catholic Church was the one place where mere talent could rise to the highest usefulness and eminence, without requiring any help from birth or wealth. Many a poor peasant boy or artisan's son has entered the Church school, there unfolded his latent capacity, taken the vow and risen to be Chancellor or Pope. Such has also been the work of our Universities. If the distinctive feature of democracy be that it throws career open to talent, then I contend that our Universities have helped

to attain this end in a greater degree than any other institution in the country.

The broad portals of Halls like this have been thrown open to all who have the requisite talent. Here they have competed with rivals drawn from all ranks of society and sometimes from all countries of the world, and the result has been that each man's capacity has been developed to the utmost, his genius has asserted itself, and he has gained due recognition in the wide wide world. And the nation as a whole has benefited by this timely discovery and cultivation of inherent capacity.

But the intellectual aristocracy whom the University discovers, trains, and sends forth into the world, must not forget that nobility has its obligations and that the best products of the University owe a service to the institution which has helped to make them what they are and to the community which they are destined to lead.

VI

The one law of life of every civilisation is progress, the ceaseless striving after improvement, the sense of kinship with

"Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new :
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do."

It is not enough for a talented youth to use the University in developing his own innate powers to the utmost ; he, as a natural leader of thought, owes it to the University and to the country to contribute his own share to the progress of mankind. Our intellectual aristocrats,—if I may use the expression without offence,—whether they are acting as original contributors or as critics of others' performances, must not be satisfied with the commonplace or the conventional, they must ever insist on the highest quality ; for they alone can judge best, they alone can make the most authoritative award of merit. On them lies a heavy responsibility, if they lower our

standard of attainable perfection and suffer the nation's cultural level to fall.

This insistence on only the best performance possible, this demand for greater and still greater endeavour,—is an unpleasant duty, it is an unpopular duty, but it is a supreme duty, which no man can neglect without imperilling the future of his nation. Facile praise of commonplace or unworthy performances in the realm of learning may seem an easy, pleasant and polite thing. But it poisons the national intellect at its source, and it is a benefit of doubtful value to the man to whom it is so thoughtlessly given. It permanently enfeebles him. For, no man knows what he is capable of achieving so long as he does not rouse himself for a heroic effort. It is only in answering the call of a noble but difficult task that our hidden capacity shows itself, as a young man's muscles are developed only by exercise and the strain of harder and harder tasks. The best service that one can do to our student community is to incite them to greater and greater achievement, to qualify themselves for competing with other races on equal terms in the open games of the wide world, and not to cry for a narrow reserved local field of trial and a purely parochial standard of performance.

VII

If we are to rise to the lofty destiny that ought to be ours, if the Indians of the highest capacity are to take their places as peers among the world's intellectual leaders, then the linking together of our scholarly efforts is necessary. We must not forget that Nature creates nothing by one leap, but that the advance of civilisation and thought has been made step by step,—by the steady and regular process of evolution and not by the mythological device of a sudden and complete creation. In this advance of human thought, in this growth of civilisation, mind has co-operated with mind, country with country, one age with another.

This can be done only if we sink our narrow sense of national or sectarian individuality, our spirit of isolation, and fall into line with the world's workers in the higher branches of thought and research by agreeing on the first principles and the uniformity of scientific method. The learned world has been so completely standardised and so well trained in mutual aid, that boards of scholars are now carrying to perfect success works which were in former ages attempted by individuals and which even the most gifted and heroic individual failed to fully complete. Let us contrast Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* with the *Cambridge Medieval History* written by a syndicate of scholars of different countries. Gibbon's book is a monument of a single individual's genius and erudition; it is an undying masterpiece of literature; but as a full and authentic history it cannot stand by the side of the Cambridge synthesis of many scholars' work. The contrast between the *English Dictionary* of that literary Hercules, Dr. Samuel Johnson, and the *Oxford New English Dictionary* is an equally strong illustration of my point.

So, too, in the realm of natural science, every minute section of every subject has advanced by the co-operation of mind with mind, and in each successive age many workers have contributed their respective quotas of discovery to enrich the common stock of human knowledge.

VIII

Therefore, if we wish for the advancement of learning, if we desire our University to be a living fountain of knowledge and not a herbarium of dead, imported plants, then we must make arrangements for linking together the efforts of our own workers among themselves and also for bringing our scholars' labours into contact and co-ordination with the efforts now being made by seekers after truth in other parts of the world.

The teachers of a true University naturally form a brotherhood of workers among themselves, frequently meeting

together and exchanging ideas. The social side of Universities is very much neglected in India, but it is as important an instrument for the advancement of learning as solitary work in the library or the laboratory. For want of this social life in our University we have not been able to derive full benefit from the visits of foreign scholars in our midst as our invited Readers and Lecturers. They have delivered the requisite number of public addresses, no doubt, but have had no opportunity of talking with our teachers and advanced students on their special lines of study and bringing them abreast of the latest developments in these subjects in Europe.

IX

If our University does its work fully and well, then not only the leaders of our country's thought, but every true son of the *alma mater* is expected to show a distinctive mental discipline. He must display the captain's coolness of head and wide range of vision. He must not be swept away by the popular cries of the hour ; he must not let the clear light of his reason be obscured by the appeals to his passions ; he must never ignore realities, but must always keep his gaze fixed upon the things that count, the things that will endure.

A University has failed in its duty if it has not imparted to its graduates this intellectual discipline, this catholicity of sympathies, this power of self-control in the midst of all kinds of distraction, this universality of outlook, and thus taught them to rise superior to national prejudices, racial pride, sectarian animosity and personal interest.

The true son of a University feels it his duty to take his stand in the ranks of the defenders of reason and liberty, of law and progress, of justice and reform,—against the forces of bigotry and selfishness, the tyranny of power or of the populace, the vulgar appeals to passion and unreason. He is ever ready to guard liberty of opinion and worship in the individual in defiance alike of the frowns of rulers and the threats

of the mob, because he is convinced that civilisation will collapse, discovery and creation will cease, and democracy will become a mockery if force takes the place of reason. He is a worshipper of truth and freedom and feels that without the union of these two the roots of social happiness and human progress would be destroyed.

The following incident taken from Bryce's *American Commonwealth* illustrates how this civic spirit animates the worthy citizens of the great new republic of the West. "When the Orangemen of New York purposed to have a 12th of July procession through the streets, the Irish Catholics threatened to prevent it. The feeling of the native Americans was aroused at once; young men of wealth came back from their mountain and seaside resorts to fill the militia regiments which were called out to guard the procession, and the display of force was so overwhelming that no disturbance followed. These Americans had no sympathy with the childish and mischievous partisanship which leads the Orangemen to perpetuate Old World feuds on New World soil. But processions were legal, and they were resolved that the law should be respected and the spirit of disorder repressed. They would have been equally ready to protect a Roman Catholic procession."

X

The ancient Greeks displayed the same love of ordered liberty in their public life as they sought ordered beauty in their cultivation of the fine arts. This spirit enabled that handful of men living in a small and poor peninsula, to defeat the mighty Persian empire and to bequeath to future ages the most valuable and inspiring gifts in the form of political wisdom, literary masterpieces and art treasures.

Three thousand years ago a poet drew a picture of a battle fought between two races from two different continents on the

sandy plain that overlooks the narrow sea dividing Europe from Asia. The Ionian father of song clearly distinguished their different characteristics as explaining their relative strength. He said, "The Trojans marched with clamour and with shouting like unto birds, even as when there goeth up before heaven a clamour of cranes which flee from the coming of winter and sudden rain. But on the other side marched the Achæans in silence breathing courage, eager at heart to give succour man to man."

In this self-control, this silent determination, this habit of holding their strength in reserve till needed, instead of letting it effervesce in passionate speech or disorderly tumult,—lay the secret of that national power, which, when guided by a great military genius of a kindred race, conquered the then civilised world up to the bank of the Satlaj and set the law to three continents.

This self-discipline was also the secret of success of the greatest general of antiquity, whom even the historian of the city of his eternal hatred has been constrained to admire, saying, "Never was there a character more capable of the two tasks, so opposed to each other, of commanding and obeying. He was fearless in exposing himself to danger and perfectly self-possessed in the presence of danger."

This discipline or habituating the will to obey a law higher than our personal caprice,—is the keystone of every system of education. The student, like the young mechanical apprentice, the newly enlisted recruit, the novice in a monastic order, is in a state of training for his chosen work; he is, therefore, not yet fit to undertake that work. And, as he neglects his training at the appeal of outside distractions, at the call to other kinds of work, so will his preparation for his life's work be delayed and rendered less complete; he will in that proportion remain an inefficient workman in his particular line, and therefore incapable of rendering true service to his country.

XI.

It is a commonplace truth of economics that the employment of immature lads in factories is not only harmful to their health but also hinders the growth of a class of efficient adult labourers. Similarly, the youth who prematurely leaves his studies or practical training incomplete, in response to the noble instinct of patriotism, is sure to realise in his hours of calm reflection that he is really showing irreverence to our Great Mother by laying before her shrine the cheap and useless offering of an undeveloped body, an immature mind, a hazily learnt art or craft, an undisciplined will. He will realise with regret, after his life's opportunities are gone for ever, that it requires a higher type of patriotism to possess his soul in patience, to resist with unshaken firmness all distractions and temptations during the period of his education, and to thoroughly master his own special subject, so that he may supply the nation with an expert workman and supreme teacher, —which is its greatest need.

If it be true of the individual that

“Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power,”

it is no less true of that aggregate of individuals which we call a nation. Let every future citizen of India, as he leaves the training ground of his boyhood and youth, select his rule of life. Let him make his choice between the eternal verities on the one hand and the popular delusions and misrepresentations of the hour on the other, between the sway of reason and the insurrection of the passions, between holding his strength in reserve till the proper time for its use and making premature theatrical demonstrations, between self-discipline and moral anarchy.

The University has made your choice easier by placing before you the lessons of history and concentrating in its teaching the garnered wisdom of all ages and all countries. If, then, you make the wrong choice, you will be doing so with your eyes open as to its consequences to you as private persons and to the nation as a community. India expects every one of her sons to do his duty. Let your hearts be uplifted to a true conception of that duty !

W. B. YEATS¹

I

William Butler Yeats, eldest son of a well-known artist, Mr. J. B. Yeats, R.H.A., was born in June, 1865, at Dublin. He was the grandson of W. B. Yeats, M.A., who was a rector. Through his maternal grandfather who was a merchant the future Irish poet became intimate with the town of Sligo which forms the background of many of his poems, of his solitary novel "John Sherman and Dhoya" (1891), and of the "Celtic Twilight" (1893).

At the age of nine Yeats was sent for education to London, where his parents then resided but at fifteen he returned to Dublin.

I do not propose in my short paper to dwell on biographical details beyond what is absolutely necessary for throwing light on Yeats's poetry which is the subject of my lecture to-day. For fuller details I may refer you to his "Autobiographies: Reveries over Childhood and Youth and the Trembling of the Veil," which is an illuminating artist's confession as well as a record of his associates in the 90's of the last century and of Irish politics and Ireland's political struggle for freedom. In the 8-volume collected works of Yeats it forms the 6th.

Yeats next became an art student and also produced a lot of juvenile poems of a somewhat imitative character, written in his teens, some of which appeared in the *Dublin University Review*. Most of these were indifferent translations from the Irish.

The formative period of his life coincides with the era of a great intellectual, social and political² ferment in Ireland.

¹ This paper was read in September, 1927, at a meeting of the Poetry Society of Calcutta.

² Cf. Notes (pages 860-61) to "Later Poems" and "The Rose Tree" and "Sixteen Dead Men" "Unicorn from the Stars" re Thomas's fears about his nephew Martin Hearns and Parnell's "Life."

This ancient land of glorious traditions like our own country was then in the throes of a mighty change and the choice spirits of the age in all spheres of life were eagerly groping for new light.

Yeats connected himself as an aspiring young spirit, full of revolt against the existing order, with the group whose chief ambitious dream was the regeneration of their beloved country and nation by the creation of a new literature as a national driving force. Here lay the seed of the new Celtic Movement in Ireland which resulted in the establishment of the National Drama. We learn from Yeats that those were days of widened vision, inspiring enthusiasms, revolutionary ideas, passion for social reforms, and of the foundation, in all important centres, of innumerable societies for the diffusion of new ideas and the spread of culture. The air was tense with the Fenian leader O'Leary's¹ new nationalism. Yeats specially worked² for the rebirth of a romantic, ideal Ireland and by 1890, he says, "A true literary consciousness—national to the centre—seems gradually to be forming out of all this disgusting and pretty-fying, this penumbra of half-culture. We are preparing for a new Irish literary movement."

Yeats's sympathies had a wide range. He was attracted by Theosophy and actually, we are told, a young Brahmin was invited from London to teach the ancient mysteries of Indian Philosophy and he revealed to a select body the wisdom of the East. Yeats was already well versed in the old Druidical³ lore especially as it was preserved in the traditional songs and tales of the ancient bards of the⁴ Western Celts of Ireland from whom he often drew his inspiration. To this became added an intense interest in alchemy, in occultism, in psychical⁵

¹ Cf. "September, 1918."

² Cf. "Secret Rose," "The Blessed," "The Folly of being Comforted," "The Arrow," "Adam's Curse" and "All Things can tempt Me."

³ Cf. "Fergus and the Druid."

⁴ Cf. "Village Ghosts," "Helen's Eye."

⁵ Cf. "Unicorn from the Stars" for Martyn's trance, "A Visionary" in "The Celtic Twilight," "The Tables of the Law."

research, esoteric philosophy and lastly Indian spiritual vision and philosophical thought with which his own philosophy of life became so deeply tinged as to colour most of his poetical utterances. It has been rightly said by his critics that "Yeats's poetry always furnished food-stuff for the soul." To this important point I shall soon revert in connection with my observations on the *symbolic* element in his poetry specially conspicuous in the "Countess Cathleen" volume of 1892, in "The Secret Rose" of 1897, "The Wind among the Reeds" (1899) and the symbolic drama of "The Shadowy Waters" (1900).

We turn for a moment to another source for valuable materials bearing on his early poetic career. We learn from Katharine Tynan that at the age of twenty Yeats was all¹ dreams and all gentleness. This forcibly reminds us of his affinity with the ever-youthful Shelley. Like Shelley he too was now often found "Chanting poetry to himself in the silent watches of the night" self-absorbed and his dream² was all about his beloved and unhappy Ireland—particularly pastoral Ireland.³ The deep impression imprinted on his youthful heart by the vanished⁴ charms of idyllic Ireland, then undergoing a rapid change except in the far-away secluded countryside, is beautifully recorded for us in the prose piece in his "Celtic Twilight" (1893) called "By the Roadside." He refers there to his personal experience of an evening when he went to a place on the Kiltartan road to listen to some simple, touching, sweet old Irish songs—"mournful songs of separation, of death, and 'of exile or the glad songs of meeting.'" "The voices melted," he says, "into the twilight and were mixed into the

¹ Cf. The character of Martin Hearne and of his father Andrew in "Unicorn from the Stars" (1907), "Fergus and the Druid."

² Cf. "Helen's Eye" of "The Celtic Twilight, and "All Things can tempt Me," "Easter, 1916."

³ Cf. "To the Rose upon the Rood of Time," and "The Fisherman" (the 2nd poem with that title in "The Wild Swans at Coole," 1919) as also that in the "Crossways" (1889).

trees and when I thought of the words they too melted away and were mixed with the generations of men." In "Hanrahan and Cathleen" (in his *Stories of Red Hanrahan* first published in 1897, but revised in 1907) we are told that this school-master and song-maker, the red-haired man, made a good many songs, chiefly love songs and some songs of repentance, but most of them were about Ireland and the heavy weight of her tormenting griefs. Among others, he sang the following moving words and "the sound of his voice was like the wind in a lonely place"—

"Our courage breaks like an old tree in a black wind and dies
But we have hidden in our hearts the flame out of the eyes
Of Cathleen, the daughter of Hoolihan."
And Cathleen we know is ¹ Ireland.

The last stanza of the poem runs thus—

"The yellow pool has overflowed high up on Clooth-na-Bare,
For the wet winds are blowing out of the clinging air ;
Like heavy-flooded waters our bodies and our blood,
But purer than a tall candle before the Holy Rood,
Is Cathleen, the daughter of Hoolihan."

Yeats then practically resolved

"And I will make a thousand songs
And set your name all names above."

It is significant that the motto to the volume of poems entitled "Responsibilities" (pub. 1914) is a quotation from an unknown Old Play, *viz.*, "In² dreams begins responsibility."

¹ *Vide* Notes on Plays, pp. 418-419 (1903).

² *Cf.* "The Hour Glass" (Prose Version, 1903), and the "Unicorn from the Stars" (1907) for the character of Martin Hearne. In "Fergus and the Druid" the latter fulfils the Red Branch hero's highest ambition by offering him the "little bag of dreams which contains all wisdom. *Vide* also "A Prayer on going into My House."

In "the Queen and the Fool" (of "Celtic Twilight") we read of a man whom Yeats met saying "If I had that woman's power of vision I would know all the wisdom of the Gods." Then Yeats adds that he knew of another woman "who would pass in sleep into countries of an earthly beauty."

In these days of adolescence the forest-side, seabeach, every stream, every field, nay every hedge, bush or tree had its phantom for his alert poetic fancy and the twilight was something of an irresistible fascination, as we know it has ever been to all romantic imaginations. In the "Golden Age" he tells us "The last time I had been to Sligo I had longed for a message from those beings or bodiless moods, or whatever they be, who inhabit the world of spirits. The message came as I lay between sleeping and waking." In another prose piece of "the Celtic Twilight" he contrasts the treatment meted out to ghosts² and fairies in Scotland where people are too theological and gloomy and look upon these creatures as pagan and wicked with what is done in Ireland, where "there is something of timid affection between men and spirits and each admits the other to have feelings," for "the Catholic religion likes to keep on good terms with its neighbours." He adds later on "For their gay and graceful doings you must go to Ireland; for their deeds of terror to Scotland." Again in "the Eaters of Precious Stones" he confesses that "Sometimes when I have been shut off from common interests and have for a little forgotten to be restless, I get waking dreams, now faint and shadow-like, now vivid and solid-looking like the material world under my feet." At the age of sixteen he composed a short poem in the naïve innocence of early youth when his fancy-enslaved eye would follow, he

¹ In "The Celtic Twilight" cf. also "Enchanted Woods."

² A Remonstrance with Scotsmen for having soured the disposition of their ghosts and fairies. For the poet's love of fairies and belief in them compare "Celtic Twilight" (pp. 213, 233, 245, 250, 268-69, 270-75 of Early Poems and Stories Volume) and Introductory Rhymes to the "Shadowy Waters" (1906 version)

tells us, with intense attention

"A ring-dove's ash-grey gleam of feather"

and

"Noon wrapt the trees in veils of violet weather
And on the tip-toe the winds a-whispering stood."²

Then a maiden engaged in weaving, perched on a seat of moss,
sang as if to him, saying

"I am lone Lady Quietness, my sweet,
And on this loom I weave thy destiny."

The destiny thus mysteriously woven has given to the world this great singer of the Celtic movement in modern Ireland. I may here add in passing that the volume of essays and stories called "The Celtic Twilight" from which I have just quoted only a few sentences serves as a helpful commentary on Yeats's poetic visions and poetic beliefs and its first edition appeared when the National Literary Society of Ireland was founded at Dublin which was largely instrumental in inaugurating the establishment of the Irish National Drama. I shall rest content with a bare mention of the fact that Yeats was at the head of this epoch-making movement with George Russel, better known as A. E., as his lieutenant, and Seumas O'Sullivan, James Stephen, Padric Colum, Gilbert Cannan, Lord Dunsany, James H. Cousins and Lady Gregory as valuable co-operators and associates. The movement is now practically dead but its work is done.

In his Notes to his poems Yeats observes "From the moment I began 'the Wanderings of Usheen' (or Orsin), which I did at the age of 20, I believe my subject-matter became Irish," and, in the Dedication of his volume of "Early Poems and Stories" republished in 1925, he adds "I tried after the publication of the Wanderings of Oisín to write of nothing but

² Vide Preface (of May, 1922) to "Plays in Prose and Verse" and Notes to the volume (at the end) specially pp. 417, 418, 421 and 426, and Notes to "Early Poems and Stories" p. 528, and the Preface to Later Poems (1922).

emotion and in the simplest language." These are very significant hints and we have to fix them carefully in our minds for a just estimate of the poet, for this explains an important change in his craftsmanship. We cannot do better than turn for a moment to the poem "A Coat" included in "Responsibilities" (pub. 1914):—

"I made my song a coat
Covered with embroideries
Out of old mythologies
From heel to throat;
But the fools caught it
Wore it in the world's eyes
As though they'd wrought it.
Song, let them take it,
For there's more enterprise
In walking naked."

The embroidered coat has reference to his early efforts in which we find that he is also a link with the past. This link connects him closely with the poets of the English Romantic Revival and its later decay. In his early narrative, descriptive, or lyrical pieces he has much in common with Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Moore, Morris, Rossetti and Patmore, at least in their manner, though his poems are almost invariably based on Celtic folk-lore, ancient Irish legends and superstitious beliefs, popular ghost-stories and fairy tales, universally current among the rude but highly imaginative and sensitive Irish fishermen, peasantry or shepherds, particularly the inhabitants of the county of Sligo, of Rosses, Drumcliff and Dumahair.¹ Yeats has largely and freely drawn on these for his poetical materials. But his mode of treatment of these native themes was at first largely determined by the influence of the English romanticists.

The long narrative piece² "The Wanderings of Oisín" (or Usheen) in its framework is indebted to Coleridge's "Ancient

¹ Cf "Drumcliff and Rosses" in "The Celtic Twilight."

² There was another poem on the subject by the 18th century Gaelic poet, Michael

Mariner," in its narrative portions shows intimate relationship with William Morris, in its rich descriptions is connected with Keats's *Endymion*, in its idealistic suggestion with Shelley's *Alastor* and in its exuberant details bears the stamp of Rossetti. The poem was published in 1889 but commenced when Yeats was barely 20 years old. As in Coleridge's poem, the hero recounts to St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, his interminable experiences of 300 years' long wandering in the land of fairies and the heroine, Niam, the daughter of Aengus, a high-born maid on horseback much resembles Keats's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*. The whole poem is shot through with the glamour of enchanting romance in its 3 parts representing the islands of (1) dance, song and love, (2) of strifes and victories and finally (3) of lost memories. The aim of the piece is to show the contrast between the ancient Ireland of Pagan faith and a Pagan enjoyment of beauty and the later one of Christianity. "The Crucifixion of the Outcast," a prose piece in "The Secret Rose" (1897) serves as a commentary on this narrative poem.

There are unmistakable echoes of Keats and Tennyson in certain passages of the 1st and 2nd parts of this poem and a romantic melancholy note which however is different from the deep sadness of Shelley or Keats. Book II is decidedly more supernatural and remarkable for its song quality and descriptive passages, especially the poet's exquisitely skilful delineation of sunset which is quite a favourite theme with Yeats. The contrast between the age prior to Christ's advent and the days of His coming is fine. The 3rd Book is noticeable for its metre and the interesting dialogue towards the end between Ushen and St. Patrick containing suggestive references to old Ireland. As samples of his early workmanship I shall quote only a few lines.

Comyn, called "The Lay of Oisín in the Land of Youth" (with an English translation which appeared in O'Grady's "Transactions of the Ossianic Society," Vol. IV). Now, Oisín is the same as Ossian (son of Finn or Finn mac Coul i.e., Gaelic Fionn mac Cumhail, chief of the clan Fianna Eirinn). *Vide* Lady Gregory's "Gods and Fighting Men" and J. G. Campbell's "The Fians,"

"You are bent, and bald, and blind
 With a heavy heart and a wandering mind,
 Have known three centuries, poets sing,
 Of dalliance with a demon thing."

The last line reproduces Rossetti's manner. But still more so the lines

"We danced to where in the winding thicket
 The damask roses, bloom on bloom,
 Like crimson meteors hang in the gloom." etc.

Who can fail to catch the note of Coleridgian nature glamour in the lines?

"But now the moon like a white rose shone
 In the pale West, and the sun's rim sank,
 And clouds arrayed their rank on rank
 About his fading crimson ball."

But we must pass on. Even in this imitative effort we discover with great joy the musical gift of a born poet which forms his distinctive mark. There is visible also a keen Keatsian eye for sensuous beauty and a prodigal's profusion of lyrical charms, who sows not with the hand but with a whole sack emptied at a time. Nay more. Even now the poet's voice at times grows distant and dreamy lured by the siren songs of the fairy¹ people with whom his youthful heart is intensely in

¹ Many of the prose pieces of "The Celtic Twilight" bear evidence of this tendency in Yeats. In the "Enchanted Woods" we have—"I say to myself, when I am well out of the thicket of argument, *that they are surely there*, the divine people, for only we who have neither simplicity nor wisdom have denied them, and the simple of all times and the wise men of ancient times *have seen them and even spoken to them*. They live out their passionate lives not far off, as I think, and we shall be among them when we die if we but keep our natures simple and passionate. May it not even be that death shall unite us to all romance?" (Italics are mine.)

The Irish fairy folk appear, we know, under various forms and names. They are the children of Lillith, the Shining Ones, the Untiring ones, the Forgetful people or good people or better known as, *Sídh* (pronounced "Shee" cf. Banshee), so called especially by the peasantry. Perhaps the original Irish gods and goddesses and later cycle of heroes too gradually became transformed into fairies (cf. the terms *Fer-Sídh* and *Bean-Sídh*). Ireland at one time abounded in barrows or small hills called *Sídh* or *Sídh* assigned by

love, and what is more important, we notice signs of an ingrained tendency towards a mystic view of life, or at all events, of the ideal quality of his poetry showing his affinity with Blake and Shelley. I shall refer once more to this element of idealism in Yeats later on in another connection.

The 2nd volume (of lyrics) under the title "Crossways" appeared in 1888 or 1889. Here is yet visible the romanticist's love of far-off lands and three poems are frankly on Indian subjects—(1) Anashuya and Vijaya, (2) The Indian upon God and (3) The Indian to his Love. There is very little of poetry in these but local colour has been successfully given by the Indian feeling for all God's little creatures whom Brahma himself protects from all harm and by the lines in which the priestess of the temple (Anashuya) adjures Vijaya :—

"Swear by the parents of the Gods,
Dread oath, who dwell on sacred Himalaya,
On the far Golden Peak; enormous shapes,
Who still were old when the great sea was young;
On their vast faces mystery and dreams."

The ballad of "Moll Magee" in this volume is out and out Wordsworthian. Like Cowper,¹ Burns and Wordsworth he is full of delicate sensitiveness to the little joys and sorrows of wild animals—owls, swallows, peahens, parrots, the moor-fowl, spiders, squirrels, rabbits, water-rats, mice and frogs—whose engaging ways are dwelt upon with genuine love. He has also a poet's keen eye for daffodils, foxgloves and marigolds. All this establishes his kinship with Wordsworth. Yet evidence is not wanting that Yeats was quickly outgrowing this

the primitive Celts to these *invisible people*. Tradition still speaks of "Sídhe Bodb (i.e. "Shee Bove") in Galway, Sídhe Meadha (now called Knockma) the abode of the king of the fairies, not to speak of the God Dagda's famous Brugh-na-Boyne in Meath (in New Grange) of which after the fashion of Chronos and Zeus, Dagda became deprived by his wily son Angus. Medb (pronounced Meave) is the original of Queen Mab but their present Queen is Onagh and the present King of the Irish fairies is Linvarra.

¹ Cf. "Ballad of the Foxhunter," "To the Rose upon the Rood of Time," St. 2 and "To a Squirrel."

tutelage and discovering his own individual art. Let me quote the short but exquisitely beautiful poem "The Falling of the Leaves."

"Autumn is over the long leaves that love us,
And over the mice in the barley sheaves;
Yellow the leaves of the rowan above us
And yellow the wet wild straw-berry leaves.
The hour of the waning of love has beset us
And weary and worn are our sad souls now;
Let us part, ere the season of passion forget us,
With a kiss and a tear on the drooping brow."

Here we have a foretaste of that high poetic quality which distinguishes the classical piece "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" included in the volume called "The Rose" which was destined to appear soon (pub. 1893)—a piece which every reader of Yeats's poetry admires for its chaste unadorned simplicity, its rare and exquisite beauty, its poetic charm and perfection of artless art.

With what an extraordinary skill in melody does the poet waft into the midst of our humdrum routine life of joyless toil a stray enchanting musical note from the remote Elfland that promises solace to the sick children of this earth in the poem "The Stolen Child"? I shall rest content with a single stanza—

"Where the wave of moonlight glosses
The dim grey sands with light,
Far off by furthest Rosses
We foot it all the night,¹
Weaving olden dances,
Mingling hands and mingling glances,
Till the moon has taken flight;
To and fro we leap
And chase the frothy bubbles,
While the world is full of troubles
And is anxious in its sleep.

¹ Cf. Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream."

This is how with the poet now on the threshold of coming maturity we leave behind his early romantic outlook on life and pass on to the second period of his poetic growth.

The next volume of lyrical poems "The Rose" (pub. 1893) contains the poem "To Ireland in the Coming Times" which serves as a land-mark. Originally this piece formed part of "The Countess Cathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics" published in 1891. I should add that this earlier volume is based on a collection of popular Irish folk-lore and marks an artistic transition in Yeats which must be carefully noted. In this connection I quote a significant prose passage from "The Celtic Twilight" of 1893 ("By the Roadside) in which Yeats says—

"There is no song or story handed down among the cottages that has not words and thoughts to carry one far to the beginning of the world. Folk art is, indeed, the oldest of the aristocracies of thought, and because it refuses what is passing and trivial, the merely clever and 'pretty', as certainly as the vulgar and insincere, and because it has gathered into itself the simplest and most unforgettable thoughts of the generations, it is the soil where all great art is rooted. In a society that has cast out imaginative tradition, only a few people, favoured by their own characters and by happy circumstance, have understanding of imaginative things, and yet 'the imagination is the man himself.' * * And so we who would re-awaken imaginative tradition by making old songs live again or by gathering old stories into books take part in the quarrel of Galilee" (i.e., between Christ and the adverse Jews and here the Jews are "those who are Irish and yet would spread foreign ways which, for all but few, are ways of spiritual poverty").

This valuable critical canon of art now adopted by Yeats is far-reaching in its consequences. Let me, however, without

¹ Vide "this disgusting and pretty-fying," *supra*, page 2, lines 18-20,

further comment quote a few lines from the poem mentioned above :

“ Know that I would accounted be
True brother of that company
Who sang to sweeten Ireland’s wrong
Ballad and story, rann and song.

* * *

Nor may I less be counted one
With Davis, Mangan, Ferguson,
Because to him, who ponders well,
My rhymes more than their rhyming tell
Of things discovered in the deep
Where only body’s laid asleep.

* * *

Ah, fairies, dancing under the moon,
A Druid land, a Druid tune !
While still I may, I write for you
The love I lived, the dream I knew.
From our birthday, until we die,
Is but the winking of an eye;
And we, our singing and our love,
What measurer Time has lit above,
And all benighted things that go
About my table to and fro,
Are passing on to where may be
In truth’s consuming ecstasy
No place for love and dream at all;
For God goes by with white foot-fall.
I cast my heart into my rhymes,
That you, in the dim coming times,
May know how my heart went with them
After the red-rose-bordered hem.”

Now, here the red-rose-bordered hem refers to that Ireland

“ Whose history began
Before God made the angelic clan.”

This intense love of his ancient land is here closely associated with ideas which we of the East at once recognise as having a distinct Indian flavour all their own.

Now, we all know that Moore in the first quarter of the 19th century pathetically sang about Ireland's wrongs and his mantle fell on Davis who died in 1845 and Mangan who died in 1849, fighting the cause of Irish political freedom with their pen instead of the sword and Ferguson continued the fight almost up to the end of the century. These poets in impassioned lyrics and political ballads stirred the people's hearts and inspired them with the ideal of emancipation from an alien supremacy and a foreign domination.¹ Finally, the Druid tune was charged with a note of mysticism. Yeats having shaken off his allegiance to the English poets, from Wordsworth to the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, now started on his new career of intimate affinity with the poetical tradition of his own country.

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

¹ Ireland's political struggle since Wolfe Tone's days (1793) and Emmet's insurrection (1803) engaged the attention of literary men particularly in and from 1845 when O'Mahony's Fenian Brotherhood was established in America followed by O'Leary's leadership in 1865. *Vide Lecky's Leaders of Opinion.*

LABOUR, PROPERTY AND TARIFF POLICIES IN STATESMANSHIP AND POLITICAL IDEALS (FROM BISMARCK TO LENIN AND MUSSOLINI : 1870-1927)

SECTION 1.

The Age of Bismarck

(1870-1905.)

Ideology : (1) Trade-unions constitute the basis of social organization, (2) Right to strike, (3) Protection of the interests of the weaker classes by law, (4) Tariff higher and higher, (5) Constructive social legislation, (6) Trusts a powerful force, (7) Co-operative movement, (8) "Reformist" or "Revisionist" socialism, (9) Revolutionary syndicalism.

1870-85. The "Knights of Labour" are organized in America. They form socialistic trade-unions. The eight-hour day movement is associated with their activities.

1871-76. The First Trade Union Acts are passed in England. The legalization of combinations and strikes is their foremost feature.¹

1874-1885. **Schaeffle** : *Quintessenz des Sozialismus*. The eighth German edition (1885) mentions the advance made towards a policy of "positive socialism" and "my own scientific participation in the movements connected with it." The Bismarckian programme of state-socialism is implied here. He rejects Marx's theory of "democratic collectivism" i.e., "social democracy" as (a) impracticable and tending to economic chaos and (b) as indifferent to that "authority" which the legally organized public production would render necessary. Cf. his *Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Social-demokratie* (The Hopeless-

¹ Hutchins : *History of Factory Legislation* (English), London, 1907.

ness of Social Democracy), 1885. It is absolutely impossible, says Schaeffle, to ascertain *how much* of the value of the common produce *each individual* has produced. He condemns the "fanatic craving for equality among the masses" and the faith in a sudden and revolutionary introduction of collective production. The "intellectual" services rendered by "democratic socialism" (Marxism) are, however, appreciated as having critically and politically suggested the "positive social reform" which has been taken in hand by the Government in Germany since the last edition of the *Q.* was published. (See also his *Compulsory Incorporated Benefit Funds* and *Incorporation of Mortgage Credit.*)

1879. **Henry George** (1839-97), American: *Progress and Poverty*: He is an agricultural socialist and believes in the confiscation of rent. The abolition of private property in land is his panacea for economic evils. He is a radical "single taxer."¹

1880. The Fair Trade League (modified protectionism) in England is directed against the growing German and French commercial expansion, and promotes the inter-Empire free trade idea.

At the same time free trade is abolished in Germany by Bismarck.

1881. American Federation of Labour is established.

1884. *Syndicats* or trade unions are legalized in France. Right to strike is conceded (*cf.* England 1871-76).

1884. The Fabian Society is established (Sidney and Beatrice **Webb**, **Shaw**, **Wells**, Mrs. Annie **Besant**, Graham **Wallas**, R. H. **Tawney**). Reform rather than revolution is the slogan of this Society. Neutrality in politics or non-political

¹ "Le nationalisme du sol" (Land-nationalization) in Rambaud's *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, Paris, 1909.

Land-nationalization has been advocated by Loria (1857-1926) in *La teoria economica della costituzione politica* (Economic Foundations of Society), Turin, 1886, Oppenheimer in his *Siedlungs-genossenschaft*, Colonising co-operation (Berlin, 1896).

economism and social service is the public policy. "Unearned increments" of capital and land are to be nationalized (*cf.* Mill and Henry George). "Social Service" activities lead to municipal and state socialism. The Society propagates collectivism such as is later condemned as the characteristic of the "servile state" by Belloc (1912) and the *New Age* group (guild-socialists). The chief literature is to be found in *Fabian Essays in Socialism* (1889) with the gospel of state ownership of land and capital.

1884-85. The Third Reform Bill provides universal suffrage. A working-class political democracy is for the first time rendered possible in England.

1886. Loria (1857-1926), Italian; *La teoria economica della costituzione politica* (Economic Foundations of Society): Democracy is a mere word, says he, as long as inequalities exist in property. Class-exploitation is guaranteed to-day by recourse to "connective institutions," viz., morality, law and politics. He promulgates a monistic, 100 per cent "economic determinism." (Contrast Seligman's *Economic Interpretation of History*, New York, 1902 which presents a more reasonable because pluralistic view.)

1886-96. Social Assurance is initiated and new land-legislation enacted in Germany.¹ The world witnesses the legal embodiment of socialism in diverse economic spheres. The period is marked, however, by anti-trade union measures. Sickness Insurance (1883). Accident Insurance (1884). Old Age Insurance (1889).

Rentenguts-gesetzgebung (Rent-land legislation), 1890, leads to the establishment of "colonists" on small "family-farms" with state aid. Professor Sering's *Innere Kolonisation* or

¹ Kassel: *Die Sozialpolitische Gesetzgebung* (Socio-political Legislation), Berlin 1921. On the beginnings of social insurance as well as modern land-reform in Germany, see Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras, 1926). It is German state-socialism that virtually appears as *solidarisme* in French thought (*cf.* Durkheim, Bourgeois, Bougle and Gide).

Internal Colonising (Leipzig, 1893) furnishes the theory of the movement.

Prussian Central Co-operative State Bank is founded (1895).

In the legislation inspired by state-socialism or "solidarism" one comes into contact with the *Transformations du droit civil* (the transformations of civil law) such as are described later by **Charmont** in a book under this title and by **Duguit** in *Le Droit social et le droit individuel et la transformation de l'etat* (social law, individual law, and the transformation of the state), 1908.

1886. National Federation of Syndicates is established in France. **Guesde**, the leader, is Marxist. The object of the federation is to carry on effectively the economic war of the workingmen against the employers. It succeeds in popularizing the idea of the "general strike."

The rival associations are amalgamated at the Limoges Conference (1895) into the *Confederation Generale du Travail* (C.G.T.) or General Confederation of Labour. Non-political economism is formulated as the policy of the C.G.T. during the very first years of its existence. General strike is taken to be the fundamental weapon. The *syndicats* are to be kept independent of political parties (1895). The C.G.T. accepts boycott and sabotage as weapons of offensive and defensive war (1895-97). Positively anti-political tenets are developed between 1897 and 1900. The suppression of standing armies is demanded. The internationalism of labour *vs.* that of capital is preached. Patriotism is definitely condemned as a means of exploiting the weak in the interests of the strong (1899-1900).

The C. G. T. exposes the socialistic pro-labour attempts at legislation by **Waldeck-Rousseau** and the "pseudo-socialist" **Millerand** as schemes for restraining the revolutionary action of the *syndicats* (1900-1902). The syndicalists would have nothing but "direct action" by strikes, sabotage, etc., against employers.

The C. G. T. is amalgamated with the *Federation des Bourses* which ceases to exist separately (1902). The weekly organ is *La Voix du Peuple* or Voice of the People (started 1900, with **Pouget** as editor).

1887-98. Tariff war rages between Italy and France.

Dingley Tariff Act (1897) in the U. S. A. provides higher protection than the **McKinley** Act (1890).¹

1889. The Second International (Labour) is established at Paris (later known as the Berne International). Nine congresses are held until 1914. It has been revived in 1919 (at Amsterdam) and is known to be "moderate" as contrasted with the Bolshevik or Communist International (Moscow, 1919).

1890-1904. The **Sherman** Anti-Trust Act penalizes "trusts" in the sense of guardians or trustees such as take over the business from different companies whose shareholders cease to function as voters. "Holding companies" are treated as identical with trusts and declared illegal.

1891. **Engels's** Preface to Marx's *Civil War in France* gives a resume of the lessons of the revolutionary Paris Commune of 1871, and provides the *last word* of Marxism against the "superstitious faith in the state" (according to Lenin).²

1892. *Federation des Bourses du Travail* (Federation of Labour Exchanges) is established at Paris to find employment and to unify the demands of the working-men's syndicates.

Pelloutier (1867-1901), secretary of the *Federation des Bourses du Travail* (1894-1901), is an anarchist-communist, *i.e.*, opposed to Marxism. He promotes the idea of the non-political, purely economic interests. The Report of 1896 is his work. "The task of the revolution," says he, "is to free mankind not only from all authority but also from every institution which

¹ Taussig: *Tariff History of the United States*, New York, 1928; Gignoux; *L'après-guerre et la politique commerciale* (Post-War Conditions and Commercial Policy). Paris, 1924.

² Lenin: *State and Revolution*, London, 1917.

has not for its essential purpose the development of production." In his *Histoire des Bourses du Travail* "History of Labour Exchanges" (1902), he accepts Proudhon and Bakunin as *gurus* in opposition to Marx, and has no place for the state in his ideology. Trade unions of producers constitute the only authority, in his eyes. He would combine vocational with territorial representation in the organization of unions.¹

1894-99. **Meline Act**: *Credit Agricole* is established in France under the Ministry of Agriculture to distribute "short" and "intermediate" credit on easy terms to members of local co-operative societies on the strength of advances made by the *Banque de France*.²

1896-99. **Bernstein** (1850-): "*Probleme des Sozialismus*" (Problems of Socialism), articles in the *Neue Zeit, Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (Preconditions of socialism and the aims of social democracy), 1899: He makes a deliberate and conscious attempt to "interpret" and "revise" the Marxian gospel as finally embodied in the creed promulgated at Erfurt Congress (1891). He is a "moderate." This "Revisionism" is opposed by Kautsky as "heresy" but wins ground.

1897. **Sorel** (1847-): *L'Avenir Socialiste des Syndicats* (The socialist future of the syndicates). He accepts Marx as the *guru* but begins by revising and modifying him to suit the "recent" conditions; and furnishes his own key to Marxism.

¹ Saint-Leon: *Syndicalisme Ouvrier et Syndicalisme Agricole*, Paris, 1920.

Faignet: *Legislation Industrielle*, 1925.

The "reformist" (as opposed to extremist or 100 per cent. Marxist) views of Jaures (1859-1915), the great French leader of the Second International (1889-1914) are available in English as *Studies in Socialism*, London, 1908.

According to Jaures, the complete socialization of capital and the authoritarian organization of production would be detrimental to progress. He prefers a decentralized collectivism in which the "professional groups" would enjoy the administration of property.

² Sarkar's "Law and the Cultivator: The Example of France" in the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*, December, 1926; de Saint-Genis: *Propriete Rurale en France* (Rural Property in France), Paris, 1902.

Socialism is to be developed within the bosom of capitalism itself. He would provide moral education of the working class in and through the syndicates. "General strike" is in his terminology a "social myth," i.e., powerful dynamic image or sentiment. According to him such "myths" are indispensable for revolutionary movements. The working class must work against existing democracy which is based on the fiction of "general will."¹

1898. Germany gets concession in Turkey for the Bagdad Railway.

1900. **Gide** (1847-): *La Co-operation*. He preaches the abolition of intermediaries with special reference to consumption and gives a fillip to what is developed by others as "solidarity"—"each for all" in the place of "each for himself." Division of labour and human inter-dependence are considered to be the foundations of modern economic order.

Cf. **Durkheim** (1858-1907): *De la division du travail social* (division of social labour) 1893; and *Essai d'une philosophie de la solidarite* (Essay on a philosophy of solidarity) edited by **Bourgeois** (1851-), 1902.

Paul-Boncour (1873-): *Le federalisme economique : etude sur les rapports de l'individu et des groupements professionnels* (Economic federalism, a study on the relations between the individual and professional groups), 1900.

1900. Agitation is directed against the power of trusts in the United States of America.

Kartellen-Enquete (Inquiry into cartels) is instituted in Germany by the Government (1903).

1902. German tariff is established on a protective basis and becomes highly specialized. Prof. **Wagner** furnishes the theory of the movement.

¹ *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, a monthly founded by Lagardelle (1899), becomes the organ of revolutionary syndicalism after 1904. (Cf. *The New Age*, London, as organ of guild-socialism since 1907.) Contributors: Berth and Sorel,

England's position is represented by **Chamberlain's** protectionist duties and "colonial preference" (1903).¹

1902. **Sombart**: *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (Modern Capitalism) focuses attention on the influence of modern economic organizations on political activities.

SECTION 2.

The Economic Isms of To-day, Theoretical and Applied (1905-1927).

Ideology: (1) Trade-unions, trusts and tariffs are important categories in public life and social thought, (2) anatomy of society is furnished by (i) capitalistic organisations (joint-stock companies, chambers of commerce, etc.), (ii) co-operative societies and (iii) labour associations, (3) world-finance and colonialism, (4) labour's revolt against the state: (i) radical: anarchistic-syndicalism, (ii) moderate: guild-socialism, (5) protectionism, (6) public ownership and municipal trading, (7) Labour Internationals.

1905. I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World) established in the United States. The leading part is played by the Western Federation of Miners. According to them working class and employing class have nothing in common. Between the two classes a struggle must go on until the ~~w~~orkers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system. The objects of the I. W. W. are (i) to subserve the immediate interests of the working class, (ii) to effect their final emancipation, and (iii) to promote class-consciousness as contrasted with the "craft"-consciousness of the American Federation of Labour (A. F. L.). They believe that organizations of the "industrial union" type as contrasted with the "craft union" type would render it possible to wage the class war under favourable conditions.

¹ Plaut: *Deutsche Handelspolitik* (German Commercial Policy), Leipzig, 1924.

“Craft union” is an association which unites the workers engaged in a single industrial process. “Industrial unions” are associations in which all the different classes of workers engaged in the different processes of a whole industry are united.¹

1905. Non-official studies on cartels are instituted in Germany under the auspices of *Verein fuer Socialpolitik*. Professors **Brentano** and **Schmoller** suggest that (i) the affairs of cartels should be officially known to the government for the purpose of control ; and that (ii) the state should intervene in order to regulate fair wages.

1906. **Penty** (1873-) *Restoration of the Guild System*. He promotes the appreciation of “medieval economy” on the lines of Ruskin and Morris, and suggests the conversion of trade-unions into “craft guilds.” He would have political government replaced by industrial government. Opposition to large-scale production is one of his slogans. In his scheme the craftsman is to own the instruments of production. He is a champion of excessive medievalism, guilds being the basis of society : “cottage industries” are to be the ideal. “Away from machineries” is another slogan.

1907. **Jack London**, American novelist, *The Iron Heel*. He represents revolutionary socialism and is Marxian in outlook. His message may be summed up thus : “We want all that you possess. We want in our hands the reins of power and the destinies of mankind. Here are our hands. They are strong hands.”

1907-1914. German socialism becomes preponderantly “revisionist,” i.e., moderate or reformist and sympathetic to imperialism and nationalism, protection and war budgets. The socialists **Hasse** and **Scheidemann** assume the role of “patriots” (nationalists) and reject the tenets of class-struggle and internationalism.

¹ Brooks : *American Syndicalism : The I. W. W.*, New York, 1913. Brissenden : *The I. W. W. : A Study of American Syndicalism*, New York, 1919.

1907-12. **Orage** (1873-) reorganizes the *New Age* weekly, opposes Fabianism, collectivism and state socialism (*cf.* Belloc), and proposes the control of industry by workers. He would develop trade-unions on the lines of medieval guilds, and demands abolition of the wage system.

1908-11. Socialistic legislation (Bismarckian) in England even under Liberal (**Lloyd George**) regime : (1) old age pension (1908), (2) minimum wage (1909), (3) national insurance (1911).¹

Cf. the French laws :—1905 (old age pension for persons over 70), 1910 (pensions to working men at 60).

1908-11. Syndicalist thought in France is represented by (1) workingmen and their own leaders such as Griffuelhes, Pouget, Pataud and others and (2) intellectuals associated with the monthly *Mouvement Socialiste* such as the editor Lagardelle, Sorel, Berth, etc.

Griffuelhes, secretary to C. G. T. (1901-8), is the author of *L'Action Syndicaliste* (1908), *Les objectifs de nos luttes de classes* (The Aims of our Class Struggle), 1909, *Voyage révolutionnaire* (Impressions or career of a revolutionist) 1910 : General strike is the only weapon capable of assuring the triumph of the proletariat. It is the objective of all wills, the spirit that moves, and the ferment that works the spirits.

Pouget, assistant secretary to the C. G. T. (1900-8), is the author of *La Confederation Generale du Travail* (1908), and *Sabotage* (1910), and editor of *La Voix du peuple*, weekly organ of the C. G. T. since 1900.

Pataud and **Pouget** are the joint authors of *Comment nous ferons la revolution* (How we shall make the revolution) 1909.

Lagardelle, founder of the monthly, *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, syndicalist since 1904, is the author of *Le Socialisme*

¹ " Socialisme d'Etat " in Rambaud's *Histoire des doctrines économiques*. Paris, 1909. See Knowles : *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in England during the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1926.

Ouvrier (Workingmen's socialism), 1911, *La greve generale et le socialisme* (General strike and Socialism), 1905.

Sorel : *La Decomposition du Marxisme*, 1908 : In his interpretation Marxism has never sought to create an authoritarian state but intends rather to institute free associations with the object of organizing production. Proletarian revolution would remove the state. *La Volence* (1910) : Socialistic legislation has dampened the ardour of the working class to a certain extent. But in order to achieve proletarian dictatorship it is necessary to cultivate the spirit of violence, fervour and enthusiasm such as characterised the primitive Christians as well as the soldiers of Napoleon.

Berth : *Les Nouveaux aspects du socialisme* (New Aspects of Socialism), 1908 : According to him Marx wished that syndical life should not dissipate itself in political action. The real social cell is not the party, the club, or the political committee but the workshop. The "party" is the organisation of the bourgeois, the merchant, the lawyer who seeks a parliamentary position. But the *syndicat* (trade union) is the organisation of the workingman, the proletariat. It is the workingmen's syndicate that will create the society of the future. It would be stupid attempting to describe that future regime with precision. He champions the abolition of the state and wants collective property of the producers.

Yvetot : *Manuel de Soldat* (The Soldier's Manual) preaches pacifism and antipathy to war, makes corresponding propaganda among soldiers, attracts them to the *Bourses du travail* (labour-exchanges) and promotes international action of the syndicalists against war.¹

1909. Poor Law Commission in England : Majority report

¹ Saint-Leon's *Syndicalisme ouvrier* (Workingmen's Syndicalism), Paris, 1920. Pataud and Pouget's "*Comment ferons nous la revolution*" is available as *Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth* with a foreword by Tom Mann (British Syndicalist) and preface by Kropotkin the Russian anarchist, London 1918. Jouhaux : *Le Syndicalisme et le C. G. T.* ; Moon : *The Labour Problem and the Social Catholic Problem in France* N. Y. 1921.

is directed against state intervention (*cf.*, the old view, 1834). Minority report is in favour, would abolish the poor law and would institute special machinery to deal with unemployment. It believes that "public" (state) assistance is a good rather than an evil. The ministry of labour is established in 1916. The Minority report has the public opinion behind it and in fact is the basis of the Maclean Report (1918) which demands the abolition of the Boards of Guardians and virtually of the Poor Law itself.¹

1909. **Kautsky** (1854-) : German socialist, a leader of the Second International (1889-1914) : *The Road to Power* points out the intensification of class antagonism in general and the growth of imperialism in particular, and describes how after the "revolutionary period of 1789-1871" in Western Europe an analogous period begins for the East in 1905. He believes that a world-war is coming nearer with threatening rapidity. The revolutionary era is beginning. "The present situation contains this danger that we, the German social-democracy, may easily be considered more moderate than we are in reality."²

1912. **Belloc** : *Servile State* condemns the collectivism—the municipal and state socialism—of the Fabians (Shaw, Wells, the Webbs, etc), and proposes a distributivist state. The "instinct of ownership" is to be distributed as widely as possible. He appreciates the peasant proprietors and guilds of the Middle Ages and opposes all socialistic legislation (*cf.* Orage and the *New Age*).

¹ Webb (S. and E.) : *English Poor Law Policy* London, 1910.

² Note how in spite of his staunch devotion to Marxism, revolutionary fervour and fights with the "opportunists" or "moderate" socialists such as Millerand, Bernstein, etc. (*cf.* his *Bernstein and Social Democratic Programme*, 1899 *Social Revolution*, 1902) Kautsky is condemned as "opportunist," corruptor and perverter of Marxism by Lenin in his *Imperialism* (1916) and *State and Revolution* (1917). See Kautsky : *Socialismus und Kolonialpolitik* (Socialism and Colonial Policy), Berlin, 1907 ; Simkhovitch : *Marxism vs. Socialism*, New York, 1918. Stroebe : *German Revolution and After*, New York, 1928. Laidler : *History of Socialist Thought*, London, 1927.

1914. Trusts (such as are legal) come under the control of the Government in U. S. A. The Federal Trade Commission replaces the Bureau of Corporations (established in 1903) in the same fashion as the Inter-State Commerce Commission does. The **Clayton** Anti-Trust Act strengthens the Sherman Act.¹

1914. *Report on State and Municipal Enterprise* by the **Webbs** : 12 million people in England in collectivist business.

1914-18. The Great War promotes the "key industries" movement (Lord **Balfour**).

1915. National Guilds League is founded, London.²

1919. The Committee on Trusts appointed by the Government (British) suggests (i) publicity about trade associations through the Board of Trade as well as (ii) the establishment of official machinery to deal with abuses.³ cf. Germany, 1905.

1919. League of Nations, Bureau of Labour :—Nine principles of labour : (1) labour not a mere commodity, (2) right of association among both employees and employers, (3) wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life, (4) eight-hour day, (5) weekly rest of 24 hours, (6) abolition of child labour, (7) equality between men and women *re* payment, (8) equitable treatment of employees, (9) inspection in which women are to take part.

1919. The Third International, with headquarters at Moscow (also known as Communist International or "Comintern"), issues the *New Communist Manifesto* : The solution of the world crisis is possible through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The only possible league of nations is a world-wide federation of workers' republics. Genuine self-government is to be granted to all colonies. The proletariat must create its own

¹ Wilson : *New Freedom*, New York, 1914. *The Federal Anti-Trust Laws*, Washington, 1928.

² Hobson, G. S. *National Guilds and the State*, 1919, London.

³ Fitzgerald : *Industrial Combination in England*, 1927, Sarkar : "Stinnes Complex in German Industry" in *Economic Development* (Madras, 1926) and "Trusts and Rationalization ; Aspects of the New Industrial Revolution" in *The Calcutta Review* (Sept. 1927).

political machinery, e.g., workers' councils, the soviets. "Dis-arm the bourgeoisie, arm the proletariat." Direct action is the method advocated.¹

1919. Imperial Preference becomes positive law in England. cf. Chamberlain, 1902-3.

1919. *Betriebs-raete-gesetz* (Law of Works-Councils) in Austria, in Germany (1920) and in Tchechoslovakia (1921): In every concern with an employment of 20 or more work-ingmen and clerks there is to be a works-council to look after the economic, social and cultural interests of the workingmen. The works-council is to consist of representatives of the workingmen as well as of the employers. This joint council of the employers and workingmen has the right to examine the balance-sheets as well as suggest and introduce improvements in the technical administration of the business. These councils are not to replace the trade-unions but supplement and strengthen them.²

1919-23. **Marshall** (1842-1924): *Industry and Trade*: (a) His investigations indicate socialistic "leanings"; he is convinced of the marvellous development of the working class faculty. But according to him no socialistic scheme is calculated to raise the real income of the working-classes although it may lead to *equalization* in the distribution of a country's total income. He popularises an eclectic approach to all those movements—both of employers and employees—which seek to promote the "selfish," "sectional" interests. "Class"-philosophy is the basis of his social investigations. (b) His conclusions are essentially capitalistic: In his judgment, benefits conferred by private capital on the society (including working

¹ Eden and Cedar Paul: *Communism*, Labour Pamphlet No. 3, London, 1921; Buharin: *A. B. C of Communism*; Longuet: *La Politique internationale du Marxisme*, Paris, 1918; Hyndman: *Evolution of Revolution*, Marxian approach to the questions of justice, 1920; Bukharin: *Economic Theory of the Leisure d Class*, 1927; Postgate: *Bolshevist Theory*, 1920. Re the philosophy, Geneva vs. Moscow, see Sarkar, *Politics of Boundaries* (chapters on the League and the Third International), 1926.

² Adler: *Betriebsraete-gesetz*. Vienna, 1925.

classes) are increasing, while interest enjoyed by private capitalists is not increasing. He argues in behalf of the necessity of providing facilities for the promotion of "private capital." Progress depends on the taking of risks by private capital. New technical advances are not as a rule appreciated by governments. Every new idea in government enterprise is borrowed of private. Governments are competent only for routine work. Guild socialism is condemned as utopian and impractical: "Mr. Cole seems to follow closely in the paths of St. Simon, Fourier and other early socialists of noble character and vivid poetic imagination. The task of regulation is to be as simple as it would be if all men were as unselfish and earnest as the writer himself. The vast difficulties of modern business organisation are so completely left out of account as to imply that they have never been seriously studied." (c) Marshall's social philosophy is profoundly nationalistic (patriotic): *Money, Credit and Commerce* (1923): Sentiments are not always firmly based on reason; but economic reasonings which ignore them are likely to mislead. Labour and capital tend to migrate less easily between country and country than between different parts of the same country. The problems of national defence and national finance necessitate a firm control over a country's frontiers and dictate fiscal and financial policies.

1919. Land-reform in Germany: The government dictates limits to the amount of landed property to be held by single individuals. This is but another instance of the class of modern phenomena described in **Charmont's** *Les Transformations du droit civil* (Transformations of private or civil law.¹)

1919. French Syndicalist Congress at Lyons: Nationalization of land and water-transport, mines, water power and

¹ On land-reform in Germany, Denmark, Great Britain and the Balkan States, see Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras, 1926), "Die Bodenfrage in Russland," *Die Bodenfrage in England*, and *Die Bodenfrage in Deutschland* (Land questions in Russia, England and Germany) before and since the Great War in Damaschke's *Bodenreform*, Jena, 1923; Hainisch: *Die Landflucht*, Jena, 1924; von Schullern *Agrarpolitik*, Jena, 1923.

credit organization is decided upon as the goal ; Association of producers and consumers is to be the authority. Syndicalism is attempting to go beyond pure economism and venture into political fields.

1920. **Cole** (1889-) *Guild Socialism Restated, Social Theory, Reorganization of Local Government, World of Labour* (1913), *Self-Government in Industry* (1917).

The state is to own business plant. The operations of industry are to be controlled by operatives in a guild. The guild is to consist of labourers, manual and intellectual, on the functional basis. Economic sovereignty is to be shared between guilds and the state. Central control : (a) guild congress is to represent producers, (b) parliament is to represent consumers and (c) a central organization is to settle controversies between (a) and (b). Functional democracy is the goal. Sovereignty of the state is to be nullified. The state is really to be replaced by a "commune" consisting of a number of functional bodies. The vocational administration of industries and services is to be the essential feature.¹

1920. Law of *syndicats professionnels* in France modifying the law of 1884 allows the formation of syndicates without previous sanction of Government.²

1920. **Douglas and Orage** : *Credit Power and Democracy*. Industrial democracy demands control over finance. Control over credit must come to the consumer. Communalization of credit is a supreme necessity. The establishment of labour-banks is a practical step in this direction.

1921. Split in the French syndicalist movement at the Tours conference. A new association—*Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire* "C. G. T. U." (United Confederation of Labour) is constituted on the Bolshevik principle. It becomes

¹ Reckitt and Bechhofer : *Meaning of National Guilds*. London, 1920 ; Carpenter : *Guild Socialism*, New York, 1922.

² For this and previous laws of workingmen in France see Foinet's *Legislation Industrielle*, Paris, 1925.

a member of the Third International (Moscow) and accepts the philosophy of direct action, sabotage and revolution. **Cachin** and **Vaillant-Coutourier** are two of the prominent communist-bolshevik syndicalists. They regard **Anatole France** as one of their *maitres*. Organs: *L'Humanite* (daily) and *Clarte* (weekly).

The old C. G. T. becomes "reformist," i.e. moderate, with allegiance to the revived Second International (Amsterdam).

1921. Italian tariff becomes "specialized," and protective in regard to "new" industries. **Fordney** Tariff Act (U. S. A.) is anti-dumping (1922). The Safeguarding of Industries Act in Great Britain has special reference to key industries, and is anti-dumping (1921).

1921-22. The "New Economic Policy" in Soviet Russia: Right to own property is conceded by **Lenin**, and along with it other non-communistic, traditional, bourgeois rights.¹

1921. **Culbertson**, American: *Raw Materials and Foodstuffs in the Commercial Policies of Nations, International Economic Policies*. He takes stand against British preferential tariff. The position of British Colonies as almost independent members at the League of Nations is inconsistent with the preferential tariff enjoyed by them within their Empire.²

1924. **Hainisch**, Austrian: *Die Landflucht* (The Exodus from Agriculture and Rural Areas): The requirements of capitalistic business-economy are well met by manufacturing organizations. But neither psychologically nor technically is agriculture as yet well suited to capitalism. In the struggle

¹ Fuckner: *Russlands Neue Wirtschaftspolitik* (Russia's New Economic Policy), Leipzig, 1924; Freund: *Russlands Friedens und Handelsvertraege* (Russia's Peace and Commercial Treaties) (1918-24), Leipzig, 1924; Patouillet: *Les Codes de la Russie Sovietique*: (1) *Code de la Famille* (Law of Family), (2) *Code Civil*, Paris, 1925. Note Patouillet's remark re Duguit's influence on the civil law of Soviet Russia. Diehl: *Die Diktatur des Proletariats und das Raetesystem*, Jena, 1924. On Soviet Russia and the "New Economic Policy" of the Bolsheviks see Sarkar's *Politics of Boundaries* (1926) and *Economic Development* (1926). U. R. S. S. *Annuaire politique et economique pour l'annee, 1926-27*, Moscow, 1927. Zimand: *State Capitalism in Russia*, New York, 1926.

² On population movements see Key Helmer, *New Colonial Policy*, 1927.

for existence and self-assertion between agriculture and manufacture, therefore, the former has every chance of being weeded out. The exodus from "land" is thus an inevitable necessity of modern economy, says Hainisch.

The chief problem consists in making agriculture a proposition economically worthwhile. The importance of having a large number of people employed in farming belongs, in Hainisch's economic system as in that of many other theorists, Continental and British, to the minimum of sociological postulates. But the labourers will stick to their lands only so long as they are liberally remunerated. Now, higher wages for agricultural labour can become normal phenomena only under conditions of high incomes for farmers. The question of higher prices for agricultural produce becomes automatically a part of this economic ideology. Nor is this all. Logic compels us to bring in the problem of land-values in this theoretical complex. It is a precondition for this system that the land-value should not rise. We are therefore counselled to a comprehensive scheme of agrarian reform such as through legislation would dictate "fair" remuneration in regard to land, wages and prices.

The desired and desirable relations between land-value, wages and prices cannot come through "natural" laws. State intervention is postulated to be an indispensable method in agrarian reform. He is especially in favour of an "agricultural monopoly" to be exercised by the state. And this he considers to be much more worth while, socially speaking, than protection. As soon as a state monopoly is introduced in regard to the goods to be imported, the way is laid open to the fixing not only of prices and wages in connection with the land to be cultivated within the country but the fixing of the land-values as well. The state thus comes to the rescue of agriculture in a national economy by rendering it worth while to all the parties concerned.

1924. The project of a comprehensive law of social

assurance (on German-English lines) in France to extend the existing law of 1910, not yet codified.¹

1926. **Keynes** (1883-). *The End of Laisser Faire* presents a restatement of the proper functions of the state, rejects protectionism, and opposes "socialism" (Marxian). The importance of semi-autonomous associations "lying somewhere between the individual and the state," e.g., Universities, Bank of England, Port of London, and the Railway companies, is recognized. Such associations are embodiments of "sublimated capitalism"—from whose deliberations, motives of private advantage are said to be excluded. The state is (1) to control credit, currency and "cycles," (2) to organize and disseminate statistical information, and (3) to control the growth of population as regards quantity and quality.

1926. **Lauck**, American; *Political and Industrial Democracy* (1776-1926) discusses for America the ideals of a new trade unionism, seeks to introduce on a large, national scale the system of what is known as *Betriebsrat* (works-council) in Central Europe,—an institution such as may offer the workingmen chances of *controlling* the industrial concerns. He would set limits to, and if possible eliminate, "bankocracy" by offering industrial shares for sale to the workingmen and consumers.

1926. Italian law of syndicates. **Bottai**, under-secretary of the ministry of corporations, lectures at Florence on the political and economic trend of this *Carta del Lavoro* (Labour Charter) of the Fascist state.

Syndicalism, as embodied in the associations of workers, first clandestine, then open, but always irregular and outside the law, represents the reaction of the irrepressible human instinct of association in opposition to Liberal and individualistic theories, says he. The Liberal State, reduced to impotence by its own idealism, was forced to tolerate the uncontrolled action of

syndicalism both in the ranks of labour and of production, with the result of a terrible waste of productive energies and abolition of every principle of authority.

After the war, the most enlightened politicians in all the countries of the world realised that the old parliamentary conception of the state no longer corresponded to the crying needs of collective life and that new ways must be sought and founded. It was inconceivable that any nation could continue to exist, continually rent by class-strife and gnawed by the cancer of speculation.

The pivot of the new legislation, insisted on by **Mussolini** and elaborated by **Rocco**, is the imposition of juridical discipline on capital and labour as well as on collective labour contracts. This forms the basis of a profound transformation of national life, far beyond what is expressed in the actual legal formulas of the enactment.

In the Fascist state, syndicalism, once an incitement to anarchy and to the dispersion of economic wealth, now becomes a public institution, a state organ, which regulates and guarantees the professional discipline of the different categories of workers and employers, besides educating the popular conscience and encouraging those sentiments of providence and mutual aid that cement human solidarity.

In this new organisation, collective labour contracts made by the autonomous groups of workers and employers, are legally recognised. The state does not intervene to regulate the conditions of these contracts except when there is disagreement between the parties. In that case the appeal is to the labour magistrate whose decision is final and has all the force of law.

The state law on collective labour contracts prescribes penalties for strikes and lock-outs. Strikes and lock-outs can be effectively dealt with through the disciplinary powers conferred upon the syndicalist associations by their own statutes.

National life will be organically disciplined, in the highest and most complete way through the working of the corporations

which are now declared by law to be organs of the state. The aspiration towards class-collaboration instead of class-strife was never wholly lost sight of even during the worst moments of syndicalist anarchy, but the experiments then attempted which led to the so-called mixed syndicates were bound to fail, as they could not give the necessary guarantees for the autonomy of the working-classes as opposed to their employers.

Only the state can ensure perfect equality of treatment between all classes, for only the state has the power of safeguarding the interests of the workers, when the executive power is restored to its rightful place and ceases to be either the expression of a narrow oligarchy, as it was during the Liberal cycle, or the expression of groups of irresponsible politicians as it became during the more recent Social-Democratic period.

It must not be forgotten that while the syndicates are juridically recognised and empowered to act as the legal representatives of labour legislation, they will only do so within the restricted circle of the specific interests that concern them. The state will still control general legislation on labour questions and will set the limits within which syndicalist powers can act.¹

1926. **Lavergne.** *L'Ordre Cooperatif* (Cooperative System of Social Organization): The state or political organization is a vast consumers' society. The whole body of citizens is its members. The goods furnished by this consumers' society are security, liberty and all other rights generally described as rights of man. It is in their capacity as consumers of these immaterial goods that the citizens have a right to control production. Universal suffrage rests therefore on solid foundations. A political philosophy of cooperative order is thus brought into being which, as **Gide** admits, goes further than he has dared. (*Revue d'Economie politique*, Mai-Juin, 1927).

¹ Re the economic ideals and achievements of Fascism (tariff, industrialization, merchant marine, etc.) see the chapters on Italy in Sarkar's *Economic Development* (1926) and *Politics of Boundaries* (1926); also Bachi's *L'Italia Economica nel 1921* (Economic Italy in 1921), Citta di Castello, 1922, and Mortara's *Prospettive Economiche* (Economic Prospects) (1927) Milan, 1927.

1927. **Pigou.** *Industrial Fluctuations.* The free play of self-interest is not strong enough to prompt human beings to take steps by which the social evils involved in "trade cycles" or "economic crisis" may be remedied, *viz.*, to "distribute their demand among different *times* to the best advantage." In regard to the control of these cycles the governments have a great part to play. They are in a position to "transfer orders from good times to bad times" and to lead to a transfer of the demand for labour in the corresponding manner.

Boards of Guardians order so much stores, says he, the Board of Admiralty so many ships, Municipalities so many school and other buildings and so much repair work on roads; and there is no rigid compulsion on them to order these things at a particular instant.

He endorses the policy initiated by the Prussian ministry of commerce in 1904, which says in part as follows: "If all public administrations, in making their arrangements, would take timely care to choose for such works times in which want of employment is to be expected, the real occurrence of widespread want of employment would certainly be prevented in many cases and serious distress warded off." The same policy has been adopted by the Poor Law Commission. The state actions are to be so designed as to "fit the peaks of its own demand into the depressions of the general demand." He supports in this connection **Bowley's** suggestion that the central government should compel the local governments to follow this principle of "transfer from good to bad times" by making or withholding grants, granting or refusing power to borrow and providing capital on easy terms at times when it is desirable on national grounds that public works should be set in hand.

From this standpoint he considers the principles of the British Trade Facilities Act of 1921 (designed as it is to furnish "guarantee" to certain undertakings calculated to promote employment) as well as of the Export Credit Scheme of the

same year (by which exporters get a government "guarantee" under certain conditions) to be sound, although practically not very efficacious. But the principle of "bounties" as contrasted with guarantees as embodied in the grants made by the Unemployment Grants Committee of 1923-24 to private undertakings engaged in the construction of gas, water, harbours, tramways, etc., or in the grants for certain export industries advocated by Lord **Balfour** is considered to be beset with practical difficulties although applicable under certain circumstances.

1927. International Economic Conference convened at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations (*cf.* the similar conferences at Brussels, 1920, and Genoa, 1922). It discusses the problems of world-economy with special reference to international trade, industry and agriculture. An important contribution to theory is to be found in *Methods of Economic Rapprochement*, a paper submitted by Professor **Grossmann** of Zurich. He maintains that the industrial and social advantages of large-scale production are to-day militated against by the appearance of new sovereign states, changes in the European boundaries, and nationalistic tariff wars as well as by the institution of customs duties for purely fiscal purposes in order to meet the demands of post-war budgets.

Three methods of international co-operation are being tried at the present moment. In the first place, 180 commercial treaties have been concluded between 1920 and 1926, but most of them extend for less than a year. Secondly, preferential tariffs have been organized between the U. S. and Brazil, between the republics of Central America, and last but not least, between the members of the British Empire. But any attempt to introduce a system of preference between the members of the League of Nations would be tantamount to declaring open economic hostilities with, say, the United States, a great power that is not a member of the League. The third method is the establishment of *Zollvereins* or custom unions. The principle of these unions

has been in operation since 1819, but they are the veritable causes of international friction.

The efficacy of these three methods, political as they are, is questioned by Grossmann. He would like to see economic *rapprochement* established by purely "economic" agreements, e.g., on the principles of the Brussels Sugar Convention of 1902. Private industrialists of different nations who are the real competitors are to agree between themselves as to the terms of competition or co-operation. By championing the movement of producers' agreements as an element in the economic and political conciliation of the world he is really arguing for international trusts and cartels.¹

1927. In September Germany enters upon the third year of reparation payments under the Dawes Plan (adopted in 1924);² the first year of payment being 1925. In September 1928 will begin the so-called "normal" or "standard" year charged with the annual payment of 2,500,000,000 Marks (one Mark is approximately equal to one shilling) for an indefinite period together with a *Zuschlag* or supplement, of which the amount is to be calculated according to *Wohlstandsindex* (prosperity index).

The Dawes plan embodies a regular and systematic international control over the finance, economic resources and administration of Germany. But according to Schacht, president of the Reichsbank, in *Die Stabilisierung der Mark* (The Stabilization of the Mark), Berlin, 1927, it registers the "beginning of a new development" in so far as it has succeeded in erecting a barrier of *wirtschaftlicher Vernunft* (economic reason) against political and military hatred.³

Post-war economic reconstruction in Europe is indeed to a great extent to be attributed to the Dawes plan. The industrial

¹ On "rationalization" as a new economic category with special reference to cartels and trusts see Sarkar's "Trusts and Rationalization: aspects of the new industrial revolution" *supra*.

² Helander: "Zur Theorie der Transferierung" (Towards the Theory of Transfer in Reparation-payments) in *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, October, 1924.

recovery of Germany on a sound currency basis, regular reparation payments, the Locarno pact (1925), German loans in England and America, Germany's entrance into the League, currency reforms in different countries (including the talk of introducing the gold bullion standard in India), and the general restoration of confidence in industry and commerce, all these have to be traced to the event of 1924, if not as a cause at least as a starting point.

The present situation is indicated in the *Memorandum* submitted to the finance minister of Germany by Parker **Gilbert**, Agent General of the Reparations. The *Memorandum* purports really to be criticism of Germany's public finance and foreign loan policy from the standpoint of reparations and international economy. He thinks that the German authorities are developing and executing constantly enlarged programmes of expenditure and borrowing, the effect of which is an artificial stimulus to economic life, causing increased cost of production, increased prices and increased costs of living. These developments will tend to diminish the capacity of the German economy to compete for export and thus pay the reparations.

On the one hand, the effect of foreign borrowing by the *Reich* (Empire) as well as the states and the communes can but lead to increased import. And on the other, the money thus obtained is alleged to be spent not so much on the sorely "needed development of industry and agriculture" but is being absorbed in what may be described as "social" and "national efficiency" items.

To these charges **Koehler**, the finance minister, has replied to the effect that the borrowings by states and municipalities are spent on "public utilities" and are thus "productively" employed. Some of the social and efficiency expenditures are inevitable because of the national troubles engendered by the War. Besides, it is not possible for the *Reich* (Empire) to control too rigidly the internal financial arrangements of the states and the communes at the present time. This would raise

constitutional issues of a far-reaching character. On the whole, however, he is in favour of retrenchments and economies to which Schacht as well as the prime minister Marx also have given their approval.

The committee which supervises the applications for permission to negotiate foreign loans has therefore become very critical and stringent. No loans are from now on to be permitted as are not needed for immediate "productive" purposes. Besides, the loans must contribute to the general economic development of the *Reich* (Empire), e.g., by promoting exports. To argue solely that the loans are helpful to some local industry would not be admitted by the committee as a sufficient justification for foreign borrowing.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

THE LOST ROAD

My happiness is forever gone
Since you first found me
Wrapt in the silence of the night
My dreams around me
In that short hour I lost
All worth the craving
Now life is sunless, full of pain
And demons raving.
You said "I love you," lying tongue
Of mild deceit and base device,
I only know through thy false words
I lost the road to Paradise.

LELAND J. BERRY

RANJIT SINGH AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

“Ranjit Singh differed from many other great Eastern potentates in his statesmanlike recognition of the strength of the East India Company, the reliance he placed on British promises and his loyalty to his plighted word.”¹ This is the traditional estimate of Anglo-Sikh relations during the period 1809-39. We have heard it repeated again and again that the highest proof of Ranjit’s statesmanship was his fidelity to the British alliance. Ranjit in the north followed a policy just the reverse of that followed by Hyder Ali in the south. The latter was the life-long enemy, the former the most steadfast friend of the British Government. But the ultimate result was the same in both the cases—absorption of the kingdoms of both within the expanding British Empire. It is time to think over the claim for Ranjit to higher statesmanship based on his steadfast friendship for the British Raj.

The year 1809, the year of the conclusion of the Treaty of Amritsar, marks the definite beginning of Anglo-Sikh friendship. That Treaty confined Ranjit Singh’s activities to the right side of the Sutlej, the British Government taking the Cis-Sutlej states under its protection. Thus the English alliance began by depriving Ranjit Singh of one of the most cherished objects of his life,—the ideal of being the sole ruler of all the Sikhs. But it at the same time seemed to give him a *carte blanche* so far as the region to the west of the Sutlej was concerned.

After some doubts and suspicions friendly relations became well-established by 1812 and everything went well up to 1823. During this period the East India Company was too busy with its own affairs, the Sikh Chief with his, and hence there happened nothing of importance to test the strength of the alliance. The British Government was busy curbing the power

¹ P. E. Roberts, p. 271.

of the Nepalese, crushing the remnant of the Maratha power, making the Rajput clans tributary ; the Sikh Chief was conquering Multan, Derajet, Kashmir, Peshawar and the hills and plains of the Punjab and reorganising his army. Both were busy elsewhere and naturally the Sutlej continued to give "freshness and beauty to the emblematic garden of their friendship and continued its fertilising way to the ocean separating yet uniting the realms of the two brotherly powers."

But with the Maratha Confederacy crushed, the position and views of the English Government changed. They became the paramount power in India east of the Punjab and Sindh. As Cunningham aptly puts it, "Ranjit had become master of the Punjab almost unheeded by the English."¹ Conqueror of Multan, Attock, Kashmir, victor of Hydaru, Naoshera, with generals schooled in European wars, with soldiers trained in European fashion and flushed with victories, Ranjit now perturbed the mind of his friends. He was now the most dangerous rival of the British Government in India and his power had to be checked and curbed. This is the key to subsequent history.

First, Ranjit's claim to Ferozpoore was disallowed. We need not go into the technicalities of the case. The correspondence between the Government of India and its agents reveal the real reasons. Murray wrote thus : "The Capital Lahore is distant only 40 miles with a single river to cross, fordable for six months in the year. The post of Ferozpoore from every point of view seems of the highest importance to the British Government, whether as a check on the growing ambition of Lahore or as a post of consequence."² In reply the Government declining the Rani's offer to put the British in possession directed that Ranjit Singh must not be permitted to obtain possession of Ferozpoore under any pretence whatso-

¹ Cunningham, p. 190. (Garret's Ed.)

² Political Proceedings, 16th August, 1828, No. 3, Extract from Murray's Journal.

ever. "The Governor-General in Council would by no means be understood to reject altogether the proposition for an exchange but as the measure would doubtless excite alarm and suspicion in the mind of Ranjit Singh and perhaps not unnaturally be objected to by him as an encroachment on our part, the Governor-General in Council does not propose at present to accept the Rani's offer." ¹ Ferozapore was, however, occupied in 1835 and in 1838 was made a Military Cantonment.

Next, between 1827-31 the insurrection at Peshawar led by Syed Ahmed kept Ranjit's energies confined to that quarter. The Syed was indirectly serving the British Government by keeping the restless Sikh Chief under check. When the Syed was slain in 1831, Wade wrote to the Secretary, "The Sikhs having finally achieved the extinction of the Syed, who has afforded employment to their arms for the past five years nearly, are now speculating on the future field of their exploits. Their career has been one of continual warfare and with a large disposable army impatient of repose, His Highness will not be long before he directs his attention to another quarter." ² The British Government of course gave no help to the Syed direct or indirect but it connived at covert and overt help to him from his own subjects. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi in 1827, wrote thus to the Secretary, "During the period of their recent attack on Ranjit Singh's territories, the most fervent anxiety for their success pervaded the mind of the population of Delhi. Numbers quitted their homes and marched to join them including some who resigned their employment in the Company's service. It is said that the King of Delhi encouraged this spirit. If he did the fact was not forced on my attention." ³

Free from the Syed Ranjit now turned to Sindh. But the British Government was on the alert, for Ranjit Singh was feeling his way to Sindh for some time. The British now

¹ Reply from the Secretary, 30th January, 1824.

² Political Proceedings, 17th June, 1831. No. 41, Wade to Secretary.

³ Political Proceedings, 22nd June, 1827, No. 38.

forestalled him there. While the Government and Ranjit Singh were making friends at Rupar, Colonel Pottinger was making his way to Sindh with a Navigation Treaty in his pocket. The Amirs very reluctantly agreed to a treaty that the rivers and roads of Sindh should be open to the "merchants and traders" of Hindusthan. Here, therefore, Ranjit Singh was checked in the guise of "material utilitarianism." But "Ranjit had early seen the beginning of those trading aspirations which by bestowing a power to interfere had led to the absorption of Bengal."¹ Still he yielded on this occasion. But Ranjit recurred to his claims on Shikarpur and his designs on Sindh during the years 1834-36. He was, however, always hesitating. Finally, the determined attitude of the British Government induced him to give up his plans. The Secretary wrote to his agent, "His Lordship in Council cannot but view with regret and disapprobation the prosecution of plans of unprovoked hostilities injurious to the neighbouring states with whom the British Government is connected by ties of interest and goodwill"²—the usual argument of the Romans for interference that their friends were not to be molested by strangers. Wade wrote to the Secretary in reply, "Looking to the extent to which he has already committed himself and to the impatience of his character when the gratification of his ambition is concerned, the restraint which my observations will tend to impose on the execution of his designs not only with regard to Shikarpur but other countries regarded by him as a fair field for conquest, is not likely to be palatable and cannot fail to awaken him to the new lines of policy which the British Government is determined to adopt."³ In spite of the exhortations of his Sardars to the contrary Ranjit yielded once again. In return for this service the British Government extorted from the Amir a very reluctant consent to the admission of a British Resident at Hyderabad in 1838.

¹ Cunningham, p. 193.

² Political Proceedings, 22nd August, 1836, No. 55.

³ Political Proceedings, 3rd Oct, 1836, No 24.

Here it may not be out of place to discuss the importance to Ranjit of the acquisition of Sindh. In the first place, it would have enabled him to open communication with other countries free from British control. Next, as Andrew has shown, Sindh and the Punjab are provinces of the Indus as Bengal and Behar are provinces of the Ganges. They easily constitute a section separate from any other part by rivers, mountains, the sea or broad belts of sandy desert. The physical and social characteristics of the two countries are identically the same. Under these circumstances, we cannot but wonder why Ranjit so easily yielded to the British Government. It is his ready acquiescence with the views of the British Government on the Sindh question that enables us to realise how impotent Ranjit was so far as his relations with the British Government were concerned. The situation is not without its humour. Towards the end of the year 1836, Ranjit Singh wanted from the British Government 1,100 muskets and 500 pistols with their equipments complete and the remission of the surcharge. The request was granted. The Secretary wrote, "The long and uninterrupted friendship and particularly the readiness with which His Highness entered into the views of the British Government connected with the Navigation of the Indus entitle him to every consideration."¹ Well might Wade say, "The dread in which he stands of our power may be accepted by us as a sure pledge that he will never suffer himself to oppose the views and wishes of our Government as long as we admit him to a participation of them as friend."²

Next, the English also tried to limit Ranjit on the west. As early as November, 1834, Wade wrote, "His Highness believes from the increased interest that we have evinced in the affairs of the Afghans, by the journey of Lt. Burnes into that country and his subsequent correspondence with its chiefs that he hopes to renew his intercourse with them that we are

¹ Political Proceedings, 19th Dec. 1836, No. 26.

² Political Proceedings, 2nd Dec. 1834, No. 60.

contemplating a political connection with that country." ¹ Next in March, 1835, Wade suggests the recognition of Dost Mohammad, intimating the British desire to Ranjit Singh and requesting the Maharaja to be a party to the recognition. So far, the agents were more eager than the Government itself. But in 1837, it was made known that the British Government would be glad to be the means of negotiating a peace honourable to both sides, yet the scale was turned in favour of the Afghans by the simultaneous admission that Peshawar was a place to which Dost Mohammad could hardly be expected to relinquish his claims. Matters would have progressed in this way as in the east and south of the Punjab. But the idle designs and restless intrigues of the Persians and Russians soon caused a modification of plan though by no means a substantial change so far as Ranjit was concerned. The Tripartite Treaty was concluded. Ranjit was an unwilling partner in the scheme. He well understood that he was going to be completely enclosed. But he knew that he would be none the better if he did not join. "Ostensibly Ranjit had reached the summit of his ambition, he was acknowledged to be an arbiter in the fate of that empire which had tyrannised over his peasant forefathers and he was treated with great distinction by the Lord Paramount of India." ² In reality it was the climax, the most conclusive evidence, of his helplessness and his own consciousness of it. He died before he had heard of the fall of Kandahar, before the British reverses had begun.

This in brief is an outline of the relations between Ranjit and the British Government. Historians have gone into raptures over Ranjit's insight into the existing state of affairs. Their arguments resolve themselves into one—it is insight into what is and what is not possible that distinguishes a hero from an adventurer. Judged in this light Ranjit is as much superior to Hyder Ali as a statesman to an adventurer. Ranjit once

¹ *Ibid.*

² Cunningham, p. 221.

said, "I might perhaps drive the British (Ungrez Bahadur) as far as Allyghur but I should be driven back across the Sutlej and out of my kingdom."¹ Hyder Ali, on his death-bed, admitting his failure said, "I might perhaps drive the British out of land but I cannot dry up the sea." Ranjit understood quite early what Hyder Ali learnt only too late. All that can be claimed for Ranjit on this point is clear-sightedness. But this brings us to another point. Ranjit himself could see clearly enough that his own kingdom would ere long be absorbed within the octopus of British Imperialism. The logic of events was enough to convince him. He himself is once said to have remarked, "Sab lal ho jayega." But then what steps did he take to prevent this calamity?

Let us speculate as to what he could have done if he had lived to hear of the disasters of the British in Kabul campaign. M'Gregor, however, says in this connection: "Had Ranjit survived to witness English disasters in Kabul, he would readily have discerned that they arose entirely from local circumstances and in no way deteriorates from English prowess." But there is evidence to prove that things might have been different. In 1837 Ranjit Singh was already making friends with the Nepalese Government. A Nepalese mission arrived in his Court. It was cordially received and this cordial reception marks a strong contrast to that given to the communications of the Nepalese before. In the British opinion such an intercourse was inconsistent with British interests. Other states might follow the example of the Nepalese. Wade wrote to the Secretary, "Ranjit Singh has hitherto derived nothing but advantage from his alliance with us. While we have engaged in consolidating our power in Hindusthan, he has been extending his conquests throughout the Punjab and across the Indus and as we are now beginning to prescribe limits to his power, which cannot be supposed he should regard with

¹ M'Gregor, Part II.

complacency, he is now more likely to encourage than withdraw from alliances which may hold out to him a hope of creating a balance of power.”¹ This cordial reception of the Nepalese mission is as yet the only thing on which we are to stand if we conclude that if Ranjit Singh had been at the helm of affairs in the Punjab at the time of the disasters of the British Government in Afghanistan, he would have taken advantage of the shock to British prestige, the discontent of the Gwalior army and the readiness of the protected states to warn the English.

But leaving aside the “had been” let us judge him as we find him. Ranjit is the Massinissa of British Indian History. Massinissa created a state out of scattered elements only to be absorbed within the expanding Roman Empire not long after his death. Ranjit also created a state out of scattered elements only that it might be absorbed within the expanding British Empire not long after his death. Both could create but none could preserve and both had presentiments at the time of their death that theirs would not endure.

What could Ranjit Singh have done? In his relations with the British Government in the last decade of his career, Ranjit is a pathetic figure, helpless and inert. But an alternative to the policy pursued by him, an alternative that would have been crowned with success, is not possible to suggest. The English were too strong even for a nation of warriors like the Sikhs. Ranjit had made his kingdom too powerful to be left alone. Only another Patiala or Jhind would have been tolerated. But from our national point of view, Ranjit, in his relations with the British Government, if superior to the contemporary underlings of the British power in India, does not appear great by any means. He had not even the energy of despair. He compares unfavourably even with Mir Kashim. War with the British Government would have come sooner or later. Instead of postponing it to some future period, he could have boldly met the

¹ Pol. Proceedings, 20th October 1837, No. 61.

British demands with regard to Sindh, if necessary by declaring war, though that would have been at that time, as it proved subsequently, a hopeless war. But he chose an alternative which was also an impossible one—that of conciliating an advancing, aggressive power, which certainly could not look with equanimity on the military structure he had raised. Perhaps with the characteristic inherent in all builders he feared to expose the kingdom he had created to the risks of war and instead chose the policy of yielding, yielding and yielding.

NARENDRAKRISHNA SINHA

DESIRE

The splendour of the sun doth tell
Thy greatness to a star,
The moon steps from her fairy dell
Revealing thy great power.
And crimson roses, jasmines white
Discover that thou art,
All nature's beauty mantled bright
Proclaims thy living art!
Yet 'tis thy pleasure they thro' me
Should judge thee last;
My life, my deeds should mirror thee
When other things are past.
O! with thy glory let me shine,
Illume me with Love's fire:
May I not caricature thine
Image, is my desire!

CYRIL MODAK

ON MODERNISING SPINOZA

I

Writing in the sixties of the last century, Matthew Arnold in his essay on Spinoza observed that the man and his work "bid fair to become what they deserve to become in the history of modern philosophy, the central point of interest." Perhaps herein he overshot the mark, surpassing all his foregoing and contemporary English admirers of Spinoza—Coleridge and Wordsworth, F. D. Maurice and J. A. Froude, and in fact the entire galaxy of thinkers of the same persuasion, *viz.*, Rationalism in general and Liberalism in Theology. That revival of Spinozism was undoubtedly the sign of the times; nevertheless, making due allowances for the extravagances of enthusiasm of one sponsoring what he thinks to be a forlorn cause, Arnold's prediction may be said to be on a fair way to fulfilment in a more modern age than that of his own. The verdict of the preceding century is at least unmistakably clear from the utterance of two typical thinkers of the period: 'the pious Bishop' Berkeley, blest with 'every virtue under heaven,' classing him as one of the 'weak and wicked writers' and even David Hume, 'the terrible David' of the 'Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion' referring to "all those sentiments for which Spinoza is universally infamous." The turn in the tide that has set in ever since in the way of due recognition of the man and his work does not surely entitle us to endorse the view that they have, or will soon become, 'the central point of interest'—except in the sense of a danger-signal on the way of a philosophic 'Pilgrim's progress.' This is perhaps what Heine, the German poet of Jewish descent, sought to convey by the saving clause in the more cautious compliment he paid to Spinoza, coupling with as much truth as wit, an allusion to Spinoza's means of livelihood with the widespread influence he exerted

upon his philosophic successors. "All our modern philosophers," as he put it, "though often perhaps unconsciously see through the glasses which Baruch Spinoza ground." The qualifying phrase far from stultifying a genuine admiration might conceivably refer with scrupulous regard for truth to the precarious privilege of one who 'by merit raised to bad eminence,' came in, during his lifetime, and for a long time after his death, for nothing but organised denunciation and tyranny, not to speak of the undisguised panic and horror with which people would receive this veritable *enfant terrible*. In life condemned to a perpetual seclusion, he was pursued after death with unabated and relentless fury by the dignitaries of the Church who, we are told, visited his grave only to spit upon it! Before such acts of graceless sacrilege whose enormity is the more heightened when committed by the professed apostles of Grace in the good faith that they were thereby doing God service, one is naturally pulled up and led either to suspect the *bonafides* of these people, and exclaim in cynical despair with Swift, "Some people have just enough religion to make them hate one another, not enough to make them love one another," or to subscribe readily to Professor Whitehead's dictum that 'Religion is the last refuge of human savagery.'¹ Here, as elsewhere, such judgment, however, having 'the native hue of resolution' is unredeemed by that cast of thought which seldom fails to distinguish between the timeless essence of a thing and its historical accident. Unless due regard be paid to this fact, there is inevitable that mental outlook which, through sheer loss of perspective, commits the pernicious fallacy of identifying the means with the end, the instrument with the agent, the servant with the master—a fallacy which has proved in the flight of ages the prolific source of untold human misery in the form of the so-called religious persecution and intolerance. With this mental alertness it is not at all difficult to discern

¹ 'Religion in the Making,' p. 8'.

that the ecclesiastical tyranny of Spinoza emanated from a quarter that was by nature and nurture incapable of looking ahead of the Pontifical authority which had, to all intents and purposes, usurped the name of the Divine. "The ban against Spinoza," as one latter-day critic rightly observed, "was the due paid to Caesar rather than to the God of Israel."

It was the bi-centenary address of Renan entitled 'Spinoza 1677 and 1877' (delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument at the Hague on the 21st of February, 1877) that marked an epoch in the growing recognition of his dues. The very words of the oration were in respect of their bold and penetrative appeal, symptomatic of the change that had been going on silently, but unerringly, during the two centuries, and in view of the pledge contained therein, they were prophetic of further advance in the direction of redressing the wrongs done to that great thinker. In pointed reference, as it were, to the inhumanly outrageous treatment accorded to Spinoza by the Calvinistic clergy in their frenzied zeal, Renan in a subdued tone of indignation held forth: "Woe to him, who, in passing, should hurl an insult at this gentle and pensive head! He would be punished as all vulgar souls are punished, by his very vulgarity, and by his incapacity to feel what is divine. From his granite pedestal Spinoza will teach us all to follow the way which he found to happiness, and, centuries hence, men of learning, crossing the Paviljonensgracht, will say to themselves,"—and then pointing with peculiar dramatic effect to the windows of Spinoza's humble dwelling,—rounded up his peroration with the memorable words: "It is perhaps from this spot that God was most nearly seen" (*"C'est d'ici peut-être que Dieu a été vu de plus près"*). No greater tribute could be paid to the memory of a 'godless,' excommunicated Jew, and no more nobly could it be expressed! Through what long process of self-discipline and education humanity must pass before it can come to its own and learn to assess a thing at its proper worth, we do not pretend to divine.

That a hymn of unrelenting hate, with which Spinoza would be pursued in life and even after death, could be thus transformed into a hymn of atoning love, that his resting-place in life and death, which would always be something for the finger of scorn to point at, could conceivably develop into what one might, with strict justice, call a place of pilgrimage, is a phenomenon that might reasonably enough give us pause to think, perchance to go the length of hazarding, with Browning, the paradox that "hate is but a mask of love's." But marvel, as we may, and explain by having recourse to the hypothesis of sub-conscious operations of the mind, of the race, of immanent workings of a Power not ourselves, or even of 'the labour of Idea' and of the great men being in advance of their time, the fact remains that such episodes in the history of humanity, by no means unusual or infrequent, furnish an ironic commentary on the uses the world makes of its great men, who have been, from the very dawn of history, condemned to drink the hemlock or burnt at the stake, or pilloried to infamy in one age, and commemorated with undying sepulchres in the very next.

The posthumous recognition, which has been the lot of all such great men, did not, however, come in Spinoza's case a moment too soon. Since the bi-centenary celebration, the increasing interest in Spinozism has kept steadily on its course, which the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his death, which came off on February 21 of this year 1927, clearly revealed by bringing to a focus the advance which has hitherto been made in Spinoza scholarship. Such ceremonial occasions, though supremely valuable, nay indispensable in their own way, have their own besetting dangers which are by no means imaginary. In connection with recent Spinoza commemorations one had occasion to notice some dissertations on Spinoza marred by glaring historical anachronisms, unconscious reading of present-day thoughts into Spinoza's system or even conscious adaptation of it to modern thought, and a few others marked by a tendency to simplification or popularisation beyond the reasonable.

limits of academic tradition—a tendency which, confident of its success in catering to popular craving for cheap, claptrap production in *belles-lettres*, is unhappily gaining ground in the domain of hard sustained thinking. The determination to do without academic tradition may be a sign of the times—of sitting loose to all kinds of tradition, academic or otherwise,—and may even be not without an historical justification; but then one has always to mount guard against that ‘vaulting ambition which overleaps itself and falls on the other side.’ The meticulous care with which some have tortured and twisted the texts of Spinoza in order to bring Spinozism into line with present-day types of thought would much rather bear testimony to an unconscious arrogance in such procedure than confess to the humility which is germane to a tribute of respectful memory. It is Hegel, than whom there was probably no more unsparing critic of Spinoza, who has pointed the way to true veneration without its sinister accompaniments, when he said that “thought must begin by placing itself at the standpoint of Spinozism; to be a follower of Spinoza is the essential commencement of all Philosophy.....when man begins to philosophize, the soul must commence by bathing in this ether of the One Substance, in which all that man has held as true has disappeared.” Such ungrudging recognition of the merit of Spinozism, coming as it does from an avowed opponent, makes it the more valuable; and is in effect one hardly surpassed by effusions of some of the latter-day enthusiasts of Spinoza. It is a mere commonplace to assert that the best, and presumably the only way to appraise or appreciate, to criticise or venerate the contributions of a great mind, is not by looking at it *ab extra*, but *ab intra*, from the inside as it were, in so-called intellectual sympathy with the standpoint of the thinker in question. In so doing we must undoubtedly have to face after him his doubts and difficulties, and to trace with renewed wonder his explanation and solution of the age-long problems of life and existence. So initiated one can hope to discover the

true greatness of Spinozism and to what extent it does 'succeed in that it seems to fail' ; and this discovery, be it remembered, is not within the easy reach of those who begin by adopting a policy of pick-and-choose, of tinkering and twisting, of pruning and patching, with regard to the system as a whole. In an age in which the epithet 'plain' figures as an euphemism for 'ugly,' it is no wonder that the plain, unvarnished, historical method which has nothing striking or spectacular about it must pine in the cold shade of neglect, and make room for that heroic, impassioned, unhistorical one which by catering to the popular craze for novelty and romance, produces the desired stage-effect, and thus wins the day. Whatever charms such method may possess in other fields it seldom rises equal to its task in the sphere of philosophical thinking. Looking, as it habitually does, through the haze of affection or through the distorted medium of one's own cherished fancies and opinions, it is not least calculated to the ends either of love or knowledge. It fails to appreciate that a plain, unvarnished, unromantic tale, which is perhaps the best ministration to love, is also the best service that one can render to the memory of a great thinker.

From Matthew Arnold's impassioned utterance on Spinoza to Professor Lloyd Morgan's latest watchword 'Back to Spinoza' ¹ is, however, a far cry. Without committing ourselves at this stage to an advance statement on the merits of Professor Lloyd Morgan's use of Spinoza, we may with advantage turn to the qualifying phrase by which he punctuates his remarks. To quote his very words: "When I say: Back to Spinoza, I mean: Back to the foundations laid by Spinoza on which may be built a new superstructure that incorporates a concept of evolution unknown in his day." ² Is it not simply a faithful carrying out of the recipe prescribed by Hegel to all future reconstruction of philosophy? The quotation from Professor Lloyd Morgan serves at least to indicate which way the wind

¹ In 'Life, Mind and Spirit' the second course of Gifford Lectures

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

blows, and how the present-day resurrection of Spinozism is on the way to regaining that lost equilibrium in philosophy, which is the cry of many but prize of the few.

We now propose to deal at greater length with a much more ambitious, extensive, and perhaps, extravagant adaptation of Spinoza's philosophy which, under the title of "Spinoza and Time" ¹ was worked out by Professor Alexander, who is unquestionably one of the worthiest shoulders whereon the mantle of Spinoza could fall.

Although not inspired by this year's 1927 anniversary celebrations, the dissertation in question professedly embodies the spirit of a memorial service, and in presumed accord therewith, proceeds upon 'the avowedly unhistorical method of using Spinoza to an end which the historic Spinoza would not have entertained,' ² in the good faith 'that veneration is not the same thing as idolatry' ³ and that a great man may be, verily, as was a custom to Hamlet, 'more honoured by divergence than by obedience.' ⁴ As a question of principle it is probably sound and unimpeachable; but on circumstantial evidence, one has reasons to believe that Professor Alexander has not, in spite of himself, been able to redeem the pledge of veneration in the execution of his task—a task, which is, like drawing the bow of Ulysses by lesser hands, attended with grave peril. Possessing as he does the highest credentials for this bold undertaking, there is nothing *prima facie* to disqualify him from embarking upon this perilous adventure of studied divergence; but, before following him out in this somewhat uncharted voyage of discovery, one cannot help asking with the characteristic, but none the less philosophic *naivete* of 'little Peterkin'; *cui bono*? Although there is no reason to suspect his *bonafides*, his remark, viz. "as for Spinoza himself, it is too late a day to express

¹ Being the fourth "Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture" delivered before the Jewish Historical Society at University College.

² *Spinoza and Time*, p. 79. Hereinafter called S. and T.

³ *Ibid*, p. 80.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 80.

unbounded admiration,"¹—admittedly well-meaning in its transparent sincerity,—when taken by itself, may not unjustly, by force of contextual criticism, lend itself to the ready, but perhaps uncharitable, construction: 'it is too late a day to express unbounded admiration'² 'for Spinoza himself' unless one be 'more concerned with the gloss than with the text.'³ Here the *modus operandi*, when carefully analysed, will be found traceable to an irrepressible desire to keep abreast of time, to be, what in popular parlance we call, "up-to-date." Whether this is also to be viewed as an earnest of what Professor Alexander, in evident sympathy with M. Bergson, calls the happy determination 'to take time seriously,'⁴ it is more than we can affirm. Nevertheless, the solicitude he shows for the gloss leaves little room for doubt as to his unacknowledged conviction that an unglossed review of Spinoza will not be heterodox, sensational, or romantic enough to engage our attention, in spite of his formal acknowledgment of 'the greatest admiration for those who bring both historical research and the most sympathetic philosophical insight'⁵ to bear on 'the only satisfactory and respectful method of understanding a philosopher.'⁶ The modest confession that this method of historical scholarship is beyond his competence can possibly give him no immunity from the suspicion of which he has himself provided the occasion by breaking away from this only 'respectful method of understanding a philosopher.' The same 'natural piety' with which probably Wordsworth had inspired him might as well have imparted the salutary lesson that even a romantic admiration of Spinoza had 'no need of a remoter charm by a gloss supplied, and of an interest 'unborrowed from the eye.' One who cannot thus admire, although looking through the glasses, ground by Spinoza, would be, to adopt Carlyle's phraseology in another reference, "but a pair of spectacles behind which there is no eye."

¹ *Ibid*, p. 80.⁴ *Ibid*, p. 15.² *Ibid*, p. 80.⁵ *Ibid*, p. 19.³ *Ibid*, p. 80.⁶ *Ibid*, p. 19.

Before entering upon a detailed examination of Professor Alexander's studied divergences in the interpretation of Spinoza and of his claim to have discovered in Time the panacea of all the chronic distempers of Spinozism, it would be not unfair to comment in the most general terms on the plausibility of the proposed improvement in the understanding of Spinoza. In the first place, the juxtaposition of 'Spinoza and Time' is, even to the most casual reader of Spinoza, a glaring instance of a forced collocation. Alas! for one born to the front rank of those 'spectators of all time and existence,' long since immortalised by Plato, to be dragged into the questionable company of Time. There can be no sadder tragedy than to witness the celestial Pegasus harnessed to a wheeled waggon of earth; and no greater disservice to the memory of Spinoza than to contrive an unhappy union between one in tune with the Universe *sub specie æternitatis* and the other immersed therein *sub specie temporis*. It requires no undue stretch of imagination to realise how Spinoza himself would view the proposal. The shades of Spinoza would not at least look kindly upon such a preposterous offer, but would probably exclaim on the contrary, under the pressure of this embarrassing charity, "Defend me from my friends; I can defend myself from my enemies." Not unaware beforehand of 'the most important consequences which would follow from the substitution of Time for thought in the Spinozistic attributes,'¹ Professor Alexander proceeds, with that unquestionable 'veneration' which 'is not the same thing as idolatry,' to try 'upon the system of a great philosopher the effects of a hypothesis,'² and to record eventually 'what difference it would make to Spinoza's philosophy if we assign to Time a position not allowed to it by Spinoza himself.'³ Well, the difference in effect would be no more and no less than what made Peter Quince, the carpenter in 'A Mid-summer Night's Dream,' exclaim at the sight of the metamorphosed

¹ *Ibid*, p. 79.² *Ibid*, p. 79.³ *Ibid*, p. 20.

weaver : " Bless thee, Bottom ! bless thee ! thou art translated." Indeed, it is to be seriously questioned if in certifying that ' Time displaces Thought in the Spinozistic scheme,'¹ Professor Alexander has not made too ready a use of, and put too high a premium on, the ' discovery of Time ' ² which has proved, to quote his verdict *ex cathedra*, ' the most characteristic feature of the thought of the last twenty-five years.' ³ In formulating the conception of Space-Time or Motion ' as the stuff of the Universe,' ⁴ he does consciously take his departure from the theory of relativity on the score of its being ' a physical and not a metaphysical theory.' ⁵ The departure was not, perhaps, well advised; for whatever goes beyond Physics may not always have the right of access to metaphysics but have to stop at a half-way house between the two; and this is so because the interpretation in question is, on the one hand catholic or romantic enough for Physics, and, on the other, too crude and departmental for Metaphysics. Time was, when Physics had to beware of Metaphysics, but in view of the indecent haste and the extravagant charity with which it has been the fashion in some quarters of present-day philosophical thinking to court the categories of the special sciences, it is to be asked if it were not high time to sound the warning: ' Metaphysics ! beware of Physics ! ' Such coquetting of Metaphysics with Physics conduces to the lasting benefit of neither, but ends, as it must needs end, in that unhappy breach between the two which means, as it has done in the past, the sterilization of the philosophic *Eros*. What is, therefore, useful, timely, and in fact the supreme need of the hour, is a ' Defence of Philosophic Doubt,' an ' academic skepticism ' or a Baconian caution against ' *Idola Fori* ' before the encroaching advance of the new-fangled categories of the special sciences threatening in the end to swamp the field of metaphysics. The enthusiasts of

¹ *Ibid*, p. 46.² *Ibid*, p. 15.³ *Ibid*, p. 15.⁴ *Ibid*, p. 89.⁵ *Ibid*, p. 89.

progress in philosophical research probably proceed upon the example of the early bird that invariably catches the worm ; but what they obviously forget is that herein ' they also serve who only stand and wait.' The instructive errors of the past on the pathway of progress should awaken us to the home-truth that *festina lente* is always the secret and dynamic of all progress. The want of patient circumspection and immanent criticism engenders, finally, that loss of perspective on the part of metaphysics—in the face of new heights gained in the domain of the special sciences—which has famous precedents in the history of philosophical thought. Dazzled by the glamour of a new discovery in these sciences, metaphysicians of a particular type have not infrequently been seduced into a cosmic expansion and consequent falsification of a principle whose meaning and efficiency lay in its limited application. Like the son of Kish out in search after his father's asses, and eventually founding a kingdom, the innocent and simple time-axis, out to demonstrate its necessity over and above the already known three axes of co-ordinates in mathematical physics, has in some quarters acquired a foundational importance, not at all sought for but thrust upon it. No one is ostensibly more mindful of the need of perspectives in philosophy than Professor Alexander himself; but when he lays down in all seriousness the proposition that "the ultimate reality is Space-Time, the stuff out of which by various distributions all things arise,"¹ including God or rather his divinity that is "contained within it,"² he slips into precisely the same vicious snare as we are here referring to. Indeed this is simply a variant of the same thesis which he announced long ago (as early as in a paper read to the British Academy in January, 1914) and has thenceforward defended, with a peculiar persuasiveness in his remarkable Gifford Lectures and other writings, *viz.*, "that there is only one matrix from which all qualities arise." Herein he seems to be hearkening back, and giving a

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

fresh lease of existence, to the same 'natural piety' as prompted Tyndall, in his celebrated Belfast address of 1874, to make the well-known statement that he had discerned in matter 'the promise and potency of all terrestrial Life,'—an apotheosis, as Coleridge not inaptly remarked, "of a something-nothing-everything which does all of which we know." In respect of an undeniable functional affinity, a still more remote ancestor of Alexander's space-time may be not inaptly traced in Anaximander's *απειρον* or *αοριστον* as the *αρχη* of the universe. We need not follow out the eventful history, through which this problem of the One and the Many has passed, from its remotest antiquity down to the present time; but when our author makes the interesting discovery that 'Reality is Space-Time or Motion itself' ¹ 'and in virtue of this unceasing movement it strikes out fresh complexes of movements, created things,' ² 'this striving of Space-Time and of the world of things heretofore precipitated from that matrix' ³ being termed '*nisus*,' we seem to hear the voice of Leukippos and Democritos with their theories of vortex and *αναγκη*. The advance thus marked by Greek atomism on preceding philosophy in the way of a cosmogonic explanation compares not unfavourably with that claimed by Space-Time which as 'an experiential absolute' to quote the very words of our author, "takes for us the place of what is called the Absolute in idealistic systems." ⁴ In spite of his formal protestation that 'the One is the system of the Many in which they are conserved, not the vortex in which they are engulfed' ⁵ we are treated here, so it seems, to a revised and expurgated edition of the Lucretian '*De rerum natura*.' The proposal to substitute Space-Time or Motion for the orthodox '*Deus sive natura*' is but the typically modern version of that changed outlook in the history of Greek

¹ *Ibid*, p. 39.

² *Ibid*, p. 42.

³ *Ibid*, p. 72.

⁴ *Space, Time and the Deity*, Vol. I, p. 346.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 347.

thought which drew forth from Aristophanes the classic satire that 'Zeus was no more but Vortex was placed on the throne'!

Here, exactly, lies the danger-zone of the modernist upheaval. To bring metaphysics into line with Science is unquestionably a move in the right direction, but to set up, in the name of metaphysics, absolute claims on behalf of any of the special sciences is a monstrous aberration, and insidious snare for philosophical thought. Specifically speaking, the ensnaring vice of this craze of modernism is just this uncritical and generalised use of concepts, torn out of their specialized contexts, and applied on a much too generous scale—concepts like 'Life,' 'Activity' or 'Fact.' These are, as Professor Bosanquet rightly reminds us, 'dangerous immediates,' and probably *ignes fatui* on the path of 'the philosophic Pilgrim's Progress.' Then again, there is the notion of 'Progress,' 'Development' or 'Evolution'—'Creative,' 'Emergent' and what not—with an *élan* or *nisus* towards all development, embedded in, and exhibited throughout the scale of Being in different grades of perfection, up to the limiting notion of a finite, struggling Deity.

These are more or less the very appliances which Professor Alexander makes use of as a lever to raise Spinozism from the supposed lumber-room of antiquated thought-types. But Spinoza, it must be remembered, stands in need of no such label of modernism. In point of fact, he is much more 'modern' in the honorific sense of the term than many of the *soi-disant* modernists, who are hopelessly behind date in their outlook. When Spinoza presented a copy of his *Tractus Theologico-Politicus* to Leibnitz by way of reciprocating the compliment the latter had paid to him by presenting his own "Progress of Optics," Leibnitz is said to have characterised the book as "an unbearable free-thinking book." The verdict is a typical one, and furnishes the ablest commentary on the free thinking of the century. True it is, that on the thorny question of equal rights of 'votes for women,' Spinoza does affirm that 'women

have not by nature an equal right with men, but must needs give place to them.' But, as one present-day writer on Spinoza has truly remarked, Spinoza was much more 'modern' in the very raising of this question than many so-called moderns. Thus on a question of contemporary interest the cloistered philosopher has, by giving his most anxious, philosophic consideration, set the example which might, with advantage, be emulated by many publicists of to-day who, not infrequently, brush aside this question in Olympic indifference, as hardly meriting one's serious consideration. Then, again, in view of the present-day recrudescence of theosophic mysticism, and the increasing interest among philosophers in the alleged facts of 'telepathic communication' or 'mediumistic deliverances' and the like, it is most opportune and no less profitable to refresh our memory with Spinoza's reading of the whole situation. In reply to a rather crudely expressed query as to his opinion concerning 'apparitions, and ghosts or goblins,' by one of his admirers, Spinoza thus combated the still lingering trail of mediævalism that was running through the centuries: "The authority of Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates does not count for much with me. I should have been surprised if you had cited Epicurus, Democritus, Lucretius or any of the Atomic school. For it is nothing strange that the inventors of occult qualities, intentional species, substantial forms, and a thousand other varieties, should have also devised goblins and ghosts, and given credence to old wives, in order to destroy Democritus's reputation, whose good name they so envied that they burnt all the books he had published with so much renown."

(To be continued.)

SAROJKUMAR DAS

THE ROYAL COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF INDIAN NATIONALISTS

I

The Conservative Government of Great Britain, supported by the leaders of the British Labour Party and the Liberals, with the approval of both the Houses of the British Parliament, has appointed a Royal Commission for India. "The Commission will be composed of Sir John Simon, prominent liberal lawyer, as Chairman; Lord Burnham, owner of *Daily Telegraph*; Hon. Stephen Walsh, Minister of War in the Macdonald Labour Government; Colonel G. R. Lane Fox, Minister of Mines in the present Government, Lord Strathcona, Major the Hon. E. Cadogan and Major C. R. Attlee, all Conservatives."

The function of the Commission will be to carry out one of the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1919—"to inquire into the working of the system of the Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of Second Chamber of local legislatures is or is not desirable. The Commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces which may be referred to the Commission by His Majesty." Thus it must be kept in mind that the Commission will be acting within its scope, if it reports to restrict the degree of responsible Government now existing in British India.

In a recent public declaration Sir John Simon, the Chairman of the Royal Commission, has given his views regarding the scope of the Commission in the following way :—

“The British Government has a tremendous responsibility to the people of India. It is a responsibility which cannot be denied and evaded for it is rooted in history and in the facts of the world today. If therefore, the future of India is to be one of peaceful progress (as all men of goodwill in India and Britain intensely desire), this can come about only by the act of the British Parliament combined with the co-operation of India itself. Both these are provided for by the scheme of investigation and consultation of which the work of the Commission is the first stage. The Commission does not go to India with any idea of imposing Western ideas or constitutional forms from without, we go to listen, to learn and faithfully report our conclusions as to actual conditions and faithfully report our conclusions as to actual conditions and varying proposals from within... The task of the Commission calls for the highest qualities of sympathy and imagination as well as for endless patience, strict impartiality, industry and courage. I enter upon my part in this duty intensely desiring to be of what service I can to India and to Britain.”

However, the publication of the news that the Commission will not include any Indian, has stirred the Indian nationalist leaders and press. Many of the Indian leaders, including the Liberal leader Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, have declared that the composition of the Commission without an Indian in it is an expression of deliberate and studied insult to the people of India, and thus the Commission should be universally boycotted. According to the interview granted to an Associated Press Correspondent at Mussoorie, on October 13, 1927, even Sir Abdur Rahim, a staunch supporter of the British Indian Government's present policy, has expressed it “as his definite opinion that in case there was no Indian element in the personnel of the coming Royal Commission, the duty of India was clear and it was that the Commission should be boycotted.” Sir Abdur Rahim further said that “it was unthinkable to have a Royal Commission of Indian Reforms, without representation of non-official Indian opinion. If England sent a Commission without an Indian element it would be a downright insult to India.”

It is very obvious that the policy of appointing a Royal Commission without any Indian member in it has been deliberately adopted, because of the existing political situation in India. No less a person than Sir Muhammed Shafi, who enjoys the confidence of British officials, attributes the exclusion of Indians from the Royal Commission, to inter-communal hatred existing in India. The *New York Times*, which often reflects the British point of view on the Indian question, in an editorial entitled "Self-Government in India," published in the issue of Nov. 10, 1927, makes the following remarks which are certainly the opinion of the British Government and intended for American consumption :

"The hastening of the Royal Commission has not been brought about by the pressure of events in India. It may even be said that the appointment of the Commission has been made possible by the subsidence of Indian unrest...Such unrest as prevails in India today does not centre about the British Government but about the relations between Hindus and Moslems. This inter-racial and inter-religious strife may be interpreted as arising from the very confidence with which the allocation of a larger measure of self-government is awaited. The Moslems are a minority of 70,000,000 in a total population of 320,000,000. In cultural and economic standing they are far inferior to the Hindu population. The intelligentsia of India, from which must come the administrators of self-government is Hindu. Under the circumstances the Mohammedans fear that self-government for India means a Hindu ascendancy more oppressive than British rule. The test which the Royal Commission must apply is not so much Hindu capacity for managing the finances and defence of India, as Hindu ability to rule in fairness to all minorities. *If there is to be a new Constitution, it is taken for granted that safeguards for them (Moslems and minorities) will form a vital feature of the scheme.*"

Thus it is safe to prophesy that the present stand of the British Government in appointing the Royal Commission is at least to perpetuate the curse of "Communal Representation," the cancer of Indian political life in some form, under the guise of "protecting the minorities" from "Hindu ascendancy." The Hindus who have no extra-territorial patriotism and who form about three-fourths of the population of India are to be

victimised to please the Moslem minority and to perpetuate communalism which is being denounced by all other so-called Indian minorities, such as Indian Christians, Sikhs, Parsees and even some of the members of the British Parliament who rightly believe that as long as there exists "Communal Representation" or separate electorate for Moslems of India, there cannot be any real progress for a democratic form of Government.

II

British authorities in India and England firmly believe that some of the Indian politicians will talk about boycotting the Royal Commission, which in actual practice will prove to be a simple bluff. In this connection it will be interesting to quote the following editorial comment from the *Spectator* (London) of November 19, 1927 :

"It must not be supposed, however, that all Hindus want to boycott the Commission. There are many highly educated Hindus who have seen from the first what a ruinous policy that would be. *As for the Moslems, they are much less volatile than the Hindu Swarajists and Liberals, and in the mass they are ready to do all that they can to work with the Commission. Then again, there are those Hindus who have never had any cause to be grateful to their own political leaders. We mean the millions of untouchables. The visit of the Commission will be a great occasion to them.*" (Italics are mine.)

In other words, the British authorities think that some of the Hindu Swarajists and Liberals and a few Moslem leaders may declare that they would boycott the Commission, but there will be enough of loyalist Hindu leaders and masses of Moslem leaders and also the spokesmen for the Untouchables of India, who will co-operate with the Commission.

In the past, the Indian Nationalists, especially the Congress leaders, tried to boycott the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils, but their efforts did not succeed and later on they had to modify their stand as Swarajists and they entered the Assembly and Councils. Earl Reading, as the

Viceroy of India, had made an offer for a "Round Table Conference" which the late C. R. Das wished to accept, but Mahatma Gandhi and others rejected it; but later on Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and others had to beg for a "Round Table Conference," which so far has not materialised. The 'walk-out' of the Swarajists from the Assembly and the Councils, imitating the British Labour Party in the Parliament, has not served any good purpose. The Indian advocates of the boycott of the Royal Commission must have the example of the Irish Republicans and the Egyptian Nationalists in mind. But the Irish Republicans, to avoid complete political annihilation has entered the Free State Parliament; and what Zaglul Pasha and his followers accomplished in the boycott of the Milner Commission, cannot be repeated in India, because there is no Zaglul in India and factionalism and communalism in Indian politics, as it exists to-day, stands in the way of presenting a united front of the Indian nationalists on any question. If the Indian nationalists, under the pretext of "consistency of programme" or "sentimental idealism" boycott the Royal Commission they will accomplish only one thing and that is they will lose the opportunity of making their views on various issues of Indian Constitutional Reform, known to the members of the British Parliament, the British and Indian public and the world at large.

In this connection it may be said that even if the Royal Commission is deliberately appointed *to retard* the progress of responsible government in India, it should be the duty of all far-sighted Indian nationalists to present their views in favour of Indian national aspirations, and to block the possibility of any adverse recommendation by the Commission. Lastly it should be carefully considered that after making a bluff of boycotting the Commission, if they fail to bring about a universal boycott, it will seriously affect the power and prestige of the Indian nationalists in the eyes of the Indian public and the British people and politicians.

III

It seems that at least the following questions will be considered by the Royal Commission : Will the system of diarchy be abolished and complete autonomy with full responsible government be extended in Indian Provinces ? What shall be the nature of the Federal Government of India ? What shall be the status of the Indian Princes, under the new constitution of the responsible Government of India—will their so-called autonomy be of such character that they will have to submerge their existence within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government of India and thus must deal through the Government of India in their future relations with Great Britain and other Foreign Powers ? Will the Government of India have full control over its internal affairs, national defence and foreign relations, like all other self-governing dominions—Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and the Irish Free State ? Will, under the cover of some high-sounding pretexts, the curse of Communalism be perpetuated, through separate electorate for the Moslem Indians or through some such schemes ? Indian nationalists will have to present complete and far-sighted answers to these and many other questions in such a way that the very answers will serve as the beacon-light for the national aspirations to be achieved through many-sided activities, without sacrificing the underlying principles of national freedom, democracy and unity.

Indian Control of India's Foreign Relations.

From the very beginning of its relations with Indian Princes, the East India Company wanted to control the Foreign Affairs of the Indian States so that they would not be able to make a common cause with Britain's enemies and drive the British out of India. During the British rule in

India, one thing that Great Britain has systematically carried out is to bring about isolation of India in World Politics. Every conceivable means has been adopted by the British Indian Government to keep worthy Indians within Indian borders and under British surveillance, so that there will be no effective international contact established by forward-looking Indians, thinking and acting to carry out the ideal of "India for Indians" in practice. Not only men like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore have been under the watchfulness of British eyes, but many Japanese, American and even British sympathisers of India have been victims of British Indian espionage. The British Indian Government takes special precaution against really independent-spirited Indians being chosen to represent India in the League of Nations or in any international gathering. In fact it is deliberately planned that a Britisher always leads the Indian Delegation in the League of Nations. From what happened in the last Imperial Conference, in which it was decided that India, not being a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will not have any voice in the formation of the Foreign Policy of the British Empire, it is evident that the last thing the British authorities will ever voluntarily concede to the people of India is the charge of India's International Relations. But the Indian Nationalists who want to see that India should occupy her rightful place among the free and independent nations of the world and wish that India's status within the British Commonwealth of Nations may not be inferior to that of the self-governing dominions and Ireland, should see to it that their views on *Indian Control of Indian Foreign Affairs*, be adequately presented before the Royal Commission, and thus before the Indian and British public and the world at large.

Indian Control of National Defence.

It is needless to emphasize the point that a self-governing Sovereign State always exercises full and absolute control over

its own national defence. It is only just and natural that a self-governing India should enjoy this inalienable right.

It is very easy to maintain foreign domination over a people by disarming them and by depriving them of the opportunity of exercising the functions of leadership in matters of national defence. From this point of view, and to keep the people of India in subjection, the British Government has not only disarmed the Indian nation, but while using India's man-power to organize a mercenary force of Indians, *has done its best to thwart the rise of a band of Indian military leaders for an Indian National Defence Force*. Indian leaders have been pleading for many years so that the British policy on the question of Indian National Defence be so changed that the full responsibility for it be gradually transferred to the Indian people. During the dark days of the World War, when Great Britain was very anxious to use India's man-power to the fullest extent, the late C. R. Das, in April, 1918, in a largely attended meeting held at Calcutta made the following significant remarks, expressing that the people of India should be trusted with the responsibility of Indian National Defence :

"The Prime Minister has sounded the call to arms. It is not only a call to arms but it is a call to duty. We are prepared to discharge our duty. Do your duty in the same spirit—Come forward and forget your racial prejudice, forget your sense of prestige—stand side by side with us—Hold us by your hands and you will find between the two of us *we will raise such an army in Bengal which will beat back foreign aggression.*"

("India For Indians" by Chitta Ranjan Das, published by Ganesh and Co., Madras, p. 107.)

But this appeal and many similar ones, especially from Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, have not received any adequate response from the British authorities. It is true that after the conclusion of the World War, a very slight concession has been made towards training a few Indian officers annually; but this is merely a gesture without any real spirit of trust. This is very evident from the unfavourable attitude of the Government of India and the British Government regarding the moderate

recommendations of the Skeen Committee Report on Indianisation of the Indian Army..

Unless the Indian Nationalists be on guard, it is quite possible that the Government of India, supported by the British military hierarchy, will do its best to utilise the Royal Commission against the proposal of speedy Indianisation of the Indian Army. British army officers who have been eating "India's salt," have already started a vigorous campaign against Indianisation of the army, and are advocating that instead of granting any further concessions towards the establishment of a responsible government in India, its progress must be retarded. The following extensive quotations from an article "The Reforms and the Indian Army" by Lt.-Colonel A. O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E., published in the *Nineteenth Century* of July, 1927, are samples of anti-Indian propaganda carried on by British Army officials :

"The word 'Swaraj' which has been used by some well-meaning personages, does not actually connote Indian self-government, but Hindu self-government, and those who made most play with the word in the land of its birth had no desire whatsoever for a democracy. They wished for the establishment of Hindu rule, firmly based, as of old, on the caste system, with Khatri kings, guided by Brahmin priestly advisers, ruling over the other functional groups, all of whom would be kept in properly in their places on non-democratic lines..." (pages 28-29).

"Till now the British Government has held itself responsible for the protection of India which it rescued from chaos and internecine strife, as has been done by so small a force of 60,000 British soldiers as a backing to 160,000 Indian regulars...Experience has shown that Gurkhas, Pathans, Punjab Mohammedans and Sikhs, Jats and Rajputs of Northern and Central India, Marhattas of certain areas and a few other tribes, all possess the spirit that make for excellent soldiers, and that the characteristics of clan in the hour of victory, steadiness under fire and imperturbability in the hour of defeat are possessed by the different types complementary to each other. A total of 160,000 is but a small one to find. The Gurkhas come from a friendly State which is outside India proper, and the rest are chosen from one-tenth of the innumerable tribes of India. The small Punjab produces nearly three-fifths of the regular Army when those obtained from Nepal have been omitted..."

"The population of India being nearly 320,000,000 and the army being recruited from one-tenth of the tribes which compose that population, it is clear that hundreds of millions of the people have nothing to do with the military force which protects them...In the main the Hindu caste system is at fault. As Hindus have broken up their society into such thousands of functional groups, millions are born, grow up and die with the idea that soldiering has nothing to do with their duty to the nation...At any rate the position is that, while the small Punjab with its population of 24,000,000 produces the majority of the Army, Bengal with 48,000,000, Bihar and Orissa with 38,000,000 and Central Provinces with 16,000,000 are practically not represented at all..."

"...But the Reforms connote the ultimate establishment of democracy and one of the first steps towards democratic self-government must necessarily be democratic self-defence. In the Skeen Committee's Report on Indianisation of Officers' Rank in the Indian Army, it is proposed that in the future entrance to the Military College to be established in India should be by competitive examination and that no preference should be given to any particular class or community...Those Englishmen who have had anything to do with the old type of the Indian Army will naturally be aghast at the possibilities which emerge from Skeen Committee's proposals, for they would lead to a situation in which an unwarlike Bengali would be in command of Pathans and a similar peace-loving Madrasite be called upon to lead a company of Sikhs....In fact, to the Army of the present day the idea is too fantastic to be conceivable. Nevertheless the proposal is the logical outcome of the Reforms, both as first step towards self-defence by all as a parallel to the Indianisation of Civil Service of India."

"The future must be faced if logic is to have its way. If a share is to be taken by the non-martial races in the officering of the Army, it follows in necessary sequence that all classes and all provinces of India should take their share in the defence of their native land, and this will also be in accordance with the true principles of democratic self-defence. On a basis proportionate to the population, out of 320 soldiers in Indian Army 48 should be representatives of Bengal, 38 of Bihar and Orissa, and 16 of the Central Provinces although such provinces at present supply not a single man. On the other hand the martial Punjab, which now produces more than 150, should only contribute 24. It should be added that the Gurkhas from the friendly non-Indian State should find no place in the democratic Indian Army of the future.

"As long as the attitude of the British remained that, under Providence, to their hand had fallen the duty of administering the country and

of ensuring the progress and prosperity of their charge, so long the military authorities must be considered to work well in constructing a cheap Army out of the most virile races in the country. But with the institution of the Reforms, which aim at the progressive realisation of responsible self-government, conditions must inevitably change....And if the establishment of responsible Government must mean automatically the dissolution of the present Indian Army and the substitution of a makeshift not equally prepared for war, we must not blind ourselves to the possibilities of threatened danger of invasion of the country. *If on the other hand the possible disaster could be averted by a reasonable alteration of the terminology of August 1917, it would be better to face any storms that may be aroused among the politicians rather than allow matters to march towards the inevitable catastrophe of their logical conclusion*" (pages 28-37). (Italics are mine.)

In substance these military authorities want that the Government of India Act be so modified that there will be no chance of Indianisation of the Indian Army and Indian control of Indian National Defence.

At the outset it must be recorded that the British Indian Government, during the last fifty years alone has spent in its military expenditure more than double the amount of what the Japanese Government has spent during the same period for its Army and Navy. But Japan's military strength is second to none and the present Japanese Navy is only second to those of Great Britain and the United States of America. Japan has hundreds of thousands of trained officers. If we take the population of Japan and India into consideration, then India should have at least five times as many well-trained and experienced army, naval and air officers as Japan. *Is it necessary to repeat that because of its policy of keeping the people of India under subjection and due to its military policy, the Government of India has done practically nothing to train Indians to take up the responsibility of National Defence?*

Secondly, I wish to draw the attention of the Indian Nationalists to the fact that only the other day Sir Fredrick Whyte, the former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, in a meeting of very influential Americans, held at New York,

said that the re-organization of the Chinese Nationalist Army by the Russians made it possible for the Houmintang Party of China to control the Yangtse Valley. In the space of less than five years, the Russian advisers of the Chinese Nationalists have trained enough officers to build up a formidable army; but the British Government after its long efforts, to-day finds the Bengalees as non-martial and the Madrasees as peace-loving and the work of protecting India from foreign invasions must be left to the British, who are supposedly appointed by the Providence for that task!

It will not be out of place to point out that the Siamese Government has built up an excellent army, the Afghan Government has trained a formidable military force by the aid of Turkish, Russian and German advisers. The Persian Government has sent hundreds of brilliant Persian scholars to various European countries to acquire the necessary knowledge in military science, while the army of the Persian Government is not a negligible one. The Turkish army has given a very good account of itself during the last five years. If British military leaders are unable to re-organise the Indian National Army so that the Indians will be able to take charge of the question of National Defence, then it would be wise for Indian statesmen to suggest that some German, French, Japanese, American, Turkish, or Russian officers should be invited to undertake this work of vital importance. It seems that such a plan will be less costly and more effective for meeting Indian national needs.

It is imperative that the Indian Nationalists should present their case in favour of speedy Indianisation of the Regular Army in India, formation of the Indian National Militia, as a second-line defence force, as it is in existence in Switzerland and the introduction of military training in High Schools, Colleges and Universities as it exists in Japan and establishment of Officers' Training Camps, as inaugurated by the United States of America, before the Royal Commission. Indian Nationalists by their actions should prove that they are willing and capable

to undertake the full responsibility of Indian National Defence. It seems to me that it is high time for the Indian Nationalists to take the leadership in the formation of Indian National Militia to prove that an Indian Army under Indian Command will be second to none. *Whatever may be the attitude of the British Government, the Royal Commission, and the British Parliament, the Indian Nationalists must make a beginning, the sooner the better, about imparting military training in the schools and colleges so that "the myth of non-martial Bengalis," etc., be exploded by practical demonstration.*

Indian Princes and the Federal Government of India.

According to the reported speech of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru delivered before the Social Club, London, on October 27, 1927, the Swarajist leader has charged some of the Indian Princes as hindering political progress of India. There is much truth in this view. A few months ago some of the Indian Princes sent a Mission to England, with Dr. Rushbrook Williams as one of its advisers, for the purpose of securing support from British politicians, so that the so-called rights of the Indian Princes be not encroached upon by any Federal Government in India. It is generally known that this Mission engaged Sir John Simon, the present Chairman of the Royal Commission, as the Legal Adviser of the Indian Princes. Furthermore "The Feudatory and Zamindari India," the magazine supposed to be subsidised to protect the rights of Indian Princes as early as August, 1927, in an editorial entitled "Future Federation of the Indian States" presented the following reactionary views, against any further realization of responsible Government in British India :

"It (the Deccan Sabha) has taken for granted that the result of the Royal Commission will be the inauguration of a Federal form of Government for British India and all that would remain to be done would be to define the relations between Federated India and the States and ultimately to absorb them in that grand federation...Some Princes are being misled by the astute politicians who try to coax them into approving their

agitation for Swaraj and thus make it appear that the Ruling Princes are for freeing themselves of British control and are prepared to throw their lot with the Swarajists. Their hesitation to oppose constitutional advance in British India, as it is called, will mean their extinction, will be their undoing. Their representatives to the Government and their whispered conversation at Simla will have no effect. They must act as a body and express without demur that the British Power is treaty-bound to assure their integrity and they are dead opposed to any form of Government which the British may confer on India, yielding to the clamour of a handful of noisy politicians, which will interfere with their integrity and leave them to the mercy of the politicians." (pages 521-522).

No Indian nationalist, true to the ideals of Indian unity and freedom, ever cherishes the thought that within the border of India, which comprises an area of over 1,805,322 square miles containing a population of 320,000,000 people, 7,11,032 square miles with a population of 70,000,000 people, will remain outside the jurisdiction of the Federal Government of India, and will form several hundred separate entities, ruled by Princes and Feudal Barons, enjoying direct relations with Great Britain which in turn will be responsible for their Foreign Relations and territorial integrity. It would mean that India should be divided into several hundred Ulsters to please the autocratic Indian Princes. Yet this plan has been seriously advocated by some important Indian Chiefs who talk about "their Sovereign Rights" which are for all practical purposes "pure myths."

Although the history of British Expansion in India is nothing but a series of violation of treaties and conquest by the British, there are many British statesmen who in all solemnity will invoke the sacredness of treaty-obligations to perpetuate "Ulsters" in the Indian body-politic; and some of the Indian politicians, under the cover of patriotism, will support all schemes which will preserve the Indian Princes and their autocratic rule. *To bring about Italian unity, all the petty Italian rulers had to lose their identity, similarly all Indian Princes must have to come within the full jurisdiction of the Federal Government of India. Nationalist India will have to define its policy towards*

the Indian Princes ; and it is just as well that it should be done now and be presented to the Royal Commission, so that there will be no misunderstanding on the question.

The Curse of Communal Representation.

Moslem Indian politicians, including M. Jinnah and others, are for perpetuation of communal representation in Indian political life. Only lately various Moslem delegations went to England to assure the British authorities that they would be willing to co-operate with the Government—the Royal Commission—provided they were accorded special considerations as Muslims, *i.e.*, Communal Representation. Dr. Annie Besant, after her recent return to England has declared that the present communal strife in India is due largely to communal representation in Indian political life. In this she is absolutely right. Many of the Moslem leaders have boldly threatened that there will be no end of the Hindu-Moslem discord unless their demands (which are anti-national and preposterous) be supported by the Hindu community. If any one has any doubt about the Moslem attitude he should carefully digest the following resolution passed in the U. P. Moslem League meeting held at Meerut, in which such Moslem leaders as Moulana Hazrat Mohani, Dr. Kitchlew, Hafiz Hidayat Hussein, Dr. Ziauddin, Mr. Yamin Khan, Maulavi M. Yakub and Maulana Mohamed Ali, participated. To these leaders who pose as Indian Nationalists, communal interests come before the national interest. Communal ascendancy of the Moslems and imposing the will of the minority community over the rest of the country is their creed. The resolution reads :

“ It was the opinion of the Moslem League that in view of past experience, the present state of affairs in the country and the existing relations between Hindus and Mussalmans, *the communal representation of the latter through separate electorates was inevitable. Moslems emphatically maintained this right of their community and would not agree to any proposal involving a surrender of the right until and unless* (1) Sind was

made a distinct province, (2) such Reforms as were given to the other provinces of India were extended to the N. W. F. Province and Beluchistan, (3) in the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of Moslem voters in every electorate was made the same as the proportion of Moslems in the population, (4) adequate representation was provided for the Moslem minority in the provinces of Agra and Oudh, as well as other provinces in which Moslems were in minority, (5) in the Indian Legislature Moslem representation was not made less than a third of the total and (6) the Government has accepted the principle that no Bill, a part of a Bill or Resolution should be passed in any legislature or other elective body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that legislature or other elective body objected to it, on the ground that it would adversely affect the interest of that community."

Want of space will not permit me to discuss fully the absurdity of these demands. However, I shall pass a few remarks on the subject. In 1905 the British Government, to cripple the political life of Bengal and India, planned and carried out the partition of Bengal, which gave Moslem ascendancy in the province. *I wish to emphasise the point that the very first provision of the Moslem League resolution, quoted above, means that to uphold and further Moslem communalism, the great province of Bombay be divided into two so that the Moslem communal power will be predominant in Sind.* The programme, among other things, involves that wherever the Moslems are in majority such as the Punjab and Bengal they should have representation according to the population, but in provinces where the Moslems are in minority they must have "adequate representation" which means more than the proportion of Moslem population. It also provides that if the three-fourths of the Moslem population of the Punjab does not like any legislative programme in Madras or any other province where the Moslems are in minority, the Government will not enact any law which may be opposed by the Moslems. *These demands may well be regarded as a Programme of Black-mail,* and in them one finds the guiding principles of Sir Bampfylde Fuller's programme of "securing Moslem support, by according them special concession." It may be worthwhile

to record here what Sir Bampfylde Fuller wanted to do to please his " favourite wife " by which he meant the Moslem community of Bengal.

" In May 25, 1906, in a circular Sir Bampfylde Fuller laid down that a fixed portion of Government posts should be reserved for Mohammedans, and until that proportion had been reached, *no qualified Mohammedan candidate should be rejected in favour of a Hindu candidate merely because the latter had superior qualifications.*"

It seems clear that twenty years after the regime of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Moslem leaders of India, particularly Mr. Jinnah of Bombay, have originated a scheme which really means the application of Sir Bampfylde's programme on an all-India scale and in a far worse form. It is a pity that some of the Indian Nationalists (who are regarded as Indian nationalist leaders), supposing that they were bringing about some kind of Hindu-Moslem unity, had agreed to the demands of the Moslem League which in reality means perpetuation of Communalism and conferring special privileges to those who are less efficient and only because they are Moslems. In this twentieth century, if Indian political life is to be governed by an inefficient minority, because of their special brand of religion, then it would mean that Indian political life will be far worse than what was in Europe and even India during the Middle Ages.

Fortunately for India, the majority of the people of India, the Christian, Sikh, Parsee and other communities are opposed to the programme of communalism and separate electorate. They believe in the principle of " India First " and no special representation of any community, but on the contrary, India should be ruled by the wisest and the best chosen by the people at large.

Without the perpetuation of communal representation for an Indian community (Moslems), the Anglo-Indians and others cannot secure and safeguard their special privileges for which they have been clamouring. The Anglo-Indians and the British official world will support the plea for special privileges

for the Moslems, not because they really love the Moslems of India, but because that will be the best means of sowing and nurturing the seed of disunion in India; and also because that will establish a precedent for their special demands to benefit the minority of the Britishers.

If for no other reason but to register a protest against any scheme involving the perpetuation of communalism in Indian political life, the Indian Nationalists should present a carefully prepared memorial against the cancer of separate electorate and special privileges for any community.

IV

It is generally agreed in India, for very substantial reasons, that Royal Commissions are appointed to whitewash many "diabolical projects" of the Government. There are many examples to substantiate this view. Did not a Royal Commission decide that "opium-eating does not hurt the people of India?" Did not the Royal Commission recommend the Rowlatt Act? Did not another Commission decide that General Dyer was not guilty of any crime by ordering the Amritsar Massacre? The present Royal Commission may recommend that India should not have any control over her Foreign Affairs and National Defence; it may favour that Indian Princes should have direct relation with the British Government in England; it may favour communalism in Indian political life and it may even recommend that no further steps be taken towards the establishment of responsible government in India, on the contrary, a backward move should be made to re-establish the old system with all its evils. Even in that case, the struggle for Indian freedom will not cease; on the contrary, it is my firm conviction that the Indian Nationalist Movement with its mistakes and temporary set-backs will some day lead India to her freedom. This being the case, the Indian leaders should seriously consider the working out of a programme of the future

Government of India. In answer to this, many Indian Nationalists will say that in the past no country worked out a constitution first, before it achieved the necessary political change. They may point out the fact that the United States declared its independence and then worked for its constitution; recently the Chinese overthrew the Manchu dynasty first and then began the work for adopting a constitution, the Persian Revolution, Turkish Revolution, Russian Revolution, German Revolution and the establishment of new states of Poland, Czecho-Slavia, Jugo-Slavia, Finland, etc., came first and the constitutions afterwards. *But my feeling is that if India is to work out a peaceful political change, which must be similar to the political evolution of Canada and Australia, then it is very desirable that an outline of the Constitution of the Government of India should be worked out in a scientific manner; and this should be spread among the people of India, the British public and politicians and the world at large.*

This work of drawing up a Constitution should not be done by the Indian politicians who are for the last few years, talking much about formulating a *National Demand*, while following the most objectionable, reactionary and opportunist programme of communalism in disguise. *This work should be entrusted to a committee of seven foremost Indian scholars on Constitutional Law and Comparative Constitutions. This committee should be assisted by five most distinguished Western scholars who must possess theoretical knowledge and practical experience about the federal form of the Government of the United States of America and the American States, the centralised form of Government of the Republic of France, the Federal Government of the Republic of Switzerland and the Government of various Swiss cantons, and the present Government of the Republic of the German Empire and its various states, and the governments of the various self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations, especially the Irish Free State.* If a committee of seven Indian scholars be assisted by

an American, a French, a Swiss, a German and an Irish authority on Constitutional Law, then it would be easy to blend all the good points of Federalism, Centralization, Decentralization and States Rights in the proposed constitution, which will receive respectful attention of the world public and even the British Parliament and those Britishers who are using Americans to discredit Indian aspirations by the publication of such a book as "Mother India."

Undoubtedly if a committee of seven Indian scholars and five western advisers are to work for preparing a Constitution of India, it will cost some money, but it is to be expected that the result of their work will be an achievement and a solid contribution towards the acquisition of freedom of India. In this world, "something worth anything can never be secured for nothing, and India will have to pay for this work. In this connection it may be said that the work will not cost the people of India half as much as the present Royal Commission (over the composition of which the people of India has not the slightest control) will have to spend to determine whether the people of India should have any further concessions towards the establishment of responsible government.

The Indian National Congress, during the last few years, has raised large sums of money for various purposes, but the money has been spent on the unproductive "Special Sessions" and other purposes. *It seems that it is a responsibility of Indian Nationalists to appoint a Commission of Indian and Western scholars to work out a constitution for the future government of India before the year 1928 is over; and for this work they should spend a reasonable sum of money. Mere agitation against a Royal Commission will have no effect. Mere criticism against the present Government of India Act will be of no special value. Indian Nationalists will have to present to the Indian people, British public, British Parliament, and the world at large a completely worked out programme for the future Government of India and its various Provinces. If the*

*All-India National Congress fails to undertake this work, as it has so far failed, will it not be possible for some other responsible organization to undertake this work and will it not be possible for a rich Indian to bear the financial responsibility for this purpose and serve his Mother Country in a most constructive way?*¹

TARAKNATH DAS

THE VISION

The shadow'd moon upon the stream
Is floating with her crispéd dream
Like silent joy in crystal night
—The roving wave of light.

The star hides in the flower's breast
Like night-dream in the heart of rest,
And breathes its purest scents of love
In its snow-breast uphove.

A lyric tune of the sea-wave
Plays softly on the moon-lit cave,
And like a strained joy the wood
Delights its solitude.

Along the skies, amidst the air
Sate in the cloud-bark of my care,
I rove in my deep search of love
Whose shadow is above.

Ye ghostlings ! stretch your poison'd strains
And on their heavy-hearted pains
Oh ! charm my way to ecstasy
—*A mortal eternity !*

S. H. JHABVALA

¹ The Editor does not agree with the writer's views and opinions in many respects.—Ed., C. R.

Review

Paper Currency in India—By B. B. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., B.Sc. (Lond.), Published by the University of Calcutta, pp. 333, price Rs. 4.

This is an interesting publication on the history, present organisation and the future of the Paper Currency system in India. This is a reprint with some portions practically rewritten of the thesis approved for the Ph.D. of the Calcutta University. The treatment selected is to "isolate the paper currency so far as it bears such isolation from the rest of the monetary system and in spite of frequent temptations to discuss the general features of the monetary situation the author has wisely refrained from this unprofitable task." Even on such contentious topics as the amalgamation of the paper currency and the gold standard reserves, the meaning of elasticity and the methods of securing it the author is never dogmatic and one-sided in the statement of his thesis. The notable portion of the book is where the author makes a searching analysis of the Hilton-Young Commission's recommendations with reference to the proposal of the Reserve Bank which is to be the future currency authority.

The plan adopted in the book is to follow the historical growth of the paper currency system. The first two chapters deal with the bank note issues, their circulation and the conditions governing the note-issues of these earlier banks. The author makes a laudable attempt to throw fresh light on this topic and information collected from the German authors is made use of and arranged in a lucid manner. But unfortunately he has not taken care to verify the reliability of the information obtained from these sources. The facts obtained from Munz Mass and Gewichtbuch and Heubner's *Die Banken* ought to have been verified by the author. The author says "Another bank not mentioned by C. N. Cooke—the Bank of Western India (*Die Bank Des estlichen Ostindien*) founded in 1842 also seems to have a note issue. Perhaps this was the same bank as the Nord West Bank von Indien which Huebner mentions but gives no details of its note-issue. Huebner mentions two other banks, *viz.*, the Oriental Bank Corporation and the Agra and United Service Bank of Agra as having a note circulation. The amount of the circulation of the former was approximately Rs. 5,18,910 in 1851 ; of the latter approximately Rs. 10,00,000 in 1852." A reference to some of the printed records of the Government would have made the situation quite clear. They mention the Agra and United Service Bank and the North West Bank. The latter was started

in 1844 and not 1842 as stated by Huebner. It arose out of the Meerut Bank which was started in 1842. The business of these banks included the issuing of notes. But the records do not mention their note-issues and a study of C. N. Cooke would give the reasons for this. (See pp. 141-9.) Mr. R. M. Martin does not also mention the fact that they issued notes during this period. The verbatim publication of the facts from the German writers without any verification is far from commendable. A close study of C. N. Cooke would have enabled the author to avoid these errors.

Chapter III discusses the reasons for making the paper currency a Government issue and the views of the principal makers of the Government Paper Currency system of 1861 and the early plans formulated by these pioneers are elaborated in detail. There is no mention of the P. C. plan outlined in the Calcutta Review in 1858 under the title "Indian Finance." All the important suggestions of Mr. Wilson were clearly foreshadowed by this anonymous writer. The main provisions of the P. C. Act of 1861 are related and a contemporary estimate of the Act from the Calcutta Review is quoted to indicate in what light this important measure was received by the public.

The agency of issue forms the subject-matter of chapter IV. The employment of the Presidency Banks as agents for management and the final disassociation of the paper currency from the Presidency Banks—the Wood-Laing controversy in this connection and the recent attempt to employ the banks once again to issue P. C. and the final transfer of it to the Reserve Bank, form the chief topics of consideration. The author advocates the view that the permanent part of the P. C. and the application of its routine policy need not be in the hands of the banks but these form the best agency to secure seasonal elasticity of the P. C. System. (See p. 74, 1st para.) This is indeed opposed to the accepted theory which considers the Bank issue as far superior to the Govt. issue. It is only in a backward country that this Govt. issue can be advocated to popularise the people with the notes and after this preliminary education is over the note-issue should be handed over to a Central Bank of Issue.

In Chapter V the mechanism of the issue forms the subject-matter. The details regarding office work in the P. C. Office, the printing of notes, the circles, the sub-circles, the currency chests, the Mint Chests, the question of legal tender, the conversion facilities, the war-time crisis and the steps taken to meet it, are elaborated in an interesting manner and afford a profitable reading to the students of monetary mechanism of our country.

Much of this information is not usually available in ordinary text-books and as Government manuals on P. C. are not within the easy reach of all the author has done well in giving this information.

About 110 pages are devoted to the discussion of the cover of the issue and the author is justified in this procedure when one remembers "that the history of the P. C. System is nothing but a story of the reserve behind it." The same old facts relating to the gradual development of the extra convertibility uses of the P. C. Reserve, the widening of the area in the matter of the location of the reserve and the heterogeneous miscellany in the matter of securities in the composition of the reserve are discussed in a refreshingly original manner. The author would have done well to avoid some unnecessary repetition in this chapter. He does not protest against the domiciling of the reserve in London. Although there is some justification for the holding of sterling securities in the P. C. the Government arguments for holding a portion of the reserve in gold in London do not hold water. An increase of the Gold Standard Reserve, if it is not sufficient to maintain exchange, and the pursuit of a scientific policy in the gauging of the requirements of the people, have been advocated by the Indian critics of the system. The efficacy or non-efficacy of these measures are not alluded to. He does not fail however to make a protest against the holding of gold in the P.C. Reserve. The author wisely recognises that the real "reserve-maker" of the P.C. System is after all the "valuation pendulum" and so long as it oscillates to and fro there would be no certainty as regards the reserve of the P. C. System. It would be more edifying if the author discusses in the revised edition any historical parallel of any other country maintaining the G. Exchange Standard and at the same time does not amalgamate the G. S. Reserve and the P. C. Reserve.

Chapter VIII deals with the different meanings of the word elasticity and the difference in the methods by which it has been achieved. The gradual introduction of elasticity by expanding the amount of fiduciary reserve, the issuing of notes against gold and the London sterling reserve and the facilitation of the expansion of the rupee is next dealt with. The recommendations of the Chamberlain Commission and the Babington-Smith Committee in this direction are dealt with. The actual working of the 1920 Act, the 1923 Amendment Act and the 1924 changes are referred to. Two useful notes are appended to this chapter. The first one compares and contrasts the Federal Reserve System operations with the Indian P. C. System solely with reference to the method of securing elasticity by means of bills of exchange. The second deals with the

rates of interest which ought to serve as an indicator in the matter of issuing additional P. C. during periods of seasonal stringency.

In Chapter IX the statistical account of the growth of the P. C. is recorded. The Acts relating to the P. C. System and a short biography of the persons responsible for P. C. legislation are given at the end of this chapter.

Coming to the most important chapter where the future of the issue is discussed, the author repeats the two fundamental principles of reform that paper is only a part of the whole currency system and that stability of prices ought to be the guiding motive of the monetary policy. Hence the author opines that P. C. must expand or contract solely with reference to the principle of price stability. Any expansion of the P. C. by means of the printing press to cover up budgetary deficits is to be condemned. This can only be secured by placing the P. C. out of the reach of the hands of the Government and the handing over of the P. C. to the credit-controlling authority is approved by the author. But he has his own misgivings in this respect (*vide* p. 273). Evidently the author favours the Central State Bank conception. He also approves of the formation of a Currency Board on the model of the F.R. Board to manage the "independent Rupee Standard" so as to regulate currency with a view to attain stability of prices. He also adds that under a gold standard this Currency Board would not be required. The real thing required is a Central Bank co-ordinating the control of credit and currency in its hands. But even in the case of "managing the independent Rupee Standard" the ideal of a Currency Board or Commission does not appeal to the reviewer, for it would be a third body between the Government and the Central Bank. It would soon come into conflict with both authorities. If we remember right this suggestion was made by Mr. Preston and stoutly opposed by Sir Basil P. Blackett. The ingenious and complicated recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission with reference to the conditions of issue and the joint reserve to be held for the duality of issues such as notes and rupees are criticised on similar lines laid down by Mr. B. F. Madon. "The idea of the combined reserve is novel,," says the author. This suggestion was outlined by Sir B. P. Blackett before the H.-Y. Commission in his oral evidence and some such scheme had to be formulated to secure the amalgamation of reserves. The limit fixed by the proportional reserve system and the heterogeneous nature of the reserve and the proposal of the fusion of the P. C. Reserve and the G. S. Reserve are approved by the author. The further doors thrown open for elasticity beyond the proportional system of note-issue namely the granting of permission for

the holding of foreign bills of exchange maturing into gold and the provision for the temporary suspension of normal reserve requirements during exceptional times on the paying of a graduated tax on the issue are considered too bold and he blames the H.-Y. Commission for lack of conservativeness in this direction. This chapter closes with the minor suggestions such as the abolition of the circle system and the extension of the universalisation process but a bank issue would automatically solve these problems. The displaying of the King's portrait on the Reserve Bank notes as originally suggested by Sir D. Hamilton is also approved. There are three useful appendices relating to the 1861 Act, the 1923 Act and a copy of the Reserve Bank Bill of 1927.

We have no hesitation in recommending this book to all students who are interested in our monetary policy and all legislators who attempt to secure a sound currency system for our country. We hope that the apparent discrepancies referred to in Chapter II would be satisfactorily dealt with in the next edition. The book contains two useful bibliographies.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselfes

THE LATE BARON SINHA.

In the unexpected death, so tragic in its suddenness, of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Satyendraprasanna Sinha, K.C.S.I., Baron of Raipur, on the 5th of March, at Berhampur, from heart-failure, India, and especially Bengal, has lost one of her talented sons and foremost public men, the record of whose eminent services to the country will, for years—if not generations—to come, remain unsurpassed. We are as deeply touched by this melancholy event as we are legitimately proud of his exceptionally brilliant career and his great achievements.

Born in 1864, as the son of a Sudder Ameen under the East India Company, the late Baron Sinha received his early education at the Birbhum Zilla School and won distinction as a student of the Presidency College, Calcutta (1877-79), and proceeding next to England in 1881 was entered at Lincoln's Inn where he won prizes and scholarships for his proficiency in Roman Law and was subsequently (1886) called to the Bar.

He joined the Calcutta High Court in 1887 and served for some time as Professor of Law at the City College where among his distinguished pupils the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was one. He soon rose to eminence in the legal profession and became remarkable for his legal acumen, force of character, strong common-sense, independence of spirit, unique courtesy, well-balanced mind and suave disposition—and, above all, for his sweet reasonableness.

With the introduction of the Reformed Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904 which came into force on December 7, 1904) Lord Sinha was nominated a Fellow of this University and with zeal and devotion to duty towards his mother country took an active interest in all educational and administrative

problems as a Senator up to 1909 in spite of his onerous responsibilities as the Standing Counsel of the Calcutta High Court from 1903 to 1907 and the Advocate General of Bengal from 1907 to 1909 which exalted office he again filled in the years 1915 to 1917.

The prominent part he played on the popular side in the then heated debates over the vexed question of restricted affiliation of colleges contemplated by the New Regulations under the Reformed Universities Act, strengthened the hands of our national leaders against the reactionary forces which since that day has unfortunately, more or less, been interfering with the progress of educational freedom and expansion in accordance with the growing needs of an advanced community. In this connection we may refer also to his Presidential Address to the Indian National Congress of 1915 with which his connection as a clear-headed politician of the Liberal school commenced as early as 1896.

He was one of the first batch of nominees appointed by the Founder himself on the Governing Body of the Sir Taraknath Palit Trusts which laid the foundation of higher scientific studies and research worth the name in this country.

Recognition of his wonderful abilities and his valuable services followed soon and he was Knighted in 1914, nominated a Representative of India in the Imperial War Conference of 1917 and then a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when (in 1918) he was also made a K. C. and afterwards a Privy Councillor, the Freedom of the City of London having, in the meantime, been conferred on him in 1917 till he rose to be the Under Secretary of State for India from 1919 to 1920.

The unique distinction was his to be the first (and as yet only) Indian Governor of a Province when in December, 1920, he was elevated to the *gaddi* of the Governor of the newly created Province of Behar and Orissa. From 1909 to 1910 he was also the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and, finally, was serving since 1926 as a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Lord Sinha has left behind him his widow, four sons and three daughters and a very large circle of friends and admirers, some of whom are themselves men of light and leading occupying the highest position in the land, to mourn his sad loss at a time when the country is at the threshold of momentous political changes, with whom we heartily join in this national grief while offering to the bereaved family our most sincere condolence and cordial sympathy.

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THE LATE DR. N. K. DUTT.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death, on the 2nd March last, of Dr. N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D. (London), formerly Professor, and latterly Vice-Principal, of the Chittagong College. Dr. Dutt retired from service only in 1926, and was subsequently appointed Sreegopal Basu Mallick Fellow in this University. Dr. Dutt was connected with us as a regular contributor and we offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family.

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MR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEE.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., the Honorary Secretary of the *Calcutta Review*, left for England on the 22nd February last. Mr. Banerjee was in charge of the *Review* since 1921 when the journal was acquired by the Calcutta University and it was mainly through his zeal and energy that the *Review* came to be converted into a monthly journal. The Board of Editors met on the 21st February last and recorded "its sense of high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Banerjee who gave so much of his time and attention to his work since the *Review* was acquired by the University." At the request of the Editor-in-chief and other

members of the Board present at the meeting, Mr. Banerjee kindly withdrew his letter of resignation and agreed to go on leave. Mr. Banerjee is expected back in our midst after about a year and we hope his sojourn in Europe will considerably enhance his usefulness.

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A NEW PH. D.

Our congratulations to Professor Nripendrakumar Datta, M.A., of the Hughli College on his being admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Dr. Datta submitted a thesis on "The Aryanisation of India" and the Board of Examiners consisted of such eminent scholars as Prof. Sylvain Lévi, Dr. J. W. Thomas and Professor D. R. Bhandarkar.

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL.

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal for 1925 has been awarded to Dr. Praphullakumar Bose of the University College of Science for the following theses :

- (a) Studies in Heterocyclic Ring Formation, Parts I-III.
- (b) Mercaptans of the Purine Group.

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THE ONAUTHNAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE.

The Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for 1928 has been awarded to Mr. M. N. Ray, M.A., B.L., the subject of his thesis being "Law of Fixtures in British India."

The Calcutta Review

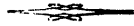


Giradhar-ndi Kanda for the Calcutta Review. The Giradhar-ndi Kanda by Sri Krishna

From an old painting.]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1928



PROSE STYLE

“ In my opinion it ought to be regarded as one of the functions of a University to inculcate the importance and to cultivate the practice of style.”

Occasional Addresses (1893-1916)—Asquith.

Style in prose is manner of writing words, as style in dress is manner of wearing clothes, and style in cricket manner of making strokes. But these are merely descriptions, style remaining still a subtle, elusive thing, masked in multi-form manifestations, and changing in colour and meaning with the accompanying circumstances of theme, thinker, audience and occasion. It is not simply an embellishment like the spangles superimposed on a woman's dress or the polish laid on a piece of furniture. Nor is it just a finishing touch like the beauty spot on my lady's cheek. Yet this, or something like this, is the average educated man's idea of prose style. To him style is extrinsic to subject, at most an enigmatic quality of expression rather than expression itself. He pictures an Eastern scribe converting the inexpressible emotion of an illiterate lover into the song of a nightingale of affection warbling to a rose of loveliness, and feels becomingly superior to such finery as finicking and effeminate. He experiences the pleasure given by style, and may even allow it to influence his choice and judgment of books, but he is content to recognise

and enjoy it as art without having any desire to know it scientifically.

In that stimulating book *On the Art of Writing*, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch protests against the intrusion of scientific methods into art, but he cannot prevail against the spirit of the age nor persuade students of to-day that science should be excluded from literature, that theoretical generalisations should be eschewed in literary criticism, that definition and classification are out of place in literary art. "Beetles, minerals, gases, may be classified," he says, "and to have these classified is not only convenient, but a genuine advance of knowledge. But if you had to make a beetle, as men are making poetry, how would such classification help?" One answer is that, if one were making a beetle, it would be helpful to know what kind of beetle one was trying to make, and that, if one attempted to make a gas without such knowledge, the results might be distressingly tragic. The fact is that literature cannot be shut away in an idea-tight compartment, æsthetics itself being simply science applied to art, classifying the various arts, defining their functions and limits, determining the conditions of artistic production, and formulating the principles of critical appreciation. So far as style in prose is concerned, Sir Arthur's ideas are unsatisfying to the scientific or philosophical mind which asks what style consists of, whence it comes, and how its many diverse forms can be reconciled. Being professedly an artist, his treatment of the subject is perhaps purposely inconclusive. Though he admits incidentally the connection between matter and style, insists that style can never be separated from the man, and dwells on craftsmanship as a finishing factor, he nowhere synthesizes these scattered reflections, while he defines style as "the power to touch with ease, grace, precision, any note in the gamut of human thought and emotion," a definition which is as little instructive in substance as it is logical in form. This is not the way to knowledge for, as even an artist like Pater says, "all progress of mind consists

for the most part in differentiation, in the resolution of an obscure and complex object into its component aspects." Is it not worth while therefore to enquire what the constituent elements of prose style are, to endeavour to explain it in the abstract, to seek some principle applicable to all the particular forms in which it presents itself? As sea-power has been considered in the abstract apart from the fighting quality of any particular navy or ship, so may prose style be similarly considered apart from the pleasing quality of any particular writer or book, the practical utility of the process being that it prepares the way for a proper understanding and appreciation of the various concrete forms of style.

The fundamental object of writing prose is to communicate thought about some mental or emotional experience, but such thought can only be communicated as the thinker conceives it and has power to present it, clearly for the instruction of some, colourfully for the delight of others attracted more by that facet of truth which is called beauty. First comes the thought, then the personal method of thinking about that thought, and finally the technical composition conveying all these thoughts. In every piece of prose there is thus the thing treated of, the subjective way in which it is treated, and the objective way in which it is presented, and style is compounded of these simples of thought, feeling and form. Every pen is dipped in style, but there is much difference between Stephen's blue-black and the wish-wash that serves Government offices as ink, and all that is penned is not therefore literature or "sincere thought and feeling put in fine form." The province of literary style thus encompasses thought and feeling as well as form, while its function is vital and not merely ministerial. A thought seeks expression as much to know itself as to make itself known, the words in which it is first conceived are usually very different from those in which it is finally expressed, and it is during this interval between cloudy conception and clear expression that style comes into being. The treatment of the

central thought is developed by clear thinking round and about that thought, by logic forging and fusing the links of argument, by imagination lengthening the chain with added links of allied experiences and associations. Sentence follows sentence, each reproducing some recognizable feature by which it can be traced back to one or other of the formative elements of style, a sentence here which is intellectual, derived from knowledge or reflection and set down as clearly as a musical note, another there which springs from personal emotion and illustrates Francis Thompson's dictum that the object of style is adequately to embody individuality, while a third flaunts some taking turn or trick of technique like Voltaire's contrasted adjectives. The style as a whole is thus always of mixed descent, the predominating strain varying with the subject, the writer, and the writer's artistic equipment. Knowledge and power stand at opposite ends of the sphere of literature, and the style of any piece of literary prose is polarized by its position along the axis round which all literature revolves. According as its prime aim is utility or beauty, according as it informs or inspires, according as it corresponds to the philosophy of Bacon or Plato, so will the qualities of its style be derived mainly from one or other of the three essential ingredients of all style.

Generally speaking, the thought element in prose style conveys information and aims at lucidity, the personal element portrays character and temperament, not excluding eccentricity, and aims at charm, while the technical element displays beauty and aims at effect, but all these elements act and react on one another also, and then coalesce into an intellectual and artistic whole, the purpose of which is to achieve pleasurable intelligibility with taste as well as sense.

This analysis of prose style will probably be challenged. The technical element may be passed by the general reader and the personal element by the literary critic, but both may exclaim that there is a radical distinction between thought and style, matter and form, theme and treatment, between the thing said

and the way of saying it. The general reader's arguments will be vague, but the critic will cite reputable literary authority such as Hazlitt's gibe at the Jackals of the North that "of the style they knew nothing, for the thought they cared nothing" and Matthew Arnold's pronouncement that, without ideas of the first order or the best ideas attainable at the time, "you are provincial by your matter, though you may not be provincial by your style." The distinction, it may be admitted at once, is common and even convenient for critical and colloquial purposes, but it is nevertheless arbitrary and also artificial in the sense that it is only made to facilitate thought and speech. A difference there is, but the difference is simply that thought or matter is one of the forces of which style is the resultant. So far as any real distinction is implied, it involves the now discredited idea that style is nothing more than form, nothing but the flavouring put into the pudding, the almond icing added meretriciously to the cake. That this idea is unphilosophical was proved long ago by Wordsworth and De Quincey. Wordsworth considered words the incarnation of thought, "not what the garb is to the body, but what the body is to the soul, themselves a constituent part and power and function in the thought." Before him Johnson and Chesterfield, in accord for once, after him, Carlyle and Samuel Butler, all denied similarly that words are merely the verbal vesture of thought. Flaubert went further and asserted that form cannot be detached from idea, while a living writer, who is both creator and critic, has declared roundly that "style cannot be distinguished from matter."

The truth, as is not unusual, lies somewhere between these extremes. The expressed idea is inseparable from the informing mind, but that mind is only one of the factors determining the form of that idea. Identity of idea and expression, accordance between subject and form, is seldom achieved spontaneously, and is then more an affair of mood and feeling than of thought. Ordinarily even the most sincere writer must seek words to fit his meaning, his expression must come limping after his thought

following in its track and striving to keep step with it. Suppose that the same thought or matter were presented to Bacon and Milton, Addison and Burke, Jane Austen and George Eliot, and consider whether the same or similar prose would be produced by each or even by each pair. Would they not all respond to different suggestions from their common subject and express those mental and emotional reactions in their own peculiar language. Again, compare critically the essays of Francis Thompson and Walter Bagehot on Shelley, or Sainte-Beuve's essay on Joubert with that of Matthew Arnold. What do we find? Imaginative insight and rich imagery in Thompson, the work of a true poet—passionless pedestrianism in Bagehot, the work of a man of affairs, solid information stolidly communicated. Sainte-Beuve's essay, written when he was forty-five, is more a review than a criticism, his aim being to enlarge the circle of Joubert's readers, his method to disclose the author through the man. The special defect of Joubert's prose—splashes of illuminating light with restful shadows between—is traced to his character and the quality of his mind, a few extracts are added to whet the appetite, and the one morsel of comparative criticism, which likens Joubert's humour to that of Stern and Lamb, gives English plates the flavour required, but could not have been very satisfying to the Frenchmen for whom it was served up. Matthew Arnold, who wrote at forty-two, cites Chateaubriand to the effect that Joubert deliberately chose "to hide his life" and has little to say about the man, but much about his work. With striking literary art, since his subject was almost unknown to English readers, he begins by comparing Joubert with Coleridge, and having thus made the new familiar, quotes copiously to establish his main point that Joubert's unpremeditated prose was genuine criticism of life of lasting value within its limits. Yet, in spite of such marked differences of intellectual content, emotional response and artistic effect, all these four essays are prose literature written about acknowledged literary characters by unquestioned men of letters.

As another instance, stranger than criticism, since it is taken from life, let us recall the finding by Bertram Dobell of an article on the death of Keats signed "L" in the *London Magazine* of April 1821. Lamb knew Keats, had reviewed his *Lamia*, was writing in the *London* at the time, and had used the initial "L" once or twice. Still, in the face of this circumstantial evidence of Lamb's authorship, Dobell decided otherwise, because, "if Lamb had written it, there would have been in it a sentence or two which would have discovered his craftsmanship." Matter by itself is not style therefore, but neither is it a thing apart from style. Matthew Arnold declared that having something to say is one of the secrets of style, while Pater pointed out that the difference between good and great literary art depends directly on matter. Whether thought and language originated simultaneously, or whether thought came first and recalled signifying words created later, we may safely say that, so far as prose writing is concerned, there is a close connection and interaction between thought and words, that they are concomitant and correlative, that the one cannot come into coherent being without the other. "Matter and expression are parts of one," said Newman and, as such parts, they are related as a seed to its flower, as the sheen on leaves to the sap that feeds it, as the hue of health to the body that bears it. It is thought inspired to creation, or working humanly in synthesis and analysis, in generalisation and selection, that confers on the handicraft of writing the accolade of fine art. The imagination is awakened instead of being put to sleep, the throb of life is felt below the hair-shirt of realism, plagiarism is clothed in the glowing garb of originality, chatter is converted into criticism, and description into interpretation. As an element of style, thought or matter is never over-obtrusive as the personal element occasionally is, nor over-cultivated as the technical element often is, despite the fact that it may be, as in a philosophical exposition or scientific treatise, the main element in evidence. Even in such

work, however, where heaviness of expression is too apt to accompany weight of matter, Huxley is a better model than Kant, because the subject demands that no part of the reader's attention should be dissipated in penetrating obscurities of language or unravelling mazes of careless composition. It is not true therefore that "subject is everything" for good matter does not ensure good style any more than costly cloth ensures a stylish gown. Matter, thought, subject, is style's foundation and building material, which the directing spirit of personality shapes into unity and uniqueness, using technique as a scaffolding to put the material in place with due regard to the Greek architectural ideal that ornamentation is an integral part of structure. As the accompanist follows the singer, so should the writer's manner answer his matter. And yet, though no man will write sense as he would nonsense, nor describe a joyful scene of revelry in the same language as a king's coronation or a hero's funeral, every man will do each of these things in his own way, and will so account for the difference between the sense of Swift and Junius, the nonsense of Lewis Carroll and Stephen Leacock, the quiet pictures of Richard Jeffries and the rich rhetorical colouring of De Quincey. The conclusion seems to be therefore that, while form should follow matter generally, it can only do so within the limits imposed by personality and artistry.

.Personality, the gorgeous and gruesome re-bloom of the Renaissance, is that undefinable *je ne sais quoi* which marks a man among men. It may accompany great intellect or noble character, but is not incompatible with ignorance, meanness and vice. In art it plays the same part subjectively as thought does objectively, and is to impression what thought is to expression. It is essentially lyrical and never looks at "the subject as in itself it really is." As an element of prose style, it is not only like the mint-mark on a coin showing where it has been struck, but also contributes the characteristic ring that distinguishes the genuine from the counterfeit. In some

forms of literature, where feeling is higher or deeper than reason, where beauty of colour transcends beauty of line, it is even more, it is the most vital of the interdependent forces that produce the organism of style, the life-principle of style as secure from reproduction as the nucleus of the protoplasm. A writer may borrow his matter, and must acquire his technique, but his personality is his own for better or for worse. Emerson says somewhere that "great men are more distinguished by range and extent than by originality," and it is true enough that, short of revelation by inspiration through the soul and conscience, originality of idea is not easily come by at this stage of the world's career. When and where an idea begins is as difficult to discover as when and where life begins, and the secret of apparently original writing usually lies therefore in a kind of personal parallax, which presents the familiar as new by a change in the point of observation, or projects the commonplace in an unaccustomed shape of fresh associations and instances. The web is much the same, but not the colour nor the texture of the thread. The phenomena of personality pervade all human activities ; in all handicrafts, in all fine arts, the differentiae of the self-consistent personal touch are constantly in evidence ; even in crime, as Charles Mercier tells us, the specialist preponderates over the general practitioner, each species of specialist has its own mental make-up, and (what is most to our purpose) each criminal tends to repeat his speciality in his own individual way. No man can escape from this shadow of personality, and the writer's intellectual idiosyncrasies, his emotional prejudices, even his physical peculiarities, will appear more or less in all that he writes, in his choice of a communicating medium, in the structure of his sentences, in his use of focalising epithets and phrases, in the amplification of his thought by illuminating flashes of metaphor or illustrative pictures in simile. Hence arises the invalidity of Herbert Spencer's dictum about a specific style showing poverty of speech. It is perhaps a philosophically ideal abstrac-

tion of human weakness, a sealed pattern of perfection hidden somewhere in Heaven, but it does not fit in with the worldly facts, because all writers of any literary merit have a specific predominating style which, while allowing versatility and variety in accordance with subject and occasion, yet stamps most of their work with a manner inked indelibly by individuality. Personality acts indeed as a preserving salt for those forms of literature that are not protected from decay by the timeless universality or the vitalising freshness of their thought. It is the reflex of a writer's habit of mind, of the peculiar atmosphere in which his thought moves and has its being, of his special sense of fact, of all the influences of heredity and environment, of education and experience, that combine to make the man. Schopenhauer said that style is "a safer index to character than the face," and Sir Walter Raleigh added that "other gestures shift and change and flit, this is the ultimate and enduring revelation of personality." A man may thus be tested by his written work as Goethe tested him by his associates and Ruskin by his likes and dislikes, and *cherchez l'homme* may consequently be enunciated as the chief canon in the criticism of style. There is of course considerable variation in the extent to which style can be judged by the man or the man discovered in his style. Sometimes this is due to the subject, sometimes to the man himself, sometimes to the conditions under which he lives and works. Still personality will always peep out somewhere even if only in peculiarities of vocabulary or perversities of punctuation, and it is therefore humanly impossible for writing to be as "seraphically free from taint of personality" as Meredith found the song of a lark.

One literary convention, mainly French in origin, requires writing to mirror life without reflecting the writer, but this deliberate objectivity of attitude is a matter of technique and cannot eliminate the personal equation. The so-called impersonal writer thinks that he is detachedly surveying the landscape of life through a lofty window, whereas what he actually sees,

as in a looking-glass, are epitomized pictures of life as he knows it either personally or by proxy from books, newspapers, and old wives' tales. If his imagination be not fancifully unlike life, it must follow his previous perceptions, just as his ideas of the universal must be based on gleanings from his past experience. As Bagehot says with characteristic common sense: "Yet people do not surely keep a tame steam-engine to write their books; and if those books were really written by a man, he must have been a man who could write them; he must have had the thought that they express, have acquired the knowledge they contain, have possessed the style in which we read them." Wordsworth allowed the general rule by tracing the "gentle spirit of the man" in all that Spencer wrote, and "the exalted sustained being that he was" in all that Milton wrote, but alleged that Shakespeare's art was impersonal, and suggested that this was due to his universal mind being able to reach every variety of thought and feeling without bringing his individuality before the reader. But this faculty of imaginative realisation is common to all creative writers, and no very delicate perception is needed to feel Shakespeare's style bloom and ripen as his character matured and his experience widened, while the readiness with which a fresh or forgotten Shakespearean line is recognised shows that his style was characteristic, even though the characteristics it embodies may not be identifiable with certainty owing to want of knowledge of the man. Personal records and other direct data are almost completely wanting, but inference from his plays and poems are permitted to those who agree with Dr. Brandes that "given the possession of some forty works by any man, it is entirely our own fault if we know nothing about him." If further evidence is needed to refute this other pathetic fallacy of impersonality in literary art, Lamb, Goldsmith and Stevenson may be cited to prove that every book, at least in the literature of power, is perfumed with its author's personality, that style is as personal as gesture or voice or facial

expression, that, as Carlyle says, "whatsoever of morality and intelligence ; what of patience, perseverance, faithfulness, of method, insight, ingenuity, energy ; in a word, whatsoever of strength the man had in him, will be written in the work he does."

While the elements of thought and personality interest only the serious student for theoretical and critical purposes, the technical element is useful for practical purposes to the ordinary reader and writer. Though Stevenson deprecated too close a scrutiny of the springs and mechanism of literary art, a knowledge of these technicalities must help us all to appreciate and emulate its finest achievements. Someone has said that the so-called laws of style are no more essential to good writing than logic is to right reasoning or grammar to correct speaking. It is true that writing does not become literature simply by knowing and observing these laws, just as logical reasoning does not necessarily convince the mind nor grammatical speaking fire the emotions, yet all these arts are the worse practised as their technical rules are disregarded. Each of us can in fact increase his stylistic stature a cubit or two by taking thought over technique, for man does not put words together with the innate dexterity of a tailor-bird sewing the leaves of its nest, nor does he select the best words for his purpose as the honey-bee flies instinctively to the flowers concealing the fluid it seeks. It does not follow of course that form is everything as Oscar Wilde said, or even, as the De Goncourts held, of more importance than ideas. Technique is rather like recreation in life ; those who play moderately work all the better, and would not work with the same zest and glow if they did not also play. Technique thus has its uses, but its rules are of negative rather than positive value, their purpose being, not to secure excellence under any circumstances, but to show, where the other requisite conditions are present, how excellence may be secured and to help in securing such excellence. They are, in other words, a means

and not an end, the wings by which the eagle climbs, but not its soaring flight. They contribute to, but do not create, the force and felicity of style ; they economize energy and decrease friction, but do not constitute the prime mover in the mechanism of style. A man cannot write like Stevenson by sedulously studying the formal part of style any more than he can compose music like Mozart by learning the tone and time-value of notes and their harmonious coincidence in chords, or paint like Turner by mastering the combinations of colours and the niceties of perspective. There are "some beauties yet no precepts can declare" and "nameless graces which no methods teach," and these originate subjectively from something to which personality and thought both subscribe, something which technique merely sharpens to the point of artistic effectiveness. Technique can turn a rough stone into a sparkling gem, but its rules of literary expression, derived inductively from the practice of great writers, are always of individual rather than invariable application, are constantly converted by genius into false or fallen idols, and are further conditioned by the ever-present necessity of exploiting the sweet uses of diversity. Herbert Spencer's generalization about economizing the reader's attention is in some respects the most satisfying precept of composition yet enunciated, but it takes only indirect account of the reader's pleasure and none at all of the writer's feelings. Surely the effect on the reader cannot be the true criterion of style, surely there is a duty towards oneself as well as a duty towards others, surely submergence of self is not good style in every kind of writing any more than it is good form in every circumstance of life.

Technique in writing is concerned primarily with words, with their choice as units, their arrangements as sentences, their combination as paragraphs, chapters and books. Though the point is reminiscent of the old problem about the precedence in time of chickens and eggs, we are told by poets like Shelley that speech created thought, while philosophers like Hobbes

say that words are merely the conventional tokens of thought like the counters used in card games to represent money. As a matter of probability, the earliest words were ejaculations expressive of bodily wants and sensations, such words being aptly similar in sound to the corresponding desires and feelings. As this process continued, the words became less rationally suggestive and more arbitrarily associative, new words were more symbolic than emblematic, while the meaning of the old ones was extended, modified and even completely changed. The result is that, in modern languages, the archetypal ideas underlying most words are unknown or forgotten, and the words used have become the paper money of the mind without intrinsic meaning as media of intellectual exchange. It is here that philologists and phonologists discover their utility and teach ordinary men new ideas out of old words, leaving poets and philosophers to create new words to express fine shades of fresh meaning. Yet, when all has been said, meaning remains nothing without words just as words are nothing without meaning. Provided their limitations are not overlooked, provided they are kept in their places as servants should be, words cannot be disparaged or disregarded in the manner of those champions of brevity, the learned professors of Laputa. "The distemper of learning is," as Bacon put it, "when men study words and not matter," when words become mischievously momentous, when people listen not to what Ruskin said, but to how he said it. It is also true, however, that prose is, in Coleridge's phrase, "words in their best order," while Swift's definition of style as "proper words in proper places" is quite adequate from the purely technical standpoint. But what are these "proper words" in prose?

Lessing advised his sister to "write as you speak and you will then write well." His object was to cure German prose of elephantiasis in its sentences, but his advice is still repeated to young writers who are told, on the added authority of

Wordsworth, to shape their ardent ideas in a conversational mould by using "the language really used by men." This advice is certainly a salutary check on youthful exuberance because, like the beginner on a bicycle who fails to get over the ground through keeping his eye on the front wheel instead of on the road ahead, the inexperienced writer loses sight of the end of his art by paying too much attention to one of its means and seeking, like the Archbishop of Granada, "a literary reputation for a sublime and elegant style." Still, though words are common to all modes of communicating connected thought, the words used in writing must differ from those used in speaking for the same reason as ceremony differs from custom in most human affairs. At bottom, the convention which made a Roman citizen wear a toga on certain occasions, and which now forbids flannels at a levee, is the same as that which pranks writing in the comparatively imposing garb necessary to the impression that something out of the common is afoot. Writing in the literary sense is the art of the few, speaking is the business of the many, and the forms that fit the one do not suit the other. Writing in the language of everyday intercourse discourages circumlocution and encourages concrete expression, but for the rest current speech is inaccurate in syntax, unmindful of etymology, disfigured by slang, unlubricated by rhythm, and diluted with weary overworked phrases essential to instant comprehension. The tone of cultured conversation suits an essayist like Hazlitt, but only the tone not the words, for Hazlitt himself says in his *Characteristics* that "to expect an author to talk as he writes is ridiculous." It is at least as ridiculous to expect him to write as he talks, writing like a monologue being just as unreal as talking like a book.

Another form of the same argument is that writing should be as free from self-consciousness as speech, that a writer who knows his subject, and what he wants to say, has as little choice of language as Tobias Hobson's customers had of horses. But this is opposed to the teaching both of experience and of writers

like Ben Jonson who have told us to "seek the best and be not glad of the forward conceits, or first words, that offer themselves to us." Samuel Butler professed carelessness over his style, but added that "a man may, and ought to, take a great deal of pains to write clearly, tersely and euphemistically." This ingenuous inconsistency is as entertaining as Lord Morley's remark that he had very little faith in rules of style, though he had an unbounded faith in the virtue of cultivating direct and precise expression. We know that Ruskin ascribed his command of language to the constant habit of choosing his vital words carefully, and that Rudyard Kipling used to dredge the dictionary for words. We know also that Stevenson modelled his sentences in clay before he cut them in marble, that Pater brought forth the unique word with much mental travail, and that Flaubert was even more meticulous, almost morbidly meticulous, spending days and weeks over a single page. Remembering those thoughts "which into words no virtue can digest," one is inclined to doubt whether anything really good or great has ever been written with a running pen. Yet there is the word of Nietzsche that sometimes "everything seems to present itself as the readiest, the correctest and the simplest means of expression," when, as another writer puts it, "beauty and truth may come together and find the exactly right word in the flash of a moment." We may believe therefore that a writer of genius does occasionally experience a twinkle of inspired consciousness, one of those pregnant glimpses that Ulysses caught of Minerva, when the infinite becomes for an instant finite, when the interpreter of God to man sees without straining, hears without hearkening, and takes without asking. But, like the gipsy's art, "it needs heaven-sent moments for this skill," and the writer more often finds himself in the position of Cassim in the robbers' cave saying "barley" and every other grain in the vain attempt to recall "sesame." Second thoughts are the best in writing as in living, and a clever journalist has proved in his *Literary Recreations* that "many of the words and

phrases which might seem most inspired or inevitable were, in fact, second thoughts."

Hazlitt supplied another answer to our question about "proper words" when he wrote that "the proper force of words lies, not in the words themselves, but in their application," this cloistered correspondence between application and association, between form and spirit, between sound and sense, being the complementary secret to Matthew Arnold's having something to say. It links meaning and melody to something beyond both, and discovers imaginative similitudes where reason only recognises differences. It chooses the long word, the Latin word, even the inelegant word, used significantly and suggestively; it refuses the short word, the Saxon word, even the sweet-sounding word without suggestion or significance. There is necessarily a certain distance between the writer and the reader, and appropriate diction flashes the writer's message to his reader's mind and imagination along a double wire of plain and implied meaning. It also vivifies and visualises the writer's thought into reality, and adds beauty as interest to the gifts conferred by reflection and feeling. But success is not easy, and the pre-ordained *mot propre* is too often a delusion and a snare. "Great wits sometimes may gloriously offend," and the hyper-Latinisms of Sir Thomas Browne, the archaisms which Lamb wrote for antiquity, the imperial-purple patches of Carlyle, are "graces which a master-hand alone can reach." For ordinary wayfarers the safest part of the literary road lies neither to right nor to left, but along the middle, that *via media* which adhering to good usage, and avoiding both the rocks of tired tradition and the ditches of daring neologism, conveys pertinent ideas euphoniously, fits meaning without being superfluous, satisfies the understanding without neglecting the emotions, and appeals to the æsthetic sense without being unintelligible. The margin for error is, however, small and ill-defined, and few men can be "omniverbivorous" like the Autocrat of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Asked what he mixed his colours with,

the painter Opie replied : " With brains, Sir." And so it is with words in writing for, though "man's use or defiance of the dictionary depends for its justification on nothing but his success," that success is only to be won by constant contact with the best, by cultivated consciousness of verbal impressions, by a laborious process of training during which the intellect and taste are taught to select felicitously and surprisingly those inevitable words that vibrate with life and meaning.

Having found the proper word, its proper place must next be discovered, that place in the pattern which is most apropos to the general design. As the proper word is a mixed matter of meaning and imagery, so is the proper place a mixed matter of meaning and melody, the common object being to convey thought and feeling with intelligible force and fine artistic effect. Apart from pedestrian considerations of syntax, this proper place is determined by emphasis and rhythm, emphasis being effective presentation by position, by the use of repetition and contrast, of parallelism, inversion, antithesis and climax, while rhythm is effective presentation by sound, alliteration and assonance artfully aiding that elemental appeal of measured movement and undulating forte and piano which facilitates mental effort as much as it lightens manual labour. Rhythm was suggested by the beating of the heart, by the natural alternations of stress and pause that prevent exhaustion. It was imposed by the physical limitations of the lungs, but necessity has become the mother of artistic beauty. Prose rhythm does not move always on the same feet and should be as unobtrusive as a good accompaniment, but cadence will not come if one takes care of the sense only and leaves the sounds to take care of themselves. Well-tuned words and music-laden phrases are more important in poetry perhaps, but even in "the other harmony of prose" a style's prosperity lies in the ear of him that reads it. Sound may be the echo, sense the authentic voice, yet it is always advisable to read aloud and listen to what one has written even if nothing higher is attained than

Bentham's "pronounciability" or that "evasion of cacophony" which preoccupied De Quincey.

Technical skill, beautiful expression, harmonious and modulated composition, has a value of its own, apart from the thought and feeling it conveys. If it is original, it adds a new joy to life by creating a taste for itself, the danger being that language thus tends to become a cult with a ritual of form without meaning. The proper aim of literary craftsmanship is the *curiosa felicitas* of Petronius, for technique is only one part of style, and should not receive nor attract more attention than a constituent part deserves. Someone has said that the style of Sainte-Beuve's letters is superior to that of his essays because he had no time to spoil it, and the later work of Henry James shows how the problems of presentation may delight unduly. Toilet trickery can be artistic, but a meretricious display of cosmetics is degrading and repellent. The perfect style should be like the perfect girl of the Chinese sage, "another grain of powder would make her too pale, another touch of rouge would make her too red." All sacrifice of substance to show is inartistic, but substance should be shown to the best artistic advantage, remembering always that unity is the crowning glory of art, and that unity in writing comes from the writer, guided but not governed by the rules applicable to his medium and theme.

Prose style is thus a synthesis of three elements joined for true felicity like Meredith's blood, brain and spirit. It is not, as is water, a chemical compound of elements in fixed proportions with properties of its own; it is rather a plastic amalgam in which the ingredients are mingled in varying quantities while retaining their own qualities. Thus perspicuity is a quality of the thought element, austerity of the personal element, and propriety of the technical element, sincerity being a quality common to all three. And what is sincerity in writing? Not deliberate humbug obviously, nor even the unconscious kind that distinguished Mr. Facing-both-ways "who sincerely preaches one thing, and sincerely does another." It is truth in

thought, feeling and form, an honest sharing of the opinions expressed and a modest accommodation of subject to capacity, no posing in describing experiences, no assuming of unfelt emotions, no going a mile out of one's way to hook in a fine word. Novelty is the writer's will-o'-the-wisp, beckoning alluringly under modern competitive conditions, and sincerity is the only light that will guide him among the sloughs of affectation and *ad captandum* vulgarity. Yet sincerity is only a quality and cannot create good style if thought is trivial, feeling feeble, or craftsmanship defective. All the conscientious ploughing in the world will not produce a crop out of sand, and if he wishes to escape the fate of Gil Blas, who was given credit for speaking what he thought, but was nevertheless dismissed because he had not thought anything deserving of speech, the writer must not only write what he thinks or feels, but must also think or feel something worth writing about, and must besides write about it in a manner worth writing. The old distinction between accidental qualities and inherent essentials is often overlooked in this connection. Thus, many of us confidently classify or label a particular style, and think we are showing considerable critical acumen, when all that we really mean is that the literature in which it is embodied or exhibited excels in or lacks certain qualities peculiar to one or other of the essential ingredients of all style. The epithet "rhetorical" implies, for instance, the use of elaborate and superfluous ornament to captivate the senses and divert the understanding, but it is also the hall-mark of a differentiating essential, of sincere and intense feeling roused to appropriate declamation. Even as a quality, however, employing artifice is not necessarily the same as being artificial, and rhetoric only becomes bad art when the lucid is lost in the luminous. As William Watson says, "truly the worst literary pose of all is that of unliterariness," for every writer must be something of a deliberate stylist if he "love not matter limp and unadorned," if he takes any pride in his art, if he tries to give and receive pleasure by its practice. A man is impelled

to adorn what he admires, but the permissible degree of adornment in writing varies with the kind of writing and the object it has in view. For this reason, Matthew Arnold's ideal of style is too coldly intellectual, not human enough to come home to men's business and bosoms. Persuasive urbanity is very well, but convincing downrightness suits certain circumstances better. "The reverence of unshodden feet" is then discarded and Parson Yorick's want of discretion in words becomes artistically appropriate, hitting is more effective than hinting, and strong feeling finds strong expression without offending good taste. "Every species of composition," says De Quincey, "is to be tried by its own laws," each has, what Sainte-Beuve calls, its *ecueil particulier* as well, and it is not sound criticism to impeach a *jeu d'esprit* on the charge that it fails to conform to the canons applicable to a *chef d'œuvre*. Yet an essay on dreams and a treatise on indigestion may both be literature and display art in suitable degrees and qualities. Similarly, the style of every writer should be judged on its own merits taking into account the subject, the individual, the aim and the art, and so the simple styles of Bunyan, Swift and Defoe on the one hand, and the gaudy styles of Gibbon, Pater and Ruskin on the other, will each be found to have its own special timbre. There is thus no absolute criterion of style any more than there is such a criterion of truth and beauty, the only criterion being that applicable by those who have a sense of good style and can recognise it in any guise, classical or romantic, imaginative or matter of fact. Style is the resultant of three forces—intellect, personality and craftsmanship—working in communion and ending in union. The head, the heart, and the hand each has its own tone, while their common chord is a triad which should be harmonious, but rarely is, the diapason being broken because one of the tones is more fundamental or characteristic. The writer's responses to internal and external stimuli vary with the nature and distribution of his gifts and acquisitions, and are so resolved into

qualities of style, the sources of which are mainly mental, spiritual or physical. The innumerable unsatisfying definitions of style make one chary of attempting another, and definition is really superfluous if one has grasped and can apply the idea of a thing, that generalized conception of its absolute essentials as distinguished from the relative qualities of its particular instances. The idea of prose style, as conveyed in this essay, may perhaps be put clearly and concisely enough to focus comprehension on. It is essentially and immutably manner, not a mere intellectual gesture or literary accent, not an inexplicable and incommunicable fragrance peculiar to the finer flowers of literature, but the whole manner in which ideas are conceived and brought into the world as written words, manner of thinking, manner of feeling, and manner of expression, good style being sincerely appropriate manner, appropriate to the subject, appropriate to the writer, appropriate to the occasion, and appropriate to the object or end in view.¹

LIONEL B. BURROWS

¹ An amplification of a previous article on the same subject by the author, published in the *Calcutta Review* for May, 1922.—*Ed., C. R.*

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

Since the World War, the idea of furthering the cause of World Peace has received considerable attention from various quarters. Among other things, the promoters of the League of Nations claim that the League came into existence, to further the ideal of "eternal peace" which was so nobly and consistently advocated by the great philosopher Kant in "Towards Perpetual Peace" which was issued in 1795.

Lately various Peace Societies of the world have awarded prizes to many distinguished men for their contributions to the cause of World Peace. The selection of Dr. Stresseman, M. Briand and Sir Austin Chamberlain, as the recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize, for the work done by them in bringing about the conclusion of the Locarno Pact, has received world-wide approval. The Locarno Pact, however, did not solve all the problems of international distrust and rivalry, but it has, nevertheless, proven afresh that with real will to peace among the statesmen of the world solutions of difficult international problems can be attained without appeal to arms and by arbitration. This idea is not a new one, for this has been practised in all ages on various occasions whenever statesmen deliberately decided to avoid war.

The Locarno Pact is merely a regional one affecting as it does only a section of western Europe; it does not solve the difficulties in other quarters. Thus the Polish representatives in the League of Nations are demanding a new pact which will have a far wider scope resembling the Locarno Pact, and the Dutch Foreign Minister, supported by the representatives of many small nations, has put forward a resolution in the League Assembly, to revive the General Security Pact of 1924 which was discarded by the League of Nations, due to the opposition of Great Powers, especially Great Britain. It is rather a very good omen of the time that Dr. Stresseman, on behalf of the great German nation, has advocated in his recent speech in the League Assembly that

the German Government should do all that is possible to promote economic stabilization of the world, security for all nations and disarmament. These incidents should give courage to all workers for the cause of World Peace, although they might have been disappointed at the failure of the Anglo-American-Japanese Naval Disarmament Conference, and Lord Robert Cecil's frank statement accusing the British Government of not supporting the ideal of disarmament and the League of Nations in practice.

The most heartening thing that should inspire all who are working for the cause of World Peace is the advocacy of the need of "outlawing war" by such persons as M. Briand, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University, as well as Senator Borah and numerous other persons of less prominence, but no less integrity.

M. Briand has indicated that a treaty, outlawing war between the United States and France, would not only be most welcome, but it would be the most important thing in the history of international relations and peace movements. This idea has received considerable support and cordial reception among many people of the United States, although some of the politicians have pronounced concealed disapproval. President Butler, with his outstanding position of one of the greatest intellectual leaders of the world, has not only approved of the position taken by M. Briand and other statesmen, but has been in recent years exerting untiring efforts for the cause of World Peace by outlawing war among all the civilized peoples of the world. It is to be hoped that in 1928 by the time of the 150th anniversary of the Franco-American Alliance, which played the most significant part in bringing about the independence of the United States, France and America will be able to set a noble example to the rest of the world that these two great peoples, wishing nothing but peace, *can outlaw war*, by agreeing to arbitrate all issues that may arise in future in their dealings, because they are not afraid to submit to Justice.

Outlawing war would mean ending a most barbarous practice among the civilized nations—the most far-reaching revolution in human society; and none should expect that this will be accomplished in a very short time and without great effort. To bring about a change in practice it is imperative that there should be decided and effective change in ideas. President Butler is not a visionary; but he is an idealist, philosopher, great educator, and statesman of vision, who realizes that a lasting change in human affairs can only come through education. Thus he has undertaken to educate world opinion to the ideal of World Peace by outlawing war. He has been engaged in this work of promoting world peace for many years, by spreading the idea of international conciliation and co-operation; but his recent visits to various countries of Europe and his addresses to the most distinguished audiences of various lands can well be characterised as a New Mission for World Peace.

Among the educators of the world, there are many who may be thinking along the same lines as President Butler; and it may be confidently hoped that every Head of great centres of learning in all countries and every responsible educator will support Dr. Butler in his efforts to create an "international mind" championing the "will to peace" and in favour of outlawing war.

TARAKNATH DAS

LIGHT IN DARKNESS

I

To men be I insane or cheat
 For love of Thee, my Love !
 Dispraise of men how sweet I feel
 All warmth of praise above.
 Dispraise gives vision of truth within-
 The love-flame burning there ;
 Praise but robs me of myself,
 By word of men made sere.
 The child in fear to mother flies ;
 From praise to Thee I fly,
 How sweet it is, O Mother mine,
 On Thy breast to live and die.
 If for my vileness Thee men praise
 That Thou canst save even me,
 A joy unseen on heart descends
 To rise as praise of Thee !

II

“ If things of time and things beyond
 Are taken as truly two,
 Thy suff'rings then shall know no end
 But grow as ever grew.
 Make them one and thou shalt see
 In time Eternity,
 And pain will teach that joy to prize
 —The joy whose name is great surprise.”

III

I stand a beggar at gate of grace
O turn me not unfed away
I know deserve I not Thy grace
To witness Love's unlov'd love sway.

IV

Thy joy, O Love, I forsake,
Thirsting for Thy power ;
Palsied muke me in and out
A prisoner in Thy bower !
Without Thee life is naught but woe,
And with Thee I am joyous glow.

V

If I forget Thee midst life's din
Forget me not, tho' black my sin !

VI

By word of mouth I worship Thee
My heart is far away.
I thank Thee e'en for gift of words
Word, mind, soul own Thy sway.
I and all I take as mine
All—all shall ever be
As naught—as nothing, O Love supreme
Away, O Lord, from Thee.
Thou art I am, Thou ever shalt be
If Thou to naught reducest me !

VII

Thou art what good I find,
Thou art what ill I call ;
Faith shows as one, beyond—
The One she shows as all.

VIII

Of Thee forgetful ever I, Love,
My treason knows no bound,
May I see Thy light, O Love
In gloom of life profound !
For moments I Thy presence feel
And yearn for life's that joyous seal.
In midst of all my struggle and strife
The true light Thou in darkest life.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

A STRAY THOUGHT

A BOUQUET.

On my table is a bouquet. I fancy I am an Ottoman prince or a Mogul tyrant indulging in revelry within the cool shade of a harem, full of enchanting ladies. The fairest damsels have been purchased for my pleasure. I take deep breaths and the fine perfume insinuates itself into my heart. I can clutch them to my bosom—dare any of them protest? Ah no! they are mine, absolutely mine. They dare not shrink from my coarse touch. A smile plays upon their tender lips. I hold them in my hand. They are feathery light. I recline on the sofa. In the midst of my revelry a feeling of satiety slowly creeps in and makes me pensive. How many tender stems have been robbed of their fair flowers! Perhaps an entire garden has been made desolate.

I place the bouquet on my table and look at its beauty composedly. There is still that dewy freshness upon the flowers. The petals are still bright and supple, soft and sweet, delicate and delightful. They are absorbed in their own happiness. A halo of purity plays round them. I wonder at my own transformation. The beastly madness is scared away and a feeling of devotion makes tears of joy trickle down my cheeks. The scene of the erstwhile harem vanishes and I find myself in the presence of a holy spirit so long concealed under a fairy cloak. My erring mind confesses its guilt and the Spirit out of his Supreme Divineness blesses my soul. Since then I have learnt that innocent beauty is another name of Divinity.

HISTORICAL STUDIES

Example is better than precept, and I wish I had the ability to provide, as your President did last year, an address containing original research. If time had permitted I would have attempted at least some collation and personal interpretation of my reading. Time pressed, so I have fallen back on a general discussion of the benefits of historical studies. The subject should interest this association, especially those members who have recently chosen history for study at the University. Only a minority will become professional teachers of history so it is just as well that I should discuss the subject from an unprofessional point of view. That is my own point of view because, though I studied History at two universities and have read it more or less continuously all my life, I have not for many years taught or read it systematically.

Some of you may have chosen history as a short cut to a degree, a key to the door of services and professions. Most of you, I hope, looked further and tried to weigh the *pros* and *cons* of your choice. Those who did may be interested to hear what, in my opinion, they are likely to gain, and what they cannot expect to gain, from their historical studies. The views I express are personal, and, though I shall for brevity state them somewhat dogmatically, I claim no authority for them. I shall deal first with the limitations of historical studies.

Any of you who hope to find out Truth (with a capital T) will, I think, be disappointed with History. From the days when Socrates and his eager young friends disputed for days "concerning Virtue, and what it is," to those of the modern undergraduates who, absorbed in similar inquiries, still "Tire the Sun with talking and send him down the sky." Pilate's

question "What is Truth?" has been a will-o'-the-wisp to young students. Those who feel its lure irresistible should choose natural science, philosophy or theology, for there they are more likely to find some satisfaction. History, it has been well said, "is a purely relative study. It seeks, not the ultimate, but the immediate causes and results of human action." The quest for ultimate causes is a noble one, and it is not only the young who feel drawn to it. It often returns later in life. If I had to choose a library to take for two years to prison or a desert island those books would be mainly theological, though history has been my life study. History trains the human intellect but does not satisfy its deepest needs.

If the search for ultimate causes is in all ages an intellectual hunger which historical studies will not feed, there is another search, still more attractive in this age, on which most historical students must turn their backs. Why has Oxford instituted a Modern Greats School? Why are so many American Universities offering general courses which emphasize the interrelation of all human knowledge? Why this growing tendency to synthesis of studies? I think the answer is to be found in what has been called the modern literature of despair. Biologists prate of racial deterioration, psychologists of evil crowd impulses, publicists tell us that democracy is played out and that administration has become too complicated for human capacity, economists deplore a civilization dehumanized by machinery, some historians pretend that we are following a cycle towards decadence, and moralists point to general apostacy from standards necessary for stable civilization. All these gloomy forebodings have been popularized by novelists and journalists until most of us feel the prospect black. But there is also a modern literature of hope based on the possibility of effective social control. For that, it seems, we must mobilize nationally and internationally all the world's present knowledge, scientific, educational, economic, political and ethical. For such a mobilization of specialists we require leaders,

“ ring-masters with just enough of the alloy of mountebankery ” to touch the imagination of the masses (*vide* articles on Outlook for Western Civilization by G. Frank, reprinted in *Calcutta Review*, April, 1926); these leaders will need also to be generally acquainted with all human knowledge. All this may well be true. If so, the national and international leaders of to-morrow should be taking general courses, and history graduates will not get much of a look in. That may or may not be a serious objection to specializing in history ; but it is certainly true that an increasing number of students now feel attracted to synthetic courses, and that those who specialize in history are sure to feel some disappointment later at the importance of certain fields of knowledge about which they are ignorant.

I fancy that many Burmese undergraduates now aspire to become professional politicians and it may be that some have chosen historical studies with political careers in view. If they become serious students they are likely to be disappointed. A labour politician who could speak fluently on any subject once went for two years to Ruskin College. After that period of study he could no longer speak fluently on any subject because he knew too much and had lost his old certainty and conviction. The men who lead crowds, and get things done are generally men of narrow views and intense convictions. Historical studies train a man to see many sides to all questions and that often causes failure in public life. Conscientious and thorough historical studies will make you more reasonable and enlightened politicians, but I doubt if they will make you more successful politicians. In spite of this warning I do not wish to dissuade future politicians from historical studies. What they may lose in personal success they will gain in personal merit. They may be less successful politicians, but they will certainly be better citizens.

Let us consider next what is to be gained by historical studies. Students of this college will, I hope, acquire what has been called *The Academic Spirit*.

The best students in any university worthy of the name acquire this spirit, which has been defined as follows:

"The essence of the best academic spirit is a willingness to face facts, to discard cherished theories when fuller evidence makes them no longer tenable, to suspend judgment upon matters upon which certainty is unattainable, to welcome criticisms and to hear difference of opinion with tolerance. Few of the undergraduates who have spent three years in a university are scholars, and fewer still, of course, are qualified to make any addition to knowledge themselves. But, in so far as they have taken advantage of their opportunities, they ought to have acquired a standard of thoroughness, to have become accustomed to reading books in a spirit of enquiring criticism, not of mere acquiescence and to have obtained some idea of the foundations upon which knowledge reposes and the methods by which it is advanced, they ought to be able to weigh evidence, follow and criticise an argument, to put their own value on authorities, and to prefer sober truth to pretentious superficiality."—*English Adult Education Committee's Report, 1919.*

University men acquire and retain this spirit in varying degrees. I shall mention it again later when discussing judgment. In some cases an excess of it leads to paralysis of action and this charge used often to be brought against men who were supposed to be typical products of my own university, Oxford. Yet few will deny that we need more of that spirit in the world to-day. No subject is more academic, in the best sense of the word, than history. In studying history we are constantly faced with problems, and the historian's method of dealing with problems is the fairest method of dealing with the problems of life. An advocate selects the facts he needs but the historian collects all the relevant facts he can find. The best historians often leave judgment on these facts to their readers. The university student's task is first to master thoroughly all the relevant facts he can collect, and then to form from them a judgment on the problem before him, which is also a question of fact. If he tries to save time by accepting other people's conclusions without mastering the facts on which they are based, he is losing the most valuable part of his training.

A sound historical training gives constant practice in forming judgments and should, therefore, prove the best possible training for the affairs of life. It is true that the university student judges only questions of fact, whereas the man of the world has to decide also questions of action ; but both should reach their conclusions by the same processes.

Let us consider further the *training of judgment* for it is the most valuable thing you will get from your historical studies, and your best safeguard against an excessively academic outlook. Judgment translated into action is the first requisite for men of affairs, especially business men. It is less necessary for teachers, hence the traditional type of professor, a child in the affairs of the world. No bore is more intolerable than the learned bore whose mind retains an infinite store of information which he is incapable of using except to retail. A judicial temperament and judicial capacity come from long training best acquired in the university of life. Nevertheless a teaching university provides useful preliminary training. Students are often impatient at having to spend time on remote periods of history and problems that have comparatively little connection with modern life. Nevertheless remote problems which it is easy to consider dispassionately give more valuable mental training than those more closely connected with our own prejudices. The young historical student is not likely to acquire capacity for dispassionate judgment if he neglects preliminary training in ancient and medieval history. Burke observed very acutely that "men are wise with but little reflection, and good with little self-denial, in the business of all times save their own." It is therefore prudent to begin on what is easiest, and train our judgments to work dispassionately before attempting to use them on modern problems.

I once read an essay by an able Indian student on Shepstone's annexation of the Transvaal in 1877. He had read a great deal about the period and must have known something of

the tangled condition of affairs which led to that momentous event. None could have offered to a dispassionate student a better opportunity for exercising his historical judgment. This student was so full of nationalist and anti-Imperial zeal (honourable, no doubt, but requiring restraint in a historian) that he did not deign to reproduce the knowledge he had acquired but confined his essay to a vigorous defence of the rights of small nations suffering from imperial oppression. Those who have taught ancient history to university students know the danger of their carrying modern political prejudices and standards of judgment even into such studies. We acquire new knowledge by association with old knowledge, so there is great temptation to such an easy method of approach; but the harder way, to acquire laboriously a sufficient knowledge of the period in question and use imagination and sympathy in applying that knowledge, is the only historical method.

A historical judgment means an impartial judgment and for this imagination is no less necessary than knowledge of facts. Study of a period should enable the student to translate himself into the past and recreate the atmosphere in which men lived and struggled then. Take sides, if your judgment compels, but not until you have considered all essential facts; above all suppress none. After some experience as an examiner I think I would advise you to take sides for that will help you to write vigorously; but the best way for the historian or examinee to take sides in an ancient controversy is to take both sides in turn, and so bring back to life the feelings and arguments of all the protagonists.

The historian should beware of exercising his judgment beyond questions of fact. Moral judgments, though interesting, should generally be suppressed. Ernest Lavisse, one of the greatest teachers of history, used to repeat with impassioned emphasis to generation after generation of students at the Sorbonne; "I do not judge, I do not praise, I do not blame, I verify and record facts." That did not mean that he abstained

from using his judgment but that he confined it to facts, their causes and results, and refused to label actions right or wrong. Behind his judgments of fact lay exhaustive study of the psychology, environment and ideals of the actors; he entered into their very souls. Though a free thinker he lectured for years with exemplary tenderness and sympathy on those champions of faith and predestination, the Jesuits and Jansenists, whose differences disturbed Seventeenth Century France. I have been one of the students who thronged his lecture theatre, and he impressed on me for life his views on the responsibilities and limitations of historical judgment.

We cannot judge facts without studying motives and it is here we are most often tempted to waste our time over prejudiced moralizing. The danger constantly occurs when we are studying the development of religious ideas, and their consequences. To this day few Englishmen are capable of unbiassed judgment on the characters of Knox and Laud. Few men have earned severer judgment, or more indiscriminate praise. That is because both were of the unacademic type to which I have recently referred, saw clearly what they wanted and got things done regardless of consequences. Historical students, at any rate those of English or Scotch nationality, will be wise to leave praise or blame of Knox and Laud to polemical writers and be content to understand their motives and how each managed to preserve and give its present form to the Church of his respective nation.

Students without strong religious sympathies risk another danger, that of regarding the clashes of deep convictions as petty squabbles. In such cases nothing but study and an effort of imagination will save them from mistaken judgment on questions of vital historical importance. Such efforts of imagination are specially needed by Europeans studying Indian or Burmese history, and by Burmans or Indians studying European history.

To sum up what I have said on judgment: Training of judgment is the chief benefit to be derived from historical studies. The historical student should aim at an unprejudiced,

impartial judgment based on thorough, sympathetic and imaginative study of people and their actions. His judgments should be confined to facts, their causes, and consequences. Moral judgments are best avoided.

Next in value I would place the training historical students get in formulating and testing *generalizations*.

All higher studies proceed by a process of ascertaining facts and systematizing them into concepts. In the exact sciences these concepts are natural laws, in the inexact science of history they are always more or less erroneous, and exemplify the proverb that the exception proves the rule. They are none the less valuable for they stimulate the imagination, aid the memory, and systematize knowledge. A historical comparison helps us to remember two facts at once. A historical generalization enables us to remember a large number of facts at once and is a strong stimulus to the acquisition of new facts. That is why a historical generalization is so often set for discussion in examinations. Students should formulate their own generalizations, but I fear that they get most of them second hand from text-books and lectures. Even so they are very useful if carefully tested and used for the acquisition and systematization of further knowledge. The value of a historical generalization depends on the amount of material which can be produced in illustration. Of principles and illustrations it has been well said that "each without the other appeals to the memory alone. United, they form the training of a man; divided, they resemble the meaningless chatter of a parrot." Though I am talking about history, there is, I fear, too little history in this address. You may, therefore, welcome a few historical generalizations as illustrations here. All are worth careful study, each would furnish materials for several lectures. Some are old generalizations which have not stood the test of time; others will suggest many exceptions as well as illustrations:

"Burma is geographically, racially and linguistically a unit."

“Burmans have always been a democratic race free from any caste system.”

“The Burmese Kings were absolute monarchs.”

“The history of European expansion is the history of struggles for a hinterland.”

“Wars are followed by loss of civil liberties.”

“Material prosperity produces political lethargy.”

“In Lancastrian England Constitutional progress had out-run administration.”

“The War of American Independence destroyed Whig ascendancy in England.”

On the ebullitions of mob fervour in 18th Century England :

“Feeling vaguely aggrieved and powerless to control the Government, the people at intervals seized the nearest catch-word and raged against it.”

“Reformation England was seething with economic unrest.”

“Money lenders have controlled Europe since the 16th century.”

“Cabinet Government was possible in the 18th century because England was a deferential country.”

You will meet in your reading more subtle and pregnant historical generalizations than most of those I have just mentioned. I hope you will formulate others for yourselves. Those of you who undertake research work later will find this the hardest part of your work. Weakness in generalization is the fault of most historical theses. Too many research students are content to collect material laboriously without attempting to systematize and apply the facts they have acquired. They leave that to others partly because they have been allowed to undertake historical research with insufficient general knowledge and experience of historical method, and partly because they lack the flash of genius needed to illuminate the significance of their own labours, and so fail to formulate those general

conclusions without which their work is incomplete and lacks distinction.

This suggests the next advantage you will get from your studies, *a training in historical method*. Some of you will get personal experience of methods of historical research, and you are all fortunate, for students of so young a university, in the amount of research work going on before you. The Government epigraphist every year deciphers and translates inscriptions, which throw light on the obscure subject of Burmese social and economic history. Many new sittans and other palm leaf manuscripts are deciphered yearly, and there are hundreds waiting for investigation. Ma Mya Sein during the last three years dealt with a large number, and produced a thesis on the myo-thu-gyi-ship which has thrown new light on the Burmese social system. Professor Pe Maung Tin, Mr. Furnival, Mr. J. A. Stuart and other members of the Burma Research Society are working on this mass of material and from time to time publish the result of their researches. Mr. Aspinall, recently on the teaching staff of this college, and still a lecturer in this University, has recently published a book containing the result of his research on an important period of English History. Professor Luce has for some years been collecting material for Burmese history from Chinese sources, and your College Library already contains more Chinese books than a historian could investigate and annotate in a life-time. Professor Hall has made the early relations between England and Burma his special study, and brings to it enthusiasm, laborious industry, special training, and an exceptional gift for lucid exposition. You are fortunate in having a chief who sets you so inspiring an example. Nothing could be more stimulating to a young historical student than the popular lectures, open to the public, at which Professor Hall from time to time summarizes the result of his recent inquiries. I wish I had experienced such an incentive when reading history as an undergraduate. You will nearly all devote some attention to the history of Burma,

Published work on Burmese history is still so imperfect and conjectural that to study it at all to-day cannot fail to afford some insight into methods of historical research. As regards examples of historical research, and fields of historical research for those who are drawn to it, you students are certainly fortunate.

Yet, when all is said and done, the young historical student deals entirely with second-hand material, and can get full value out of his historical training without going further. Many a keen student, who cannot make history his profession, regrets that he has to go out into the world and earn his living without having done any original research, and without any prospect of leisure for it. That regret sometimes lasts through life but I doubt if there is often much justification for it. The specialist in research chooses a life of self-abnegation even as regards his own realm of knowledge; and this is still more true if he starts specializing too soon. He must choose knowledge rather than life, like Browning's Grammarian, and have some of his faith in knowledge and contempt of time :

“ Others mistrust, and say ‘But time escapes.

Live now or never.’

He said ‘What’s time ? Leave now for dogs or apes,

Man has Forever.”

That is noble, but few of us, especially when young, are tempered for such abnegation.

There is much to be said for confining your historical studies to published writings; and, though this may be heresy in a university, I will go further and claim that there is some advantage in confining your studies to standard authors. The gain lies in the stimulus to be derived from good writing, in the increased amount of knowledge you can assimilate, the broader and more varied interests you acquire, and the number of important subjects on which you can exercise your historical judgment. The all-important thing is to observe historical method in all your studies, for their chief use is to train the mind in

method through given material. Perhaps the most valuable course in History which this University provides is one taken by students reading for the Honours B.A. They read a mass of documents and general history connected with a fairly short but momentous period of South African history. The period and country in question are sufficiently remote for dispassionate study, all their material is printed and so can be rapidly assimilated, and so they get not only ample opportunities for exercising their historical judgment, but a sound practical training in historical method. Students are already taking this course as preparation for business life and they are wise. After such a course a man should be able to collect facts, weigh their respective value, and present them in an orderly and convincing manner towards the construction of an argument. What better training could be given to a clerk, secretary, judge, lawyer, administrator or man of business?

I have mentioned the benefit to be derived from reading good authors and it is certainly one of the advantages of historical reading that it brings you into touch with great literature. It is superficial, for instance, to study the Elizabethan period of English history without reading Elizabethan literature, or to examine the effect of the French Revolution on England without listening to England's voices of revolt, Coleridge, Keats, Byron and that "last and greatest voice," Wordsworth's which survived so long into a later and less troubled era. Yet some professional historians and many students have been so foolish.

Though certain historical writers of importance have written without charm or distinction it is fortunate that most of them have written clearly and many have written nobly. The English reading public owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. G. R. Trevelyan who has recently become Regius Professor of History at Cambridge. He has not only written history himself with lucidity and charm but he uttered a warning to his fellow historians at a time when it was needed. You will find the essay in a volume called *Recreations of a Historian*, first

published in 1913. He observed that Gibbon, Macaulay, Motley, Prescott, Grote, Froude, Carlyle and Seeley were widely read by the preceding generation, but that the present generation considered history dull and seldom read it. I think these observations were true. As a boy I have found volumes of those old historians along with the Bible in many a small inn, but they were not often read then. A very great Headmaster, Howson of Holt, is reported to have said "Biography, biography! Why, isn't that nearly as dull as history?" I have worked under Howson and believe that story is true. Trevelyan analyzed the causes of the change and pleaded for better historical writing. When Oxford University began to teach history an old don protested because "every gentleman knows history." The effect of making history a university subject in the eighties and nineties was to produce too many professional historians who wrote without intellectual passion or literary charm. They were so anxious to prove their subject a science that they forgot that it is not an exact science and needs emotional interpretation. They devoted their best energies to accumulation of material and neglected the duty of lucid interpretation. They prated of the "Verdict of History," though no such verdict can be final. They had little difficulty, for they were laborious in research, in upsetting earlier verdicts, but time has proved that they had little justification in claiming finality for their own. They stigmatized the great historians, whom "every gentleman" used to read, as unscientific, but they supplied nothing readable to replace them. Consequently, the man in the street accepted his dismissal, and few people except specialists read history at all.

Trevelyan's essay, which was widely discussed, had some effect, and the great war probably had more. At any rate the next fourteen years have produced far better vintages. Publishers have given us a number of books in history which have been widely read because they had something new to say and were written with distinction and charm. Some were

written by scholarly specialists like Trevelyan himself, the earlier Belloc, and Ramsay Muir. Some by propagandists like the later Belloc, the two Chestertons and H. G. Wells. Mr. Lytton Strachey, a master of English, has studied the Victorian period as meticulously as any specialist and invented a new method of interpreting it. All the above modern writers on history, and many more, are worth reading as literature. Those who regret that circumstances have prevented them from specializing in history have this compensation that they can read all the history any man can reasonably desire, and yet read no bad writing. The specialist still suffers from the amount of important matter published in undigested, crude, and unattractive form. So, too, occasionally does the university student. My advice to the students before me is to read good authors with appreciation of style as well as matter, not to neglect standard authors because some of their theories have been refuted, and to cultivate sedulously the art of writing with lucidity. This will increase your chances of success in examinations, and in life, and, what is more important will bring much pure aesthetic pleasure into your lives. There is no thrill better than the thrill which comes from generous appreciation of a fine thought perfectly expressed, and to write what adequately expresses one's thoughts gives special satisfaction.

Let us consider last what moral edification may be obtained from historical studies. Misguided school teachers have too often encouraged moral judgments of historical persons and actions. I have, for instance, heard whole lessons spent on discussing whether the Declaration of Independence, the Execution of Charles I, and the Expulsion of the Rump were right or wrong. As we have already observed such inquiries violate the essential spirit of history. I may remark in passing that a common type of essay subject which asks what justification certain actors had for certain actions should be taken as an invitation to examine motives and circumstances and not as an

invitation for moral judgment, we should get moral inspiration from studying the motives and actions of great and good men, but labelling actions right or wrong is morally as well as historically an objectionable practice.

There is danger also in using history to teach the type of patriotism which emphasizes a nation's military achievements, conquests and claims to racial superiority rather than its contributions towards human civilization and progress. Germany has been, and Italy is now, the worst offender in this respect, but the United States and all great European nations have erred in the same way. English children in our best schools still get much clearer and more detailed instruction on the Seven Years' War than on the abolition of slavery, their country's most glorious achievement.

In spite of these dangers history is more fruitful in moral edification than any other academic study. It cannot fail to impress on the serious student the continuity of all human action and the essential unity of all mankind. Such impressions will be a safeguard against irresponsible behaviour and racial intolerance. Many people need a clearer vision of the common needs and common achievements of humanity, and the study of history will supply that need.

The growth of internationalism through the ages deserves special study. Ever since the age of the renaissance and geographical discovery the idea of ending war by international agreement has been the aspiration of the salt of the earth throughout four centuries. The ideals of the League of Nations are not new. Witness in the 16th century Henry IV's Grand Design, what Grotius taught in the seventeenth century while the Thirty Years' War was raging, Penn's Essay Towards Peace, and the Abbe St. Pierre's Project of Eternal Peace in the eighteenth century ; witness in the nineteenth century, the age of steamers, railways, and telegrams, the growth of International Law, the Hague Conference and Tribunal, how many wars have been prevented by arbitration on

boundaries, navigation, and fisheries, and how often international co-operation has aided social legislation and the development of Science and Medicine. Yet we must not make the common mistake of measuring the progress of Universal Brotherhood by the halting progress of International Law. All successful law systems rest not only on the consent of those who benefit but on their ability to make their will prevail. The will for peace and brotherhood has been continuously frustrated by faulty political institutions. The collective morality of mankind lags sadly behind its individual morality. The problem of the day in international, national, and local public life is how to translate into collective action the individual good-will of the majority. We all know how reasonable men are when we meet them personally but how hard it is to get any reform executed. Nineteenth century complacency with regard to political institutions has vanished even in England. All over the world men feel the need for better machinery for collective action, international, national, provincial, and local. Hence, the importance of thoroughly understanding the League of Nations and other plans for international action, national and provincial constitutions, and systems of local self-government. Study of constitutional history is the best introduction and a strong incentive to such inquiries, and it should, therefore, be of absorbing interest to university students to-day. Yet how few students when they read about the English Municipal Act of 1835 realize half of the personal interest it should have for them, and how few text-books give it adequate treatment.

The study of political institutions is liable to leave an impression of hopeless frustration and has made some people pessimists. Yet historical studies should on the whole create a healthy optimism. They have left me with a passionate belief not only in the unity of mankind but also in human progress. If it is right for old men like myself to dream dreams, it is right for young men, like you, to see visions. Every right-thinking young man desires to leave the world better for his stay in it

and the study of history should do much to stimulate that impulse. The story of capitalism, of its grip on European social and political life for four centuries, is an ugly story. So is the story of how official Christianity abandoned its early insistence on social morality and came to condone and encourage oppression of the weak by the strong. But the story of the fight against the evils of the capitalist and industrial system is a glorious story. It began in England and continues there and in India to-day. The growth of ideals of social service and of machinery for social service is a significant chapter of modern history, all the more interesting to our generation because the best of it will be written after we are dead. I hope you will study it from its somewhat obscure beginnings in eighteenth century England to its recent developments in Europe, India and Burma. The work of the Servants of India, the Social Service League, the Ramkrishna Mission, is historically linked not only with India's past, but with the work of Francis Place, Robert Owen, William Lovett and Lord Shaftesbury. The connection is a historical fact of which both Indians and Englishmen are proud. History will teach you what you owe both to the past and to the future, and, unless you are temperamentally cynical or soured by circumstances, will make your ideal nothing less than that which John Addington Symonds set forth in a famous hymn which I once heard sung by over 1,000 persons brought together from all parts of the earth by the common cause of Universal Brotherhood.

Usher Hall, July, 1925.

These things shall be, a loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise
With flame of freedom in their souls,
And light of knowledge in their eyes;

They shall be gentle, brave and strong
To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
Unarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity.

New arts shall bloom of loftier mould,
And mightier music thrill the skies.
And every life shall be a song,
When all the earth is paradise.

I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to be President of your Association, and for giving me the privilege of addressing it. It is a great privilege and responsibility to address such a gathering of university students, for their future and the future of their country depend largely on how for three short years they use their opportunities. I wish I could have illustrated my points by more instances from Asiatic history but I could use only such knowledge as I possessed, and my historical training has been mainly through the medium of western material. Yours also will probably be largely through the same medium, for books on Eastern History, except that of India, are still few and defective. If any of you can contribute later to the material available for students of Burmese and Far Eastern History you will deserve well of your University and of your generation. Aim high at this or any other worthy mark, but do not let plans for to-morrow lead to neglect the duties of to-day. Students who take themselves too seriously are often too easily satisfied with their daily work. Your immediate aim must be to equip yourself for your life-work by taking full advantage of the sound historical training now offered in this University.¹

J. P. BULKELEY

¹ Presidential Address read in September, 1927, before the Rangoon University College Historical Association.

A FULL-MOON NIGHT

I love a glorious full-moon night;
The earth, the sky, the trees, the hills
Are flooded with its silv'ry light :
With what fantastic joy it fills
My heart. To walk with arms entwined,
My love and I, in phantom guise,
And one in soul and one in mind,
Would be to me a paradise;

But 'tis the light that wakes in me
Sad thoughts at rest of one, who loved
The full moon light, the fairy she,
To me a lover true who proved.
She lay upon her bed in white,
A rav'shing beauty, young and gay,
Upon her blazed the full moon light,
Her life was fading fast away.

She pointed out to me the brook,
O'er which the moonbeam softly danced,
She asked me at the hills to look—
With ecstasy at me she glanced.
And on a moonlit night she took
My hand in hers and sweetly smiled,
She spake of love with such a look,
And flooded me with kisses wild.

I owned my love to her, she felt
So happy in her ebbing life,
My heart did break, my eyes did melt,
She thought she came to be my wife :
Upon that lovely full-moon night,
From mortal coil her soul was free;
I hear her voice in soft moonlight,
Her fairy form in moonbeam see.

ON MODERNISING SPINOZA

II

Now, to come to a closer grip with the details of Professor Alexander's procedure in dealing with the solvent of Time as brought to bear on the study of Spinoza, it must, at the outset, be admitted to the credit of Professor Alexander that he has in this monograph on Spinoza, worked out, with his characteristic originality and subtlety, a plea for a re-interpretation of Spinoza which, if not always convincing, is wonderfully stimulating and suggestive. Here, as elsewhere, he brings to the execution of his task that wonted ease, and grace of style that mark him out as a consummate artist—a past master in 'the artistry of truth.' By reason of its sheer artistic finish and stylistic beauty, it is destined to rank as one of the romances of modern philosophy. This is surely high praise, and praise justly due to the author. But it is here exactly, as we venture to think, that he shares, with many others, the faults of his greatness. One who has followed out rather closely his arguments in the 'Abstract' on 'Space-Time,'¹ or his famous Gifford Lectures (1916-18), or, even this brochure in question, will hardly fail to notice that their author has not infrequently lapsed into 'word-painting' or making imagery and metaphor do the business of reasoning and logic. Like Bergson, whom he compliments for 'taking time seriously,' he is a great visualiser. Passages might be quoted from his other works,—but we can substantiate this point of criticism from the present work. Take, *e.g.*, the passage 'the stuff of reality is not stagnant, its soul's wings are never furled, and in virtue of this unceasing movement it strikes out fresh complexes of movements, created things' (p. 42) or even the passage 'sharing in the *nisus* of the universe, caught as we are in the wheels of that being, which

¹ Read on July 5th, 1918, before the Aristotelian Society.

arising out of the chaos of Space-Time evolves levels of beings with their conatus, but always retains the unused chaos which allows of the emergence of new levels' (p. 77); and on closer scrutiny the mode of reasoning as exhibited herein will be found to be more captivating than convincing.

(1) In the first place, the passages just quoted—which may be said to adumbrate roughly Professor Alexander's metaphysical position—are typical Bergsonian in tone and conception, and thus open to the same criticisms more or less so often urged against Bergson. They display the same fondness for visual imagery, the same passion for novelty and the same fascination for a cosmic evolution. Now the fundamental consequence of the substitution of Time for thought in the Spinozistic attributes, would be the view of 'ultimate reality'—'reality in its barest character'—as 'Space-Time or motion itself' ¹ 'the stuff out of which by various distributions all things arise.' ² The last clause is simply a variant of the language employed in the 'Abstract' (already referred to) in outlining the hypothesis 'that Space-Time is the stuff out of which all existents are made:' 'Existents are complexes of Space-Time, that is, of Motion; they are, as it were, crystals within the matrix, or eddies within this vast whirlpool. As Time goes on, higher and higher complexes of the spatio-temporal stuff emerge with qualities, the scale of such qualities, *e.g.*, materiality, colour, life, mind, whether it begins with materiality or at a simpler stage, being itself unending.' ³ Even on making due allowances for imagery and figurative expressions employed in this story of Cosmo-genesis as told by Professor Alexander (and as might be justly attributed to M. Bergson), one would detect what Professor Perry has not inaptly phrased—the twin errors of 'pseudo-simplicity' and 'indefinite potentiality' in their construction of ultimate reality, and of its relation to existing things. Further, it is difficult to see how

¹ S. & T. P. 36.

² *Ibid*, p. 70.

³ Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, 1917-18, pp. 417-8.

'reality in its barest character' or 'ultimate reality' can be a 'stuff,' not to speak of pure motion, with which he proceeds to equate it. One is perfectly at a loss to realise what exactly Professor Alexander is driving at by this newly coined term 'stuff.' When we try to categorise or liken it to the traditional notions of 'reality in its barest character,' we are simply baffled in our endeavour to encompass its nature. We can surely understand when we are told that 'we are such stuff as dreams are made of' but we are certainly baffled when we are bidden to realise—unless it be by way of a poetic license—that 'Space-Time or Motion itself' is 'the stuff out of which by various distributions all things (including ourselves) arise.' At first sight one wonders if it is not the ancient Phoenix of Hyle reborn from its ashes, or the 'matter,' of a much later age, resurrected and etherealised. But the very ground underneath this assumption is cut away, when we remember that neither of these had 'motion' as one of its attributes, far less be synonymous therewith. Instead of explaining how exactly pure motion can strike out 'fresh complexes of movements, created things,'—and this is the very crux of the situation he has created by his novel thesis—Professor Alexander seems to be only dogmatising on the point that it does so, and thus committing, what we may not, unjustly, ascribe to him, a fallacy of verbalism. In all fairness to him, we must of course admit that he has at one place in his gloss on Spinoza offered an explanation of this point by way of comparing this 'Space-Time' 'to the space which in the Platonic *Timaeus* is that which receives definite character through the ingression (I borrow the word from Mr. Whitehead) of the Forms or Ideas.'¹ But, as he carefully points out, his Space-Time is a distinct advance on the Platonic space which is 'purely spatial, and contains intrinsically no time.'² By such incorporation of time into the notion of 'ultimate reality' Professor Alexander persuades himself that he has solved the

¹ S. & T., p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, p. 39. •

outstanding difficulties of Spinozism. This innovation and advance he signalises by the studied avoidance of the Spinozistic term 'substance' and substituting all through the term 'stuff' in its place. One of the reasons, as he tells us, of speaking 'of the ultimate reality of motion not as substance but as stuff' is that by so doing we can avoid the standing 'contrast of the Spinozistic Substance and its modes' ¹ on which so much ink has been hitherto spilled unnecessarily. Further, as he thinks, 'in this way the danger is avoided which besets Spinoza's doctrine, the danger that the modes or things should be engulfed in an ultimate being which purports to be the positive ground of its modes, but always is on the point of slipping into bare indefiniteness.' ² As a further consequence of thus regarding things as 'modes of the stuff which is Space-Time' ³ is that 'their relation to their ground is no longer that of the properties of a triangle to the triangle, but rather that of the two triangles which compose an oblong to the oblong. They are involved in the oblong.' ⁴ Finally, 'directly Time has become an attribute of the ultimate reality,' ⁵ the order in the sequence of the modes from God's nature on which order, according to Spinoza, their degree of perfection depends, "ceases to be merely a logical one (as in Spinoza), and becomes temporal. The grades of moral perfection are no longer a 'static' series of forms, but a hierarchy produced in the order of time." ⁶

•(2) Now, as a result of this gloss, the Spinozistic Substance undergoes a tran-substantiation, admittedly, too catholic and radical to retain its original designation, and to justify the substitution of the other term 'Stuff' in characterising 'the ultimate Reality.' But what's in a name?—one may very pertinently enquire. Does the so-called 'Stuff' charged with

¹ *Ibid*, p. 37.

² *Ibid*, p. 40.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 41-42.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 42.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 44.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 44-45.

'time-fulness or restlessness' ¹ fare any better than the traditional 'Substance' in obviating the standing difficulties of the Spinozistic system? If it does, we can, of course, see into the *raison d'être* of the proposed gloss on Spinoza; otherwise, there is conceivably no point in the substitution in question. On this point it is instructive to note how Professor Whitehead (from whom Professor Alexander has in the book at least borrowed and quoted with approval more than once) has responded to the task of re-interpreting and modernising the 'Substance' of Spinoza in strict keeping with the requirements of 'Science and the Modern World'—which is the very title of the book that has broached the problem. "In the analogy with Spinoza," as he puts it himself ² "his one substance is for me the one underlying activity of realisation individualising itself in an interlocked plurality of modes," and proceeds to elaborate the 'analogy' further, thus ³: "The general activity is not an entity in the sense in which occasions or eternal objects are entities. It is a general metaphysical character which underlies all occasions, in a particular mode for each occasion. There is nothing with which to compare it: it is Spinoza's one infinite substance." Evidently Professor Whitehead, for whose way of thinking Professor Alexander has an avowed sympathy and admiration, does not find the Spinozistic Substance unsuited to the exigencies of their kindred characterisation of ultimate reality. Probably the main consideration which leads Professor Alexander to speak 'of the ultimate reality of motion, not as substance but as stuff' based on 'the vital contrast' of 'the infinite or *a priori* stuff of the Universe' and the empirical things or substances which are parts or modes of it, is the deep concern he shows for the Kantian criticism 'that the categories of finite things are not applicable to the ground of finite things.' Unfortunately, he does not stop to enquire whether on a consistent application of the same

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

² *Science and the Modern World*, p. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

principle of criticism, 'the infinite or *a priori* stuff of the Universe' can be suffered to hold the ground. Particularly the physical analogy of 'involving' he uses in this context—Space-Time as the stuff involving things as its modes—evidently makes a transcendent use of a category, which has its meaning and exemplification in a more limited sphere. The decision in favour of this '*a priori* stuff' was further precipitated by what may, not unfairly, be called, a prejudging of the metaphysical issues of the theory of relativity, and a deliberate departure from the physical theory it is meant to be. Whether such advance in respect of a theory 'on which discussion has yet to do its work' ¹ was well advised or not is another matter; but it was probably suggested to him and justified on the authority of 'one pronounced supporter of the relativity theory' ² who 'maintains that when it is said that Space-Time is wrinkled or warped in the presence of matter—this means that matter is the very wrinkle in Space-Time.' ³ But is this piece of argument quite sound and acceptable? Does it not amount to saying *totidem verbis* that because matter appears in a particular relation, *therefore* that exclusive relation constitutes the very essence of matter or that matter is to be defined thereby - a specious argument comparing not unfavourably with the Berkeleyan thesis of idealism which, as Professor Perry justly observed, is guilty of the fallacies of 'exclusive particularity' and 'definition by initial predication.'

(3) However, in choosing to call ultimate reality—even reality in its barest character—'stuff and not substance,' Professor Alexander has, as we shall presently see, taken a retrograde step, and, instead of making towards Reality, seems to have been led by a circuitous path, perilously near the 'lion's den' with *nulla vestigia retrorsum* which he thought he had avoided with the magic discovery of Time. But through the

¹ S. and T. P., 39.

² *Ibid*, p. 40.

³ *Ibid*, p. 40.

studied rejection of Substance, he has failed to substantiate the pledge, and has ended by definitely subscribing to one of the two irreconcilable characteristics of Substance between which Spinoza alternated throughout his philosophical career. It is the conception of the absolute 'totality of all things..... The mere togetherness of things,' the 'stuff of which they are pieces, the material out of which they are made.'¹ Such a togetherness, or 'stuff' or material whatever else it is, is not, as Aristotle pointed out long ago, entitled to the name of Reality. Although there is a close parallelism between the two in respect of philosophical approach and conclusion, Professor Lloyd Morgan here markedly differs from Professor Alexander, as he holds, truly enough, that "Substantial to all the substantial go-togetherness which suffices for naturalistic treatment, is the planful Activity in and through which its stuff has been and is held together."² In regarding Space and Time as the two attributes of ultimate reality of Space-Time which 'through its inherent character of timefulness or restlessness gives rise to created things that constitute in their totality the *facies totius universi*, Professor Alexander seems to have been influenced to a considerable degree by Kuno Fischer's construction of Spinozistic attributes as real 'potencies' or 'powers' inherent in the substance which on its part radiates its creative energy along those lines. Now of the two extant alternative interpretations of the nature of the Spinozistic 'attributes,' this one is, as we know, fundamentally at variance with the whole drift of Spinoza's metaphysics, as well as fatal to the notion of Ground and Consequent which is the very nerve of Spinoza's great constructive attempt. Admittedly, Professor Alexander as engaged in writing a gloss upon Spinoza has sufficient excuse for not abiding by the letter of Spinoza's system, and, as such, can justly claim a wider latitude than the mere literalist commentator who is naturally hide-bound in his

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

² *Emergent Evolution*, p. 209.

task of faithful exegesis. But, then, even a gloss of Spinoza which fails to safeguard this notion of Ground and Consequent, one of the main-springs of his thought, forfeits thereby the right to associate the name of Spinoza with anything that is left behind. It will be verily like throwing away the babe along with the bath. Professor Alexander, however, is too well-versed in Spinozism to lapse into such error. He does, indeed, retain this notion, and apparently assigns to it central importance so far as he characterises ultimate reality or Space-Time as 'infinite and self-contained and the ground of all finite modes.'¹ But as we shall presently see, he proceeds to modify and square it, with what consistency we shall also enquire, with a very different notion, and thus stultifies his original position. 'By insisting that bodies are intrinsically complexes of motion,'² being only the 'modes' of the ultimate or *a priori* reality from which they derive,'³ Professor Alexander evidently imperils his allegiance to the notion of Ground, and, collaterally, to his favourite metaphysical creed 'that there is only one matrix from which all qualities arise.' This is indeed a point of crucial importance and the very crux of the whole procedure in question. Much the same criticisms can be urged against Professor Alexander as against Spinoza; and here, at least, we discover that the so-called panacea of Time is no better than a prophylactic, affording a relief for the time being. Apparently in doctrinal, and, perhaps, temperamental sympathy with Spinoza's pantheism which imports 'in the truer sense that all things are in God and are modifications of Him,'⁴ he goes on to add that 'there is and can be but one being which is entirely self-dependent, needing no other being for its explanation'⁵ and rounds up the discussion by representing it 'not as an aggregate of things, not even as a whole of parts in the sense

¹ S. and T., p. 37.

² *Ibid*, p. 35.

³ *Ibid*, p. 31.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 25.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 25.

in which you and I who are organic are wholes of parts without being mere aggregates, but as a unitary being from which all its so-called parts draw their nature and in the end their existence.'¹ Whether following this line of thought, we are, in our search after a unity higher than what we find in ourselves, not likely to defeat our own ends, we cannot undertake to answer here; but one cannot help being reminded of a forceful suggestion made by the late Mr. Bradley in another reference that "the man who demands a reality more solid than that of the religious consciousness knows not what he seeks."² The passage just quoted from Professor Alexander is strongly reminiscent of the confusion between essence and existence, into which Spinoza was not infrequently betrayed in spinning out his rather long-drawn geometrical demonstrations. Wrestling like Spinoza, with two fundamentally disparate notions of ultimate reality as 'ground of all finite modes' and as 'the stuff of which they are parts or modes' or 'pieces,' or rather trying to represent these two disparate notions as at bottom reconcilable—doubtless, by the solvent of Time which, as omnipotent, hath cleft a channel for the water-flood, and a 'way for the lightning of the thunder' and can achieve what, under ordinary circumstances, would be deemed impossible—Professor Alexander seems to have been driven to a hopeless *impasse*. So long as we choose to abide by the notion of Ground in this reference, and develop it with the vertical consistency with which Spinoza does it, we must necessarily end in an abstract supreme essence—"the Intense Inane"—that 'always is on the point of slipping into bare indefiniteness.' Evidently from such a logical universal, there is no possibility of advance into a world of particulars. Accordingly what Professor Alexander does is to follow up this notion of Ground up to a certain extent and, then apprised of the impending deadlock, tries to retrieve the situation by so far modifying

¹ *Ibid*, p. 25.

² *Appearance and Reality*, p. 449.

the notion as to make it in the end indistinguishable from that of physical totality. Probably he could foresee that without the notion of Ground and Consequent one could not enter into Spinozism, and with it one could not remain within it. With his rejection of the Spinozistic construction of the case, we can have no quarrel ; but surely it is incumbent upon one who thus dissociates himself, to sustain his position of opposition, and not play fast and loose with the notion in question or bring it up in a secondary way by the back-door, as it were, having once dismissed it at the very threshold of his entrance into the system. In justice to Professor Alexander, it must be admitted of course that he had offered an altogether new interpretation upon the notion before he admitted it into his gloss ; but, our contention is that he has not infrequently lapsed into ordinary and technical sense of the term which he had begun by repudiating at the start. The best course for him, we venture to think, would have been to steer clear altogether of the slippery term on which many a writer on Spinoza have stumbled. However, as it is, we find that not having studiously kept to the restriction imposed on it by himself, he has erred, of course, in the honoured company of Spinoza, in setting forth the relation between essence and existence. The extract last quoted is typical of the deplorable confusion which such indiscriminate use is likely to engender. Granted that there is 'a unitary being from which all its so-called parts,' *viz.*, the finite modes or empirical things 'draw their nature,' it by no means follows that they should draw their 'existence' as well. Perhaps conscious of the enormity of the transition from nature or essence to existence, he seems to have tried to minimise it by the incorporation of the qualifying phrase 'in the end.' But is it not of the nature of a baffling addition, hardly adequate to meet the exigencies of the situation ? When in further explication of his notion of 'the ground of all finite modes' ¹ he goes on to say that it 'comprehends them all,' his gloss thrives upon the happy

¹ S. & T., p. 37.

ambiguity of the term 'comprehension' which is not, however, devoid of a logical bearing. But he breaks through the last film of ambiguity when he proceeds further down to construe this relation of 'comprehension' as one of 'composition' or 'involving' the relation, to quote his own words, 'of the two triangles which compose an oblong to the 'oblong.' With what semblance of justice and consistency, Professor Alexander can still continue to speak of the infinite, self-contained ground of empirical things, we do not pretend to enquire. The nature or essence of things is, we can readily allow, somehow comprehended or contained in the supreme essence or the so-called 'unitary being,' but that does not necessarily include the existence of any particular mode or thing—which it would seem to do on the construction of the relation that has been just offered. Here he has completely thrown overboard the well-nigh universally accepted signification of the term "Ground," or if he still continues to use the term in this regard, he must be using it in an unheard-of sense. What further lends support to our contention is his candid confession that 'once Time is regarded as an attribute of ultimate reality, the contrast of the Spinozistic Substance and its modes, falls away.'¹ He is here, apparently, complimenting himself on the result of his experiment with Time, *viz.*, the removal of the contrast on which alone, be it remembered, the continued use of the term 'Ground' depends. When such vital issues are staked on the maintenance of 'Ground' in any philosophical dissertation worth the name, one cannot with perfect impunity minimise the force of this contrast or tamper with it in any other way.

(4) Further, we ask, is not this final sense of 'comprehension' as buttressed by this telling example, indicative of a relapse into a 'lower pantheism' with its inevitable bondage to a purely spatial category from which Professor Alexander was apparently commissioned to redeem Spinozism? No one is more thoroughly convinced of the sheer irrelevance of spatial

¹ *Ibid*, p. 89.

metaphors in such context—the unmistakable evidence of the inherent geometricism of our intellect,—as Bergson would say. At this critical point all the resources of timefulness do not avail, and Professor Alexander's metaphysical predilections stand unmasked. On the extinction of that much-needed 'contrast,' the alleged unitary being in its ambition to be the positive ground of all finite modes, and, not merely a negative logical *prius*, defeats itself, and ends by forfeiting the very principle which alone can make it a self-contained systematic unity of differentiated particulars. It becomes, in the end, as Professor Pringle-Pattison puts it so happily¹ "the pellmell of empirical occurrence over again in which the sum-total of phenomena is indiscriminately housed," and consequently "the unity reached is the unity of a mere collection and everything remains just as it was before." Such a doctrine of immanence or pantheism, in spite of its claim to a 'truer' and presumably acceptable sense, recoils upon crude Naturalism, 'untroubled by a spark.' Wave the magic wand of Time, as you may, such a brute collection or mere togetherness of attributes does not answer to the principle of unity which is designed to comprehend all—there being no principle of comprehension at all here. Thus circumstanced, Professor Alexander's 'Space-Time,' or 'Motion,' is open to much the same criticism as has been urged with the force of an epigram against Spinoza's Substance that 'because it includes all, it includes nothing at all.'

(5) Such an unmitigated Naturalism, acknowledged or otherwise, is not, however, the last word of his theory of the world-ground, as it was not also Spinoza's. We are reserved for more surprises when he proceeds, in strict keeping with the method of Naturalism, to invest the 'skeleton universe' of Space-Time with flesh and blood until in all literalness of philosophic truth 'the conscious stone to beauty grew'—'the stone' which, in his own words 'knows its surroundings in the same way as we know ours, 'for in so far as my mind or the stone

¹ The Idea of God, p. 219.

is affected by other things, it knows them.' ¹ It is doubtful whether such a simple, romantic, and metaphorical extension of the meaning of the term 'knowledge' would be sanctioned by established usage and sober philosophy that is uninspired by a 'natural piety' which binds 'each to each' all the different levels of stratified existence—from the primary modes which are 'bare differentiations of Space-time' right up to the 'mind of man—with that link of all-pervasive element of Time which finally evolves the character of mentality. Whether we begin at the bottom with bare differentiations of Space-Time and work steadily upwards 'humouring our propensity to construe things on the pattern of what is most familiar to us, our own selves,' the result is the same; 'on either method we realise the same truth that all the world and everything in it are constructed on the same plan, which betrays itself most plainly in our thinking bodies.' ² Granted that philosophical explanation, like charity, begins at home, what philosophic justification is there for thus 'humouring our propensity' into the extravagances or irrelevancies of anthropomorphism, interpreting the world at large, as Schopenhauer suggested, *macranthropos*? It is this very 'propensity' rather than 'rationality' that is the inspirer, *e.g.*, of Fechner's 'world-soul' and such-like hybrid constructions. Whatever the merit or reasonableness of the procedure, Professor Alexander is convinced that his professed basic Naturalism does not contradict the superstructure that has been raised on it; that starting from this basis in Space-Time we can, in other words, attain to a nodal or hierarchical *Weltanschauung*, which exhibits in the world a systematic structure, scale of values, or degrees of perfection or reality. Indeed, as Professor Alexander gave out (in a lecture entitled 'Naturalism and Value,' and delivered under the auspices of the British Institute of Philosophy) ³ that he had been 'irritated' by idealistic philosophers,

¹ S. & T., p. 49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³ On March 15, 1927, at the Royal Society of Arts.

like Professor Pringle-Pattison, into taking up the gauntlet against what he thought to be an ill-conceived challenge of the latter as expressed, *e.g.*, in his Gifford Lectures, that 'the vindication of human values could only become effective and convincing when accompanied by the demonstration that the conclusions of Naturalism rest on a misinterpretation of the character of the scientific theories on which it founds that Naturalism, in short, in spite of its claims to exclusive reality, is no more than the substantiation of an abstraction or of a fragment that can exist only as an element in a larger whole.'¹ With regard to Professor Alexander's polemics as elaborated in the lecture by way of controverting this thesis, well might Professor Pringle-Pattison urge (what he did in another reference), *viz.*, that 'one has the hopeless kind of feeling, which so often oppresses us in philosophical controversy—a sense of despair at seeing the one party accumulating proofs, and re-iterating assertions, of what it has never occurred to the other to deny.'² Indeed, as it would also appear to a disinterested third that much of Professor Alexander's defence arguments are gratuitous or even unnecessary; for, with a good deal of this Professor Pringle-Pattison would go with enthusiastic assent, and has, in fact, himself, emphasised, from the side of what he calls the higher naturalism, 'man's rootedness in nature' under the title of 'man as organic to the world.' This is not the place to attempt a comparative valuation of their acceptance of naturalism, but a crucial difference between the two comes into prominent relief as we compare their respective attitude towards philosophical method and explanation as well as the question of historical origin and time-sequence as brought to bear on the problem of Emergent Evolution. There is, however, a complete parting of the ways, so far as Professor Pringle-Pattison urges, with pointed emphasis, that 'all ultimate or philosophical explanation, must look to the end,'³ 'the question of historical origin'

¹ *Idea of God*, pp. 208-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 272.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

being 'strictly indifferent to philosophy' against what may be accurately described, on the authority of Professor Lloyd Morgan, as the 'retrospective outlook towards antecedent conditions.' This is exactly the point on which Professor Alexander differs markedly from Spinoza, and claims to have marked a distinct advance on him so far the hierarchical order which, according to Spinoza, is not a temporal, but a logical one,' becomes in his system, on the admission of Time as 'an attribute of the ultimate reality,' 'not merely a logical one but 'temporal'—a hierarchy produced in the order of time.' One should not wonder if this claim were contested on this ground at least that not a shred of justification had been brought forward in support of the prodigious assumption involved herein. One could, however, allow that the temporal or the historical viewpoint might have its justification in the realm of the special sciences, *e.g.*, biology, as a regulative or heuristic principle merely,—serving perhaps to lead to the discovery of new facts,—but one is surely justified in calling for the credentials when it is translated into a wider context, and accepted *eo ipso* without any regard for proportion or relevance, as a constitutive principle of the structure of entire Reality. On such vital issues, Professor Alexander leaves us with a mere *ipse dixit* which, however, does not mend matters. Further, in thus trying to square the 'logical' with the 'temporal'—and that shirking the *onus probandi* that can hardly be evaded—he may not unjustly be accused of running with the hare, and hunting with the hound.

(6) The incidental discussion by Professor Alexander of the much-debated relation between Mind and Body and the nature of Mind and its operations as conceived by Spinoza, calls for a detailed examination. Herein Professor Alexander does not seem to have departed in a very considerable degree from the original doctrine of Spinoza, and that for obvious reasons. For, it is but common knowledge that nowhere has Spinoza been so glaringly betrayed, by the misleading analogy of the mind as united to the body, into a psychical atomism, hardly

distinguishable from a crude naturalism, which, by pulverising the human mind into atomic constituents or regarding it as the sum of its constitutive ideas, destroys that very synthetic unity and centrality of reference that make up the very *differentia* of mind. Professor Alexander does well to comment, with his characteristic lucidity, on the cryptic utterances of Spinoza that 'the object of the idea constituting the human mind is the body' (Prop. 23, Part II) or that the mind has the body for its object or *ideatum*,¹ and thus helps to differentiate the psycho-physical from the strictly epistemological issues of the cognitive situation, mystified all the more by the habitually ambiguous construction of the words 'idea' and 'object' in Spinoza. For example, he clearly points out 'that when Spinoza says that a mode of thought my idea has for its *ideatum* a condition of my body, he does not say that I perceive that condition of body. The body is expressed (objectively, he says, subjectively, we should say) as the idea, but what I perceive is the 'tree,' whose existence is implied in my bodily condition, because that condition varies with the perceived object.'¹ Evidently the principle on which he proceeds thus to interpret Spinoza and to accept the rather paradoxical consequential position 'that the idea which I have of the table informs me rather of the state of my body than of the table,' is the relation of 'identity of essence' between the brain-processes and their accompanying thought-processes. As a question of exegesis, Professor Alexander's interpretation is undoubtedly the most cogent and faithful one; but in thus identifying himself with this supposedly invulnerable rendering of the problem, he has been, in his gloss on Spinoza as well as in his *magnum opus*, landed in grave difficulties. These crucial difficulties in the rendering of the cognitive situation could have been, to a great extent, alleviated, if not avoided altogether, by accepting the principle of unrestricted 'concomitance,' and not mere correlation, which has been so fruitfully applied by Professor Lloyd Morgan in a similar gloss upon,

¹ S. & T., pp. 52-3.

and advance beyond Spinoza. It is not meant, however, that the latter principle has not its own besetting dangers; but it evades some of the patent difficulties into which the other is thrown. In the first place, the inherited naturalism of this position has its indubitable influence on Mind. Professor Alexander's theory of the individual mind is presented more or less as a reacting essence, and sensory presentations as 'the result of such reaction' or as a mere registering machine or recorder of the bodily changes; or, to use his own words, 'it is as if we had a clock which not only showed the time but was the time it showed.'¹ One need not be at pains to refute a theory of Mind, so very crude and out-of-date.

(7) The next in importance is his view of knowing, of the cognitive relation, consequential upon such a view of mind. The description of the knowledge-relation as 'the mere togetherness of terms,' the mental term being only unique and not the relation itself, seems on the very face of it an undue simplification of the matter. True it is, that he has offered a well-nigh scientific and logical definition so far as he holds,² that 'the cognitive relation proper is the compresence between the physical object and another thing, when that thing has the property of consciousness.' Now, in spite of all its claims to a logical definition, an unkind critic may discern in it a covert *petitio principii*, not very much unlike the explanation of *virtus dormitiva* in the classic caricature of Moliere. Many of the so-called Neo-Vitalists of the present day derive the plausibility of their theory from this specious mode of reasoning in trying to account for the emergence of life at a certain stage of physio-chemical collocation. However, as it is, Professor Alexander is convinced that 'in so far as my mind or the stone is affected by other things, it knows them.'³ But does it tell the whole story of the cognitive relation? If it

¹ *Ibid*, p. 47.

² *Pro. of the Artist. Soc.*, 'Basis of Realism,' pp. 31-2.

³ *S. & T.*, p. 49.

does,— as it needs must of a relation which, on his own showing is ‘the *whole* situation into which its terms enter, in virtue of that relation,’—then is it not a mere travesty of the whole situation of knowing? Is it not a truism and commonplace in Psychology that our mind is ‘compresent with’ or ‘affected by’ a variety of things without being, in strictness of language, cognisant of them? Whether the dilution of the term ‘knowing’ as has been assiduously carried out here, so as to make it applicable to the case of ‘stone’ with no loss of meaning is a crucial question, and must give us pause to think. Those who find it a hard thing to swallow it have no other alternative than to part company from Prof. Alexander. But with all deference to his critical acumen, it might be pointed out that it is he who in his own noteworthy distinction between ‘enjoyment’ and ‘contemplation’ has furnished the best reputation of himself, or at least put us on the way to refuting him by showing that the so-called relation of compresence must attain to a specific character in virtue of the constituent terms which again, are *ipso facto* specified by entering into relation, before it can with any semblance of justification pass for knowing.

(8) Then, in the next place, we have to examine some interesting developments of this theory of ‘mind as merely minding’ standing over against ‘all that is minded’ or ‘the non-mental’—developments that are, as he thinks, in perfect accord with the standpoint of Realism professed by him. On closer inspection this supposedly realistic view of mind comes perilously near ‘the radical empiricism’ embedded in the challenging dictum that ‘the passing thought is the only thinker.’ No one has more effectively disposed of the claims of such a ‘minding’ to be entitled ‘mind’ than his fellow-worker in the same field, Professor Lloyd Morgan, who sums up his disapproval thus: “There is no differentiation in such minding. All the differentiation is in the non-mental colours as minded. The mind just apprehends for ’tis its nature to do so.... To regard percipient mind as blankly apprehending is—to paraphrase

Mr. Alexander's saying with regard to time—not to take *seriously* the evolution of mind as substance."¹ In so construing the nature of mind, Prof. Alexander, like many others, has been doubtless under the spell of the seductive 'eye-metaphor,' or 'the mirror' theory of the universe which has justly been criticised by Lotze under the caption of a 'barren rehearsal' of a finished reality. Professing, as he does, a kind of evolutionary naturalism, Prof. Alexander can hardly afford to forget that mind, even at the perceptual level, is a participator 'in the evolution of our richly-coloured world.'²

(9) Lastly, in working out, on strictly realistic lines, his view of the non-mental, of 'things' and 'objects' of 'appearances' and 'images,' 'sensation' and 'perception'—which he has simply suggested in this gloss on Spinoza but elaborated elsewhere—his misreading of the whole cognitive relation appears in limelight. The description of real 'appearances' as 'partial revelations' of things is one that can readily be understood and assented to; but this perfectly harmless proposition is at once turned into a dangerous epistemological heresy, as Prof. Alexander proceeds to define a 'thing' as a 'synthesis of appearances.' This mistake of regarding 'appearances' as existents—so very common, yet none the less pernicious, in modern epistemological literature—is probably in Prof. Alexander's case, the offshoot of the Proton Pseudos, the initial confusion between 'essence' and 'existence,' as observed in an earlier reference. Prof. Alexander develops the position further in his replies to Prof. Stout's criticism that from 'sensa' to 'external existents' there is, after all, no passage. But Prof. Alexander cuts the Gordian knot by saying that no 'passage' is at all needed here, for the 'sensum' itself is non-mental or the external existent. The problem, therefore, is not how we go beyond the sensum into a world of external things, but how we advance from the sensum to the fully developed notion of a

¹ *Emergent Evolution*, pp. 232-3.

² *Ibid*, p. 233.

thing. Prof. Alexander thinks that a right solution of the problem is possible only when one can grasp the truth that the *sensum* is *not* mere sense-quality, and that it presupposes intuition which is admittedly a lower grade of experience than sensation. *Sensum* 'green' for example, is, according to him, not 'greenness' but 'a patch of green,' that is, a 'bit of space-time' which has the quality 'greenness,' green being an object situate in that even-patch. Instead of following him out in his realistic procedure of denuding the mind of all its attributes, and carrying them over to the object we can summarily note that a thing becomes for him in the long run a synthesis of '*sensa*' and '*percepta*' and '*images*'—these last having, in his opinion, physical existence independent of mind. This is surely Realism with a vengeance!

(10) Now, to revert to his Space-Time. One is sure to stumble on the view of Reality as 'Space-time or Motion itself' which is the 'infinite or *a priori* stuff of the Universe' and 'the empirical things or substances which are parts of modes of it,' or as he thinks, Spinoza himself would say 'but complexes of motion and made of the stuff which the ultimate or *a priori* reality is.' Was not this very notion of 'Motion itself' disposed of by Leibnitz who in a letter to Arnauld contended that 'motion *per se* is merely relative and cannot determine its subject.' Granted his concept of 'motion,' Prof. Alexander does not, it is presumed, hold with Spinoza that the quantity of motion in the universe is constant. In this regard, however, Prof. Alexander is manifestly influenced by the Bergsonian creed that there are no things, there are only actions or that 'movement does not imply something that moves.' True it is that Prof. Alexander tries in his Gifford Lectures to improve upon the Bergsonian presentation of the case, and represent space-time as constituted of 'pure motions of which point-instants are the limiting cases.' But if, as on Prof. Alexander's own showing, philosophy is the empirical study of the non-empirical or *a priori*, how can it with any

show of consistency claim 'for philosophy' a studied 'inversion' of the *ordo naturae* or *ordo et connexio rerum* which, alone, our experience can vouch for. Space-time, as 'anterior to material things' is, for aught we know, something reconдите and trans-empirical. No greater *volte face* could hardly be conceived on the part of a philosophic thinker, who begins by swearing his allegiance to the method of the special sciences. The enormity of the parallel inversion is, however, the less striking in M. Bergson's case, because of his declared policy of antagonising the method of philosophy to that of the sciences. Nevertheless both seem to have slipped into the fallacy of explaining *obscurum per obscurius*. To the unsophisticated mind nothing is more obvious and incontestable than the patent fact that it is things that move; and no amount of hypercritical argumentation can render a flagrant Hysteron Proteron plausible. Against this specious mode of reasoning, one may in all propriety urge the polemic preferred by Diogenes of Sinope against Plato. "When Plato spoke of 'tableness' and 'cupness', Diogenes the cynic said: 'O Plato, I see a 'table' and a 'cup', to be sure, but not 'tableness' and 'cupness.''" Going the whole hog, our author may, of course, retort with a Platonic emphasis: "You do not, because you lack the eye for it." But this, he evidently cannot in strict fidelity to his own persuasion in philosophy. Truly speaking, Prof. Alexander has not been able to substantiate the pledge he had initially held forth. He does not, indeed, as a professed realist begin from "the One above," "the Absolute in idealistic systems" but as we might say from One below, from 'Space-Time,' which, as he tells us, is 'the experiential Absolute' taking the place of the orthodox Absolute. But in thus trying to get behind the standpoint of thorough-bred Realism which makes it a point to start from where we are, he has exposed his own modified monistic realism—which is but an inverted or masked absolutism—to the same

methodological difficulty as has been the very crux of idealistic Absolutism.

(11) While thus criticising Prof. Alexander's view of Space-Time or Motion, we are not, however, unmindful of the significant contribution he has made in the much-needed introduction of time into the Spinozistic rendering of Motion. There is hardly any student of Spinoza who has not stumbled upon the somewhat easy deduction of motion from extension. Motion and rest, as infinite modes of Extension, may conceivably depend upon 'Extension,' but motion and rest can by no stretch of imagination, be conceived as *following from* Extension. Truly, as Prof. Alexander comments here, 'Spinoza could pass so easily from extension to motion because motion was conceived as it were statically ;' and no one else has demonstrated more convincingly that 'nothing seems so obvious to us as the proposition that motion takes time and is unintelligible without it.'¹

(12) Then, again, despite his formal protestation as to the perfect mutuality of Space and Time—and herein Prof. Alexander claims to have scored an advance on M. Bergson—there can be left no room for doubt as to his studied partiality for Time. This is clearly in evidence not only in his Gifford Lectures but in the abstract itself which starts with the initial contention 'that Space and Time imply each other mutually,'² that 'Time makes Space a continuum by securing its divisibility, and Space makes Time a continuum by securing the connection of its parts,'³ and that 'Time is thus intrinsically spatial and Space temporal,'⁴ but proceeds later to develop, without the slightest suspicion of inconsistency with his thesis of mutuality, the doctrine thus: "Space must be regarded as generated in Time, or if the expression be preferred, *by* Time since Time is the source of movement. It may be

¹ S. & T., p. 34.

² Pro. Artist. Soc., 1917-18, p. 411.

³ *Ibid*, p. 411.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 411-2.

imaged as the trail of Time, so long as it is remembered that there could be no Time without a Space in which its trail is left. We cannot, without ineptitude, say that Time is the trail of Space, but only that Time, as it moves from past through present to future, is the occupation of a stretch of Space.¹ There could be no more revealing confession as to the real state of things. Time is no longer a sleeping partner of the joint partnership, but appears in its proper rôle as the efficient 'Agent.' Thus the breach in the *entente cordiale* that is already in sight, becomes much more pronounced in "Spinoza and Time.'

SAROJ KUMAR DAS

IN NUBIBUS

Come Love,
Let us once, riding on fancy's wings
Soar into ether blue.
And there hear God's whispers from above,
See star-maids playing hide and seek
In the hollows of floating clouds.
Then in that blissful moment
Dear Love,
Let us from that Pisgah-height
Look below on life and love.

"DEW DROP:

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

SOME MORE EARLY INDIAN VISITORS TO ENGLAND

Since the publication of two articles in the October issue of 1924 and the January issue of 1925 in this magazine by the present writer on the "Early Indian Visitors to England," new facts have been discovered about more visitors who came to England and visited other European countries during the days of the East India Company. There may be still others whose travels have not yet been recorded.

Sir Evan Cotton, in his article on *The Journals of Archibald Swinton*,¹ refers to a Munshy who accompanied Swinton to England in 1766, at the request of Vizier Monyr al Dowlah, who "insisted on paying Rs. 2,000 towards his charges." The Munshy later on visited Oxford with Swinton and assisted Sir William Jones "with his Indian and Persian manuscripts." He afterwards went to Edinburgh and stayed at the house of Captain Swinton's father.

One of the most interesting accounts of these visitors to England was that of a Muhammadan adventurer named Mirza Abu Taleb Khan. He travelled extensively in Asia, Africa, and Europe during the years 1799 to 1803. While in England he created quite a sensation in high circles, and left his mark as a man of great personality.²

In the *Calcutta Christian Observer* for August, 1834, we find an account of an Indian just returned from England which runs as follows :

"By the Triumph which arrived on the 28th of June, Samuldass Dessabhæe, a Dessæe of Neriad, in Guzerat, who proceeded to England *viâ* Bourdeaux, has returned to this country. He is still in Bombay, and has been visited by

¹ See Vol. VIII, pp. 28-29, Report of *Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1925.

² The Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan....., translated by Charles Stewart, London, 1810.

several of our countrymen, who were anxious to see a Hindoo who had braved the prejudices of caste, and the perils of the sea, and to hear from his own lips, in what manner he lived in England, how he liked the country and its people.... ..”

There is a reference to a Young Rajaram, who visited England with Rajah Rammohan Roy in the *London Record* for October 3, 1836. It states :

“The Rajah Ram Roy, son of the celebrated Rajah Rammohan Roy, Ambassador from the King of Delhi, who died in this country in 1833, arrived on Sunday last from Lord Lynedoch’s on a visit to the Rev. A. R. Kenney, of Lichfield, and has been introduced to some of the leading families in that city. The Rajah professes the Church of England religion, and speaks the English language remarkably well.”

The Rev. Lal Behari Dey mentioned in his book, “Recollections of Alexander Duff” (*see* p. 160), that Ananda Chandra Majumdar and Dwarka Nath Bose, two converts of Dr. Duff, visited England between 1835 and 1840.

In 1869 the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad went to England, where he was well received by Queen Victoria and afterwards during a visit to France by Napoleon III. He stayed for some years in Europe.¹

HARIHAR DAS •

¹ See pp. 176-7, of Sanyal’s *Reminiscences and Anecdotes*; also p. 243 of *Twelve Men of Bengal* by F. B. Bradley-Birt.

JUVENILE CRIME

The Young Criminal.

I have heard it said that criminals, like poets, "are born not made." Such a statement is true only in as much as it refers to a distinct type, but for the average juvenile delinquent, crime is an adventure, an uncommon and unpleasant experience and one, in most instances, to which he is driven through ignorance, force of circumstances or economic stress.

Juvenile criminals may be roughly divided into three classes or sections. The accidental or first offender, the recivist or potential criminal and the confirmed or habitual type.

Of these three sections, the accidental or first offender is the most important from a reformatory standpoint. This is the boy or girl, who, if taken in hand early, is most successfully weaned from a career of crime and brought up to an honourable, decent livelihood. In most instances it is the economic factor that is the principal cause of the first offence. I take a typical instance. A young Anglo-Indian lad was recently convicted for cheating. An enquiry into his antecedents revealed the following facts. The boy, who had been liberally educated, came from a poor but respectable family. The father had recently died and, as is usual in such cases where the struggle for respectability means a hand-to-mouth existence, a living up to and beyond their slender resources, he left his family practically destitute. The mother, totally unfit for such a task, struggled on for a time. Friends and relations assisted with that wonderful whole-hearted generosity, so typical of the poor, till broken in body and spirit, she collapsed and had to be removed to hospital. Then, on the eldest boy, a lad of 15, fell the onerous task of supporting his dying mother and seven little brothers and sisters. Before his fall, let us consider for a while the game struggle put up by this manly little

fellow. From early morning till late at night, with a few hard biscuits in his pocket, he tramped the streets in search of employment. His youth and inexperience were dead against him, but still he struggled on. Odd jobs came his way, kind-hearted employers, unable to help him in any other manner offered monetary assistance, but "there were seven mouths to feed and mother was dying" and all he got was hopelessly inadequate. And so the days slipped into weeks and the weeks into months, and gradually, imperceptibly at first, that fine spirit began to waver; hope died and slowly came that black despair, the awfulness of which only those who have struggled and struggled in vain, realise.

Degradation came slowly. It is doubtful if the boy realised himself that he was sinking. As his hopes of finding employment faded, the ease with which he secured assistance from kind-hearted people struck him, and soon he learnt that it was easier to beg his bread than earn it. Thereafter we find him, no longer seeking employment, but hanging round street corners, before large restaurants and shops, cringing and whining for a few coppers. No man can beg and keep his self-respect and this boy sank lower and lower till came the final act that closed the drama.

Instances of this type could be multiplied, *ad nauseum*, but such a typical instance is all that is needed to show the absolute, imperative necessity there is of providing, in every large city in India, those up-to-date methods of dealing with juvenile crime which at present exists in every civilised country in the world. But we will consider reformative methods later—to return to the lad in question—as a type.

Let us suppose the Judge, taking a humane view of the matter, warns and releases the culprit.

What happens. The shock of arrest and probable imprisonment steadies him for a time, but in what way does it improve existing conditions? The lad returns to his old life, his old associates and the same economic conditions. His clash with

the " powers that be " has not improved his condition in any way, it has alas ! only added an additional obstacle in the way of employment.

But what is its effect on the lad himself. The first is, I am inclined to believe, a salutary one. He is probably thankful at having got off so lightly and makes a pious resolution to amend his ways. But can he ?

Considering that his position is the same this pious resolution after a time takes a more sinister form. From an honest desire to amend his ways the boy makes an equally firm resolution to be *more careful* in future.

There now starts between him and the police a game of hide and seek. Every artifice, every device to hoodwink and deceive the authorities, is brought into play. For a time he is successful and encouraged by this success he extends his activities to petty thefts, pick-pocketing and the like, till once again he makes his appearance in a Police Court.

There now follows a short or deterrent sentence of from 3 to 6 months and the boy goes to jail. Thus is the first stage left behind. The boy has now entered the second grade ; he has become a potential criminal.

The short or deterrent sentence is a farce. It is impossible for the jail authorities, with the present inadequate means at hand, to bring any reformatory influence to bear on the boy during this short period, while it serves as an introductory period for the lad, during which he makes the acquaintance of elder boys, more advanced in crime than himself and from them receives his first lessons in a criminal career.

It is the short sentence that is the making of the recidivist, and the recidivist is the first stage of the habitual criminal or confirmed old offender.

Before dealing with the question of reformatory methods employed in Borstal Institutions and Reformatory Schools, let us consider the wider field of juvenile crime in its initial stage. This will bring us to the subject of Probation Officers.

Probation Officers.

“Many years ago, a Boston shoemaker, named John Augustus, interested in the welfare of the fallen, and impressed with the belief that many whose feet had slipped could be reclaimed better outside than inside the prison walls, arranged with the courts to have certain persons, who were arrested for crimes, put upon probation under his care. He became bound for their appearance at court, should they be so ordered, and, as a surety, had the right to surrender the principal when he chose. There was no authority for this, except the discretion always vested in the courts ; but its operation and results were such that the judges of the Boston Courts continued to exercise it for several years, during which time hundreds of persons were taken upon probation by him, and generally with good results.

Later on, his labours having ceased, they were taken up by Mr. Rufus W. Cook (familiarily known in Boston as “Uncle Cook”), for many recent years the chaplain of Boston Jail. Many hundreds of persons were taken on probation in the same way by him : a large proportion of them returning to good lives. A similar method of dealing with children convicted of crimes has long been in practice in Massachusetts. In 1878, a law was passed authorizing the appointment of a “probation-officer” by the Mayor of Boston, subject to the approval of the Board of Alderman. So valuable was the work deemed to be, that the Legislature of 1880, with hardly a dissenting vote in either branch, extended the provisions of the statute so that a probation officer could be appointed in each city and town.”

The above extract is taken from the Reports on the Seventh Annual Conference of Charities and Corrections (Clueland, 1830) and serves to illustrate the humble source from which this splendid system originated.

Let us now return to the typical case I have dealt with previously, and see how this system would have influenced the career of the youth in question. The duties of a probation officer are as follows :

The Clerk of the Court notifies the proper probation officer of each case of a first offender; he then has to make every possible investigation into the circumstances of the culprit, and the causes of motives of his offence. He is present at the trial, and reports the results of his inquiries, and the Court, if it find the accused guilty, thereupon considers whether he is a fit subject for probation, and, if he is, determines the period during which it shall be enforced, the probation officer becoming "his bondsman to save him from prison." If he think it desirable, the probation officer may, before the expiration of the time appointed by the Court, apply for an extension; wives have been known to show their appreciation of this restraining influence by begging probation officers to do so on their husbands' behalf. The probationer must write once a month to the officer, visit him or receive visits, notify him immediately of any change of address, and "diligently pursue some lawful employment." If he fail to fulfil his engagements, and prove unfit for freedom, the probation officer surrenders him to the Court, which then condemns him on surer grounds than if probation had not been tried. This is the American method, and its application and probable success in the case in point is obvious.

Germany, always ahead in matters of penal reform, differs considerably in her methods of supervision and the care of juvenile offenders. The German system is this:—A Court of Guardianship (*Vormundschaftsgericht*) formed of local officials hears the case as stated by the parents, legal representative of the child, parish council, clergyman, and schoolmaster. The governors of gaols in which juveniles are serving terms of imprisonment must consult with the other officials, including the chaplain, doctor, and schoolmaster, as to whether their cases should go before this Court; and if they do, it must be arranged that committal to an institution or to the supervision of a probation officer should be simultaneous with release. If the Court of Guardianship decides that a boy or girl is to come under the operation of the law, another local official has to report on the

personal history and circumstances, and express an opinion as to whether the child should be committed to the care of a family or of an institution. When he is committed to his own or another family, a Fursorger, or guardian, must be appointed, whose duties practically correspond with those of the American probation officer, but who differs from him in having a quite informal and unofficial, though not less esteemed, position. A clergyman, schoolmaster, member of a philanthropic society, or any suitable person residing conveniently near, is simply asked to look after a boy who requires supervision, and, either directly or after a period in an institution or prison, has been placed in a family, apprenticed, or provided with work. Such lads are always, if possible, sent to the country. The Fursorger's appointment is a post of honour, necessary expenses being refunded by the authorities. He must watch over the conduct, upbringing, and treatment of his ward, must visit him and assure himself that all is in order, that church and, if he be a child, school are regularly attended, and the terms of the contract conscientiously fulfilled by the head of the family with which he lives. If the lad is apprenticed or at work he must see that his services are suitably rewarded, and that a portion of his earnings is placed in a savings bank. Twice a year he must make a report to the officials. His responsibility continues until his ward attains his majority; but when the possibility of renewed trouble seems excluded, the child may be released from guardianship at an earlier date. If his release is conditional the Fursorger must however, if practicable, continue to exercise surveillance. The system, as compared with that usual in America, seems to possess the advantage of establishing a closer relationship between the probation officer and his protege, as a Fursorger has, as a rule, only one ward to whom to devote his attention, and the connection may continue for several years, three being the normal minimum, *i.e.*, from eighteen to twenty-one. In practice, however, it is probable that the expert probation officer, who traces the case from the beginning and is

thoroughly experienced in the work, giving his whole energies to it, has more insight, sympathy and understanding for the lads with whom he deals than a man whose main interests may lie in quite other directions.

In Holland, Belgium, France and Switzerland we find Societies de Patronage, *i.e.*, authorised private bodies who assume the functions of probation officers on behalf of youths who are brought before the Courts or discharged from Reformatories. The surveillance exercised by members of these societies sometimes continues for several years. We have no such institutions in India at present, but as I write, I am conscious of the fact that such excellent philanthropic societies, that at present exist in Calcutta, such as the Rotary Club, Toc H, and The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, could do excellent work in this connection.

This leads naturally to the question of the appointment of probation officers.

Every man and woman who has the welfare of India at heart, who is sincerely and genuinely anxious to help those whose feet have strayed from the path of rectitude, is eligible to become a probation officer. The position is an onerous one, the duties entail many hours of self-sacrifice and of unprofitable labour, but the ideal is always there, to serve and serve disinterestedly for the uplift of humanity,—“greater love hath no man than this.”

AUGUSTUS SOMERVILLE

W. B. YEATS

II

SECOND STAGE OR SECOND PERIOD.

It is to be noted that from 1887 to 1890 the Yeats family lived in London¹ and the poet enjoyed the fellowship of men like Ernest Dowson,² Lionel Johnson,³ Arthur Symonds and others, association with whom, to a great extent, modified his art. He refers to some of his lost friends in the poem written "In Memory of Major Robert Gregory" published in 1919. His intense homesickness while he was an exile in London is expressed in his letters of the time in which he speaks of "this hateful London" and yearns for "any breath of Ireland." Once he writes, "It is pleasant to think this letter will go out of this horrid London and get to the fields. I wish I could fold myself up and go in it. My life is altogether ink and paper. I have woven about me a web of thoughts. I wish to break through it and see the world again." And so on.

By 1892, when the lyrics in the "Countess Cathleen" volume appeared before the public, Yeats was marked out at once as a great poet above the controversies of coteries. The now famous representative piece "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" was there, though included later on in "The Rose" volume of 1893, dedicated to Lionel Johnson. Two stanzas of this poem were sent along with one of the letters from London referred to above showing how intensely he was feeling the oppressiveness of city-life. No apology is necessary for quoting the piece in full—

"I will arise and go now, and go to Innisfree,
And a small cabin build there, of clay and wattles made;
Nine beanrows will I have there, a hive for the honey bee,
And live alone in the bee-loud glade.

Vide "Plays": Notes, p. 418.

² Cf. "The Grey Rock."

³ Cf. "In Memory of Major Robert Gregory," stanza 3.

And I shall have some peace there, for peace comes dropping slow,
 Dropping from the veils of the morning to where the cricket sings;
 There midnight's all a glimmer, and noon a purple glow,
 And evening full of the linnet's wings.

I will arise and go now, for always night and day
 I hear lake water lapping with low sounds by the shore;
 While I stand on the road-way, or on the pavements grey,
 I hear it in the deep heart's core."

This island is less poetically called the Rat Island and it is in Lough Gill Lake in the Sligo country with the Rosses to the N. W. for which Yeats has exactly done what Wordsworth has done for Somersetshire, Cumberland and Westmoreland, Tennyson for Lincolnshire and the Isle of Wight, Cowper for Olney or Thomas Hardy for Wessex.

The reposeful dreamy atmosphere of the whole enchanting
 Nature Poetry. woodland scenery with its pastoral charm,

deep quiet, green vegetation, rocks, sand, the distant sea, the bee-loud glade is here reproduced with the unerring instinct of a true poet-artist who knows how to capture in simple delineation scrupulously free from all embellishment the very soul of Nature's secluded and silent places. It is something more than a picture of external scenery interpenetrated as it is with an entrancing subdued emotional rapture which vitalizes all ecstatic lyrics. We shall have more of such exquisitely beautiful emotion-haunted artistic pieces in "The Wind¹ among the Reeds" in which the highest art of Yeats culminates in this second period of his life by 1899. But I must first dwell for a moment on the extraordinary advance in *poetic art* indicated by Yeats's poetry of love which forms the central theme of his lyrics of this phase of his life. Love is to all true poets the very fountain-head of inspiration and the highest of all emotions. One is tempted to make a comparative survey of the conception and treatment of love by poets of different ages and

¹ Cf. "The Song of Wandering Aengus," "He bids his Beloved be at Peace," "He gives his Beloved certain Rhymes," "To his heart, Bidding it have no fear," "He wishes his Beloved were dead."

countries but my limits of space and time are inexorable and I must therefore confine myself to a very rapid survey of Yeats's work alone.

In his love poetry Yeats reveals all the qualities of a truly great art—tenderness, nobility, dignity, simplicity, chasteness, ardour, sincerity all are there. What is more, a flame of spiritual rapture burns intensely through his greater and maturer lyrics of love comparable to some extent with Shelley's or Patmore's love poetry yet different by reason of their distinctly individual note. Rossetti's is a feverish erotic passion by the side of love in Yeats. In Yeats's love poetry all earthly element is consumed in the pure flame of sacred rapture without being etherealised into an impassioned yet abstract idealism so characteristic of Shelley's divine ardour—the desire of the moth for the star, the devotion to something afar. Leonardo da Vinci says, “the hope and desire of returning home to one's former state, is like the moth's desire for the light ; and the man, who with constant longing awaits each new month and year, deeming that the things he longs for are ever too late in coming, does not perceive that he is longing for his own destruction.” This may partially apply to Shelley but not to Yeats. The desire is there in his poetry but it is chastened and he fully recognises that peace is the culmination of our development, for, says he (in “The Phases of the Moon”)—

“ Under the phrenzy of the fourteenth moon
The soul begins to tremble into stillness.”

“Rosa Alchemica,” Part IV, contains a remarkable passage on love represented by the figure of Eros with a veiled face flitting among dancers “like a dream within a dream, like a shadow of shadow” and Yeats knows him *by an understanding born from a deeper fountain than thought*, as also that “the face was veiled because no man or woman from the beginning of the world has ever known what love is, or looked into his eyes, for

Eros alone of divinities is altogether a spirit, and hides in passions not of his essence if he would commune with a mortal heart. So that if a man love nobly he knows love through infinite¹ pity, unspeakable trust, unending sympathy; and if ignobly through vehement jealousy, sudden hatred, and unappeasable desire; but unveiled love he never knows."

This surely is something more than the Platonic idealism that etherealises the Shelleyan Ideal of Love, or, at any rate something different, though both the poets are decidedly mystic. The Shelleyan conception is more abstract; Yeats is true to the kindred points of heaven and home but he is so in his own individual way—a way easily distinguishable from that of contemporary realists in poetry as much as that of poets of the Romantic Revival like Wordsworth (not to speak of later Wordsworthians).

It may be noted by the way that Yeats himself explains how his Ideal of Beauty differs from that of Shelley and Spenser and we also see how he differs from these English Platonist poets in respect of his Ideal of Love, bearing in mind at the same time that these two ideals form eventually *a single Idea* of which Truth, Beauty, Love (and Goodness to which Plato gives the highest place as manifestation of the Absolute) are mere facets. Yeats is more mystic than idealistic and though it be indeed difficult, if not impossible (as Emerson thinks), to be original *in spite of Plato*, it may, perhaps, be conceded that the Celts in very remote ages had visions of their own (having little to do with the Greek philosopher) suggesting an affinity with Oriental mysticism of which the influence is distinctly visible in this most poetic spokesman of the modern Celtic movement in Ireland. Oriental mysticism, we know, had its share in influencing the poetry of the Provençal Troubadours and their followers in Britain. One is tempted to connect Yeats with Hindu India through the intermediate and very

¹ Cf. "Proud Costello's love for Una, MacDermot's daughter" (page 383 of *Early Poems and Stories*); "The Twisting of the Rope" (*ibid*, pp. 413-423).

valuable agency of Troubadour poetry. But a discussion of that will take me far afield into a debatable land of controversial criticism which I must resolutely eschew on this occasion.

It will be convenient, I suppose, to consider, in connection with Yeats's conception of love, the important question of the conflict between realism and idealism in art and the resulting *art principle* of a symbolist so far as this question is treated of in his poetry. I have here to refer in particular to the poem "Ego Dominus Tuus" and may note also that this piece bears witness to his attempt to write a poetical dialogue in which we find an example "of the finding or not finding of (what he has called) the Antithetical Self." Now, this poem is in the form of a dialogue between a man who represents realism and a woman who is a symbolist to whom art is but a *vision* of reality. Dante and Keats are interpreted by the symbolist in this light and we are told that it is *heart* unsatisfied that makes luxuriant song and not lovers of life (*i.e.*, of *action*) nor men who find on earth easy happiness—

"Those men that in their writings are most wise owe nothing but their blind, stupefied hearts."

To the realist's contention that Dante, the chief imagination of Christendom, *found himself* to such an extent that he has made his hollow face perfectly *plain* to the mind's eye, the symbolist replies by asking

"And did he find himself
Or was the hunger that had made it hollow
A hunger for the apple on the bough
Most out of reach?"

We may compare Forgael's words in "The Shadowy Waters":—"For it is love that I am seeking for, but of a beautiful unheard of kind that is not in the world."

This principle has its important bearing on Yeats's conception of love too. I shall make it clear from the poem "Solomon and the Witch." Here we have the idea of the world coming

to an end the moment the gap that divides the ideal from the real disappears thus destroying the despair resulting from the difference between the *lover's* imagined image of his beloved and the real image he actually finds, when all uncertainties and cruelties by which during the period of love-making a lover becomes tested, cease at the bride-bed (which, however, brings despair through the gulf separating the ideal and the real). I may refer also to the highly mystic poem "An Image from a Past Life" which is an image of the woman's heart smitten through beyond all likelihood or reason;—she says to her beloved

"A sweetheart from another life floats there
As though she had been forcèd to linger
From vague distress
Or arrogant loveliness,
Merely to loosen out a tress
Among the starry oddies of her hair
Upon the paleness of a finger."

In "The Double Vision of Michael Robartes" we have—

"Although I saw it all in the mind's eye
There can be nothing solider till I die,"

and in "Towards Break of Day" we learn that it is a heavenly law that

"Nothing that we love over-much
Is ponderable to our touch."

Occasionally he sounds a passing note which apparently runs counter to his settled conviction regarding love and makes, for instance, "all those that love sad" or sings "of that monstrous thing, returned and yet unrequited love" (*cf* "Presences"). We may refer in this connection to the short piece "To a Young Girl" and also, perhaps, to "Solomon to Sheba" in the latter of which we read—

"There's not a thing but love can make
The world a narrow pound."

But the essence of his love poetry is to be sought for elsewhere, as for instance, in Hanrahan's Song meant to hearten Oona (page 418 of *Early Poems and Stories*)—

“O Death's old bony finger
Will never find us there
In the high hollow townland
Where love's to give and spare.”

And when the injured young man whose hand Oona had refused in the evening's dance, preferring that of the bard Hanrahan, cried out in his spleen and unbelief: “Where is that country he is singing about? Mind yourself, Oona, it is a long way off” and another added “It is not to the country of the Young you will be going,” Hanrahan satisfied her questioning looks by singing more loudly: “It is very near us that country is, it is on every side.” The ideal, if it is not merely a misleading dream, is indeed always close to us because at every moment it is in the process of being realized.

Closely connected with his poetry of love and his ideal of Beauty is the kindred theme of ideal womanhood. All romantic poets, more or less, reproduce something of the respect for womanhood so characteristic of the age of chivalry, in spite of what Tennyson has to say in his *Princess* against the false note of that type of woman-worship (*cf.* the romantic story of Amadis, son of Perion, King of Gaul, and Oriana, daughter of Lisuarte, King of Great Britain). There are several poems on this theme, such as, “On Woman,” “Her Praise,” “His Phoenix,” “A Thought from Propertius” and finally “Broken Dreams.” His ideal of womanhood, so far as self-effacing fidelity under the most trying ordeal for a woman goes, is represented by Dectora (in “the Shadowy Waters”) who with womanly instinct surmises, when Forgael accuses himself of having deceived her, that “some other woman has a claim on him” but being told “Oh, no!” very firmly asserts—

“And if there is,
If there be half a hundred more, what matter?
I'll never give another thought to it,”

Later on she observes

“ Do you not know
How great a wrong it is to let one's thought
Wander a moment when one is in love? ”

Similarly in the poem “ The Two Kings ” we have the figure of an ideally faithful woman in Edain (once in a previous existence the wife of the Gaelic Pluto, Mider) who when the god argues with her about the transitoriness of her earthly happiness as the wife (now) of Eochaid, King of Tara in Ireland, stoutly refuses to leave Eochaid and go back to Mider, saying

“ What can they know of love that do not know
She builds her nest upon a narrow ledge
Above a windy precipice.”

Even then the passionate god making another appeal to her in vain seized her in his arms but was instantly thrust away by the noble woman who finally said to the defeated deity—

“ Never will I believe there is any change
Can blot out of my memory this life
Sweetened by death, but if I could believe
That were a double hunger in my lips
For what is doubly brief.”

The experiences of love—ranging from the highest to the most carnal—have served for the foundation of a philosophy of life from the days of Plato down to our own. There is a good deal to be said on the *Symposium* or the *Vita Nuova* regarding the theory of love of two outstanding figures of Hellenic and Mediæval culture respectively, but I must strictly restrain myself on the present occasion out of regard for my limits.

I may be permitted, I trust, to connect with the important idea of love's limitlessness, what amounts to Infinity of desires :—the laying down by Yeats of another art-principle (in “ The Tables of the Law ”) that “ the beautiful arts were sent into the world to overthrow nations, and finally life herself, by sowing everywhere unlimited desires, like

torches thrown into a burning city." This somewhat paradoxical idea, we are told, acquired the force of almost a belief with the reawakening¹ of imaginative life in Ireland. It is dramatically ascribed to Aherne (about whom and Michael Robartes *vide* Notes, pages 362, 363 of "Later Poems," 1924 edn.) who is described very suggestively as "the supreme type of our race, which, when it has risen above, or is sunken below, the formalisms of half-education and the rationalisms of conventional affirmation and denial, turns away from practicable desires and intuitions towards desires so unbounded that no human vessel can contain them * *."

In "Rosa Alchemica," Part IV, we read of the petals of the great rose in mosaic falling through the air and shaping themselves into living beings of extraordinary beauty and then beginning to dance—every mortal foot dancing by the white foot of an immortal—"and in the troubled eyes that looked into untroubled shadowy eyes, I saw the brightness of *uttermost desire* * *." (Italics are mine.)

There is a mystic touch in these passages, no doubt, but we have to remember what is so nicely urged in the Introduction to "The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse"—"And now it appears that the fortunes of mysticism are mending. It has emerged from the morass of apathy which characterized the 18th and the greater part of the 19th century; it is reawakening to the value of its own peculiar treasure of thought and word: on all sides there are signs that it is on the verge of entering into a kingdom of such breadth and fertility as it has perhaps never known. It is as though the world were undergoing a spiritual revitalization, spurring it on to experience—even through destruction and death—a further measure of Reality and Truth."

In the "Shadowy Waters" Aibric argues with Forgael against his dream of an "unheard-of passion"—"some strange

¹ *Vide* page 278 of *Calcutta Review* for February (1st instalment) for this groping for new light.

love the world knows nothing of"—which to the former's practical mind is "all folly." Forgael's reply is worth quoting in full. Says he:—

"But he that gets their" (i.e., of the beautiful women of the world whom other men generally love)

"love after the fashion
Loves in brief longing and deceiving hope
And bodily tenderness, and finds that even
The bed of love, that in the imagination
Had seemed to be the giver of all peace,
Is no more than a wine-cup in the tasting,
And as soon finished.

* * *

It's not a dream,
But the reality that makes our passion
As a lamp shadow—no,—no lamp, the sun.
What the world's million lips are thirsting for,
Must be substantial somewhere."

The other side of the case is, however, presented even in this mystic drama of love in two passages—viz.,

(1) *Forgael to Dectora*—

"There is not one among you that made love
By any other means, you call it passion,
Consideration, generosity;
But it was all deceit, and flattery
To win a woman in her own despite,
For love is war, and there is hatred in it" etc.

(2) *Dectora to Forgael*—

"I would that there was nothing in the world
But my beloved—that night and day had perish'd,
And all that is and all that is to be,
And all that is not the meeting of our lips."

Dectora under the influence of Aibric who proposes to safely take her back to her home leaving the crazy Forgael to

his fate for one moment wavers and with a woman's instinct requests Forgael to carry her to some familiar place now that in having one another, she thinks, they have everything that life can give. But her final decision is to go on for ever with Forgael after having cut asunder the rope that held her to the world. Love's fruition, as here conceived, is thus represented—

“The world drifts away,
And I am left alone with my beloved
Who cannot put me from his sight for ever,
We are alone for ever, and I laugh—

* * *

Bend lower, that I may cover you with my hair,
For we will gaze upon this world no longer.”

To this Forgael's response is—

“Beloved, having dragged the net (*i.e.* of this Fate)
about us,
And knitted mesh to mesh, we grow immortal.”

In “Deirdre,” the heroine addressing the strange musicians says, when she and her lover Naisi are betrayed into the hands of King Conchubar,

“Oh, singing women, set it down in a book,
That love is all we need, even though it is
But the last drops we gather up like this.”

•And the musicians then sing the following beautiful love-lyric—

“Love is an immoderate thing
And can never be content,
Till it dip an ageing wing,
Where some laughing element
Leaps and Time's old lanthorn dims.
What's the merit in love-play,
In the tumult of the limbs
That dies out before 'tis day,

Heart on heart, or mouth on mouth
 All that mingling of our breath
 When love longing is but drouth—
 For the things come after death?"

Let us go into some further details to show the development of love in his poetry.

In the "Usheen" poem of 1888 love is an alluring snare. The high-born lady who is to the hero a veritable Circe is a pleasant woman

"But like a sunset were her lips
 A stormy sunset on doomed ships,"

And Usheen confesses to St. Patrick—

"O Patrick, by your brazen bell.
 There is no limb of mine but fell
 Into a desperate gulf of love."

In the early lyrics lovers are described as "Wandering ever with woven hands, murmuring softly lip to lip" and love "grows like a meteor of the burning heart." The poet sings in these of the pity of love with tenderness, of the sorrow of love without bitterness, though mortal love is shown as incapable of appeasing the heart's ecstatic longing. The sense of love's transitoriness is embodied in "A Memory of Youth" and there is the resulting discontent or despondency. "The Rose of the World" speaks of beauty passing like a dream and of how Troy passed away in one funeral gleam "for red lips with all their mournful pride." "Beauty grown sad with eternity" and how

"Danger no refuge holds, and war no peace,
 For him who hears love sing and never cease"

are both referred to in the "Rose of Battle" (a highly mystical poem).

"Ephemera" occurring in the 1889 volume of lyrics called "Crossways" is remarkable for its brooding tenderness and a subdued autumnal sadness born of old memories ending in a heartening note of solace. The poem must be quoted in full specially for its high suggestiveness of Nature as an enveloping medium of human emotion and as a sensuo-sympathetic symbol.

"Your eyes that once were never weary of mine
Are bowed in sorrow under pendulous lids.
Because our love is waning."

And then she :—

"Although our love is waning, let us stand
By the lone border of the lake once more,
Together in that hour of gentleness
When the poor tired child, passion, falls asleep.
How far away the stars seen, and how far
Is our first kiss, and ah, how old my heart! "

"Pensive they paced along the faded leaves,
While slowly he whose hand held hers replied :
' Passion has often worn our wandering hearts.'
The woods were round them, and the yellow leaves
Fell like faint meteors in the gloom, and once
A rabbit old and lame limped down the path ;
Autumn was over him : and now they stood
On the lone border of the lake once more :
Turning, he saw that she had thrust dead leaves
Gathered in silence, dewy as her eyes,
In bosom and hair."

" Ah, do not mourn" he said

' That we are tired, for other loves await us ;
Hate on and love thro' unrepining hours,
Before us lies eternity ; our souls
Are love, and a continual farewell."

" A cradle song" keeps eternally embalmed in its perfect simplicity and absolute sincerity the tenderness¹ of a mother's

¹ Cf. stanza 12 of " Moll Magee."

love for her child while she is affectionately crooning a lullaby over her sleeping child snugly nestled in the cradle.

“ The angels are stooping
Above your bed ;
They weary of trooping
With the whimpering dead
* * *

I sigh that kiss you
For I must own
That I shall miss you
When you have grown.”

The last two lines are unsurpassable in their suggestiveness as an echo of all the world's maternal hearts trembling with a queer feeling of which the validity comes straight from the stronger logic of passion than that of the intellect.

“ We have given the world our passion,
“ We have naught for death but toys”

in “ Upon a Dying Lady ” makes passion all in all,¹ yet the raw passion of mere sensuous love has little appeal for Yeats who playfully condemns it in a poem “ Never² give all the Heart,” which very skilfully recaptures the humorous abandon of the 17th century writers of Cavalier love lyrics. There is another such *light* lyric “ O do not love too long ” in the same volume entitled “ The Seven Woods ” (published in 1903).

I quote only one stanza—

“ Sweet heart, do not love too long :
I loved long and long
And grew to be out of fashion
Like an old song.”

“ The Young Man's Song ” (in the Green Helmet etc. series, 1912) on the mystery and eternity of love, is, after all,

¹ Cf. “ He wishes his beloved were dead ”

² Cf. “ Down by the Saltee Gardens.”

suggestive of a half-humorous treatment of the theme, the transition to which mood from that represented by the two lighter pieces just noticed is marked by "To a Young Girl" (vide "Wild Swans at Coole"). These are moments of emotional relaxation from love's intensity and the poet's tancy is then out for holiday-making. It is refreshing, however, to note that while employing this lighter vein in his love-poetry, Yeats is singularly free from the disgusting habit of indulging in elaborate conceits—there is no such thing in Yeats, even though in one poem there is mention of Donne with a qualified appreciation, as a *carte du pays de Tendre*, though his travels are rather extensive in the realm of Aphrodite. His passionate sincerity and simplicity saves him equally from sentimentalism and what is sensual. Though resembling Shelley much, Yeats does not idealize what others will call a guilty passion and there is no poem on love pre-nuptial however romantic his treatment of this all important poetic theme may be. In "The Two Kings" we have, no doubt, Ardan's passion for his brother King Eochaid's wife, Edain, but that, we must remember, is due to the craft of Mider who put that passion in Ardan. In "Hanrahan's Vision" various types and classes of lovers are seen to pass by before that bard's eye, viz., first, those that had the greatest name and fame such as Deirdre and Grania who cared not for physical charm—"The blossom of the man or woman that brings grief and not peace"—but for "the beauty that is as lasting as the night and the stars; then, those not put in songs by the poets "because they sought only to triumph one over the other to prove their strength and beauty"; next, "the women with shadow-bodies who desired neither to triumph nor to love but only to be loved, and there is no blood in their hearts or in their bodies until it flows through them from a kiss, and their life is but for a moment. All these are unhappy." "The Seven Woods" volume, I should remind you, marks an important transition stage in Yeats which we may assign to the year 1903 when this second period

of his poetic development had come to a close. I must turn back, therefore, to the richest wealth of poetic beauty embodied in what constitutes Yeats's best work of the second stage contained in "The Wind among the Reeds" (published 1899). There are more love poems in this series than in any other—19 out of the 37 pieces in it being avowedly on one or other aspect of love. We shall have to rest content with one or two samples.

In this volume Yeats's art makes a great advance¹ and he invents a new type of imagery as the drapery of sincere, earnest, dignified, elevated and *spiritualised emotion*. The intensity² of poetic passion that is here is of a heavenly order. It should be noted also that now begins a new mode of treatment that is decidedly Yeatsian—a symbolic treatment full of highly mystic hints. Just as in the case of Patmore we note a parallel development in passing from "The Angel in the House" to "The Unknown Eros."

Even in the earlier (1893) volume of poems, "The Rose" there is a reference to 'love's bitter mystery' in "Who goes with Fergus?"

Love poetry deepens now into the poetry of ecstasie spiritual longing, free from the pollutions of earthliness and mortality, from the vanities of the world and the morbid sentiments of sickly lovers. The keynote is struck in two lines of "The Hosting of the Sidhe"—

" And Niamh calling ' Away, come away :
Empty your heart of its mortal dream.' "

The poet in Yeats here pre-eminently stands before us as the herald of a renaissance—the harbinger of a new light of inspiration destined to make for peace and harmony by healing the world's accumulated wrongs. A premonitory note was

¹ Cf. " The Lover asks forgiveness because of his many moods" for its Shakespearian note.

² Cf. " He tells of a Valley full of Lovers," " A Poet to his Beloved."

sounded earlier in the "Countess Cathleen" where we heard Aleel crying out—

“ Let Him that made mankind, the angels and devils
And death and plenty mend what he has made,
For when we labour in vain and eye still sees
Heart breaks in vain ; ”

Or, Cathleen herself telling her foster-mother Oona

“ O mother tell me
How I may mend the times, how staunch this wound
That bleeds in the earth.”

In “The Poet gives his Beloved certain Rhymes” we have

“ I bade my heart build these poor rhymes
It worked at them, day out, day in,
Building a sorrowful loveliness
Out of the battles of old times.”

The seer's calm conviction thus embodied brings straight to our hearts with a compelling force the assurance of a regenerated world even in a message of love. No longer is love closely associated with pity and melancholy as in "Proud Costello" (a prose piece in 'The Secret Rose' volume of 1897) where we have—"And while they (Costello the lover and MacDermot's daughter Una) danced there came over them the weariness with the world, the melancholy, the pity one for the other, which is the exultation of love."

The poet's vision of a new earth and a new heaven shines clearer in "The Lover tells of the Rose in his Heart" which is decidedly a typical love poem of the new order. The first stanza of this poem alone will suffice for our purpose.

"All things uncomely and broken, all things worn out and old,
The cry of a child by the road-way, the creak of a lumbering cart,
The heavy steps of a ploughman, splashing the wintry mould,
Are wronging your image that blossoms a rose in the
 depths of my heart."

Similarly we have in "He remembers forgotten Beauty"—

"When my arms wrap you round I press
My heart upon the loveliness
That has long faded from the world,"

and in "He gives his Beloved certain Rhymes"—

"You need but lift a pearl-pale hand,
And bind up your long hair and sigh;
And all men's hearts must burn and beat;
And candle-like foam on the dim sand,
And stars climbing the dew-dropping sky,
Live but to light your passing feet."

Dante's *Beatrice* embodying "idealization of love as the Divine Wisdom," it has been rightly observed, fails to be "a fit philosophy for men in general" by forgetting to "pay respect not only to the soul but to the senses, not only to the imagination but to the body of man." Yeats satisfies both the higher and the more common demand.

The underlying idea of Yeats in such poems is not merely one of ardent appreciation of beauty and love where they already exist in Nature and Man but of so refashioning the world of actualities that all types of ugliness, aesthetic as well as ethical, may for ever disappear from the face of the earth till we, the depressed and sorrow-laden children of God full of deep anguish of the soul, may once more be restored to the pristine glory of the golden age of beauty, love, innocence, goodness, peace and joy. Thus is wafted into our wounded hearts a melodious breath of soul-entrancing song, at once pensively sad and joyous and full of the sweetest music of life's harmony. Like the poet's own Driscoll in "The Host of the Air" we hear—

"A piper piping away
And never was piping so sad
And never was piping so gay."

Sad, because of what was and is, but gay with the message of what is yet to be. Yes ; sad and gay, for, as we all realise in the deeper depth of our own hearts, verily joy and grief are actually the warp and woof of the fabric of human existence (*cf.* *Dedication to a Book of Stories*).

For intense all-absorbing love in a woman's heart wistfully yearning for pure union, which alone is blessedness, we turn next to "The Heart of the Woman" so simple, sincere, chaste and beautiful.

" O what to me the little room
That was brimmed up with prayer and rest ;
He bade me out into the gloom
And my breast lies upon his breast.

O what to me my mother's care
The house where I was safe and warm ;
The shadowy blossom of my hair
Will hide us from the bitter storm.

O hiding hair and dewy eyes,
I am no more with life and death,
My heart upon his warm heart lies
My breath is mixed into his breath ! "

A woman's heart has seldom been probed with better skill or more unerring sureness of a poet's sympathetic imagination unfolding the completeness of satisfaction to the heart and soul through self-effacing love. Another phase of the same emotion that finds fruition in soul's repose is more beautifully recorded in "He bids His Beloved be at Peace" which shows the all-sufficing quality of genuine and true love—which is at once "blessedness and love."

" O vanity of Sleep, Hope, Dream, endless Desire,
The Horses of Disaster plunge in the heavy clay ;
Beloved, let your eyes half close, and your heart beat
Over my heart, and your hair fall over my breast,
Drowning love's lonely hour in deep twilight of rest,
And hiding their tossing manes and their tumultuous feet."

One cannot go on quoting endlessly. So I shall barely refer to the piece "He remembers forgotten Beauty" which records the lonely mysteries of love and beauty blended into a rich harmony that eternally haunts and broods over life.

There is delineation of another kind of love that seeks but never finds full fruition in limited time but does so only in eternity. We behold such a vision in the lines ("He tells of the Perfect Beauty") :—

"O cloud-pale eye-lids, dream-dimmed eyes,
The poets labouring all their days
To build a perfect beauty in rhyme
Are overthrown by a woman's gaze
And by the unlabouring brood of the skies;
And therefore my heart will bow, until God burn time,
Before the unlabouring stars and you."

And again,

"I wander by the edge
Of this desolate lake
Where wind cries in the sedge:
Until the axle break
That keeps the stars in their round,
And hands hurl in the deep
The framers of East and West,
And the girdle of light is unbound,
Your breast will not lie by the breast
Of your beloved in sleep."

In this connection we may compare also "The Travail of Passion" which records how our hearts can eternally endure all trials and sufferings "when an immortal passion breathes in mortal clay;" "The Poet pleads with the Elemental Powers" which are invoked to encircle the woman loved and sing her into peace with their harmonious choir" so that "a gentle silence wrought with music flow whither her footsteps go;" but finally, the following 8 lines of exquisite verse recording the homage of a heart that finds fulfilment and bliss by offering on the sacred

altar of exalted love love's utter selflessness as by a pious worshipper in a holy shrine in a devotional mood—

“Had I the heaven's embroidered cloths,
 Enwrought with golden and silver light,
 The blue and the dim and the dark cloths
 Of night and light and the half light,
 I would spread the cloths under your feet:
 But I, being poor, have only my dreams;
 I have spread my dreams under your feet;
 Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.”

Even in the earlier volume of “The Rose”
 The Ideal of Love. (1893) we come across significant hints regarding the ideal of love in such pieces as “When you are old” of which the last three lines run thus—

“* * * how love fled
 And paced upon the mountains overhead
 And hid his face amid a crowd of stars.”

In “Who goes with Fergus?” the hero's appeal is—

“Young man, lift up your russet brow,
 And lift your tender eyelids, maid,
 And brood on hopes and fears no more.
 And no more turn aside and brood
 Upon Love's bitter mystery.”

One question may, however, arise in respect of Yeats's conception of love *idealised*. I have sometimes been troubled by the suspicion that Yeats must have at one time been largely influenced by the ideal of love prevalent among the Troubadours of the 12th century, particularly of Provence who later on became indoctrinated with the Oriental mysticism of the Albigenes. The topic is too large for anything like a discussion in my short paper but it deserves some consideration. This conjecture, if correct, may, to some extent, account for his difference with Shelley's treatment of ideal love or even that of Browning

as far as that ideal is illustrated, say, by his "Rudel to the Lady of Tripoli."

In summing up this aspect of his poetry I shall simply add that the lyrics of the period from 1890 to 1900 which, according to my own appreciation of poetry, form the best years of Yeats, productive of the richest and most representative pieces so characteristic of his lyrical genius, stand unsurpassed in their originality, emotional intensity, artistic technique, sweet melody and beautiful imagery. This is to some extent a matter of personal preferences. I recall my younger days when the irresistible charm of this new poetry filled me with intoxicating joy and I distinctly remember the zest with which in those days we turned from the heady wine of Swinburne's sensuous music which had once carried us almost off our feet by its resistless rush and impetuous volume of cloying sweetness to the refreshing and soothing sonorousness of Yeats's poetry.

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

Since the introduction of the Morley-Minto-Reforms in 1909, the question of communal representation through separate electorates has become the most prominent subject of discussion in political India. It has been discussed threadbare in the press and on the platform as it is a problem of considerable importance for India's future progress. It is not proposed, however, to add anything very new but the writer as a scientific student of history wants merely to express his own feelings and his understanding of the situation. The discussion should necessarily be dispassionate and free from all sentiments. Any contribution, however small, to this vital problem that now confronts India might be of some service towards its solution, and it is the duty of every right-thinking man or woman who loves India and desires her political and economic uplift to contribute his or her best to the solution of this grave problem at this momentous juncture of India's need to draw up a constitution on the principle of the right of self-determination. She has been challenged by many Britishers to prepare a constitution acceptable to all sections, but the problem of communal representation consequent on the question of safeguarding the interests of minorities has so long stood in the way of the challenge being taken up successfully.

Let us examine what communal representation means. It is a system that permits representation on public bodies on the basis of different communities. Seats in the legislatures and a few other public bodies are distributed mainly on the population basis among the different communities in India. The system recognises the right of every community to be represented by its own men usually on the strength of its numbers. Communal representation, specially the system of communal electorates that now obtains in India, has always been a handicap to the pursuit of common policies by our legislators, since members are elected by their co-religionists on different tickets.

Let us next examine what necessitates communal representation in India. It owed its origin in India to the insistence of the Indian Mahomedans. Distrust among the two major communities—Hindus and Mussalmans—of India led to the acceptance of communal representation with separate electorates. A Moslem does not somehow feel himself quite safe in being represented by a Hindu and it is possible that a Hindu may not like to be represented by a Moslem. Each community seems to feel that its interests are more or less antagonistic to those of the other and they therefore must be looked after by its own people. Each of these two communities seems to believe that its wants and interests are peculiar to itself and can be best represented by its own members. But the Hindu community has been always against the system and it is the Moslem community that has always stood by and fought for it. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the reasons that specially led them to stick to this demand

Mahomedans form about one fourth of the total population of the whole of British India and except in Bengal and the Punjab they are in a hopeless minority in the provinces. They, therefore, believe that if communal representation is abolished they may possibly be kept out of the public bodies, since the number of Hindu electors in all the provinces, except two, is in an overwhelming majority. Mahomedans believe that Hindus in general are not very friendly to them and that public officers and legislators will possibly support the cause of their own co-religionists when any conflict of interests arises between the two communities. Unfortunately this belief has been hardened by sharp and sudden outbursts of communal leaders on both sides. The last communal riots all over India and their remnants that are yet affording precious food to a section of the Indian press have greatly added to the panic. In these circumstances if Moslems or Hindus refuse to be convinced of fair treatment for each by the other they cannot be blamed.

Now a great task lies before the country. Leaders of both

the communities will have to find out a formula which will automatically establish mutual goodwill in the two communities. The first step, as has already been decided upon by responsible Moslem leaders and accepted by the Congress and the Calcutta Moslem League, should be the formation of joint electorates with necessary reservations as provided by the Madras session of the Congress for safeguarding the interests of minorities. This point will be discussed elsewhere in detail.

Unfortunately for India, communalism has been so long gaining ground over nationalism. Nationalism and communalism are two contradictory ideas and cannot both co-exist. The growth of communalism has been fostered, among other things, by the communal electorates. If India is to be or become a nation, communal or any other sectarian sentiment must be subordinated to national feeling, and to achieve this the present system of 'electorates' must go. Nationalism demands a common consciousness of rights and wrongs, a sense of unity, community of interests and sentiments, and a fusion of thoughts and ideas. Does India satisfy these indispensable conditions? Do her internal conditions entitle her to be called a nation in the true sense of the term? Many may be shocked to hear this from an Indian, but plain speaking may still be of some good. Let our leaders realise the situation and rise to the occasion to meet it. If German, Spanish and French nationalities could be developed not from a "common stem," but from "*heterogenous* race elements," why should India fail? Community of religion is no essential mark of a nation and it nowhere exists in the same degree as it exists in India.

Nationalism demands the energy of the people to be spent for the good of the nation, while communalism creates a communal outlook, however detrimental that outlook may be to the nation as a whole. The existence of different communities, as is evidenced by the history of other countries, cannot really stand in the way of creating a nationalist outlook. What is

the difference between a Hindu and a Mahomedan in the matter of worship except that the former goes to the temple while the latter to the mosque? Why should we magnify for political ends man's particular religious faith without taking him fundamentally to be a citizen or a child of the same soil? Except in the matter of religion and allied social customs all Indians are essentially one and can work, if they will, in concert. They inhabit the same land and any disaster affects them equally. Foreign bullets and bayonets and batons, for instance, do not discriminate between the Hindu and the Mahomedan. Religion is a thing more or less personal and too sacred to be allowed to be dragged into the field of politics and made a butt of controversy. "Blind faith in religious tenets," must not be allowed to get the upper hand and disturb the peace of the country. In the words of Sir P. C. Ray

"It is pure idolatry on the part of the Moslems when they object to music before mosques even in times when no prayer is going on, while it is mad intolerance on the part of the Hindus when they object to cow-killing by Moslems, while they revel in the sight of goats and buffaloes being slaughtered with pomp and ceremony."

One could only wish that every community had thoroughly realised the significance of the above observation, for then vagaries of religious zealots would automatically disappear. The religious fanaticism exhibited by both the communities in their "zid" for preventing cow-killing or music before mosques is an intolerable absurdity; and the riots originating from them simply remind one of that barbarous age when law, reason and sanctity of human life had no respect. In the name of religion the rioters, better, those so-called leaders who were responsible for exciting the mobs, have really disgraced religion and themselves as men.

One word to those fellow Moslems who would be satisfied with nothing short of communal representation along with communal electorate. Communal electorate along with communal representation is inconsistent with the idea of nationalism

or *Swaraj* in any democratic country. If they say that India is not fit for *Swaraj* at present or that the Moslem community is not prepared to have it now one can understand them all right. But to demand immediate *Swaraj* and at the same time to insist on communal electorate is to accept both Moses and Frown.

The argument they advance is that under a joint electorate even with the reservation of seats, "a successful Mussalman candidate may in some cases come in as the nominee of a Hindu majority of voters and as long as the communal consciousness or bias persists he may not be a true representative of the community to which he belongs." But this may be answered by saying that the same supposition will of course apply to the other community or communities in constituencies where Mahomedan voters may be in a majority. But this is apprehending too much without sufficient reason. This is only a negative way of looking into the question without enquiring into the merits of a system of joint electorates which may outweigh any possible evils arising out of it. The communal form of franchise, even as Sir Abdur Rahim admits, "accentuates to some extent the tendency to exaggerate the communal aspect of many questions." Another argument though not clearly brought out seems to be that even in constituencies having a majority, or at least an equal number of Moslem voters as the other community has, Hindus who are richer, more educated and influential than Moslems will carry their Moslem nominees through the elections by influencing even Moslem voters. This position is not very tenable and even if it be true to some extent, it does not matter, and any such sectional interest must be sacrificed for the greater boon of nationalism.

Whatever may be the case, the Parliament of any country is not an association of delegates of different nations with different and hostile interests, but an association composed of the representatives of the same nation gathered together for the furtherance of national interests and aims. Communal interest has to be

subordinated to national interest in cases where they conflict, and if the whole nation gains by a measure at the sacrifice of the interests of a section of either community or of a particular constituency, then the representatives belonging to that section or constituency which is thus adversely affected must have to support such a cause from a national standpoint. This is true political philosophy and any country desiring democratic institutions must cultivate such a spirit and must be prepared to sacrifice sectarian interests for the benefit of the nation as a whole. It may, however, be pointed out here that the best interests of a community are not incompatible with national interests, for communities are integral parts of the nation as a whole.

Granting for the sake of argument that some Moslem candidates who may be the nominees of a large section of Moslem voters, fail in a few cases to get into public bodies, even then the sacrifice of communal electorate (if it is a sacrifice at all) is worth making for the larger cause—the attainment of Indian Swaraj. Through such a form of franchise let not India be further exposed to the ridicule of the outside world. Separate electorates, experience shows, have failed to create a national outlook and if they have achieved anything, have only intensified communal consciousness.

A few words now about communal leaders. Communal leaders there are in both the communities. But there is a good deal of difference in their ultimate aims. Hindu communal leaders, almost without exception, genuinely feel for their community and whatever they preach or do, their ultimate aim is to further the interests of their community. And one would only wish their patriotism were not limited within the bounds of their own community. But the activities and all loud talks of some of the Moslem communal leaders, speaking on behalf of the community, have a different tendency. Their ultimate aim seems to be personal interests which they best serve by talking in the name of the community. One cannot imagine a worse

principle than this which has helped to degenerate public life in Bengal. The Moslem community in Bengal is mostly illiterate and is unable to see through the weaknesses of its leaders. These communal leaders pose to be the friends of the illiterate Moslem masses and are only serving the interests of themselves and their dependents. They become inconsistent in their public policies to any extent and even sacrifice their community if such a change of front pays them, as is evidenced by the luke-warm attitude of some and passionate, though short-lived, enthusiasm of others in the matter of the 'Kulkati firing' where nineteen Moslems were shot dead. Examples showing their inconsistencies might be multiplied, but they are not necessary.

Are these the ideals on which the future Moslem community will be built? Are these the ideals from which the present and the future generations will draw their inspiration? Leaders whose leadership means the exploitation of the ignorance of the masses are leaders only so long as the communal electorate is there. Their importance will be considerably diminished the moment the separate electorates cease to exist. It is more to the interest of these few people to move heaven and earth, 'go from Bengal to Lahore' to retain the present system in its entirety. One can appreciate those communalists and even praise them, though reluctantly, who want nothing but the good of their community. One can only say that they are mistaken and might be convinced of the efficacy of a change. But it is futile to try to convert the former class for reasons already stated and they unfortunately hold the ground for the time being not only in Bengal, but also in several other important centres of India.

Now, the Moslems must realise that mere concessions granted to any community cannot ultimately solve the problems of the community. A community cannot thrive on concessions alone. To rise to a position of eminence it must learn to stand on its own legs. This can be achieved by the spread of education among the masses and by developing public spirit for the

service of the people in general. They must know that it is against the very tradition of the British people to allow them these concessions for ever. So the Moslems have to be prepared in time for the inevitable re-adjustment of power and responsibility in a progressive India.

One word also to the Hindus. Have they really acted so long in a manner calculated to inspire love and confidence in the Moslems ? Is there not a substantial section which always looks upon Mahomedans with an amount of contempt and hatred ? "It is an open secret," writes Sir P. C. Ray, "that the educated Hindus have always looked down upon the Mussalmans, whom they consider to be their inferiors. This feeling of contempt is very much resented by the Mahomedan *intelligentsia*. The educated Hindus generally treat the learned professions and the higher services under the Government to be their monopoly and any attempt by the Mussalmans to enter these departments is regarded as an infringement of their vested rights. It is one of the chief causes of the estrangement between the two communities." Hindus must now realise that unless this outlook towards Mussalmans is radically changed, no amount of pact or oratory will solve the problem of Hindu-Moslem unity, so essential for winning *Swaraj* in this down-trodden country. He must be a born lunatic who believes that Indian independence can be achieved by any one community alone.

Let the Hindus and Mussalmans speak out their minds sincerely and try to come to an understanding. Let both the communities place all their cards on the table and fight out the issue. No patched-up agreement for unity between the two communities will stand the stress and strain of time. This is on time for vacillation. Every action must be straightforward and honest. Sir P. C. Ray reminds us that "causes of antagonism are small and few, but how wide is the field of co-operation and mutual help." There are many wants and grievances in the country which, says Sir Profulla, "can only be tackled by the joint efforts of both the communities."

What then is to be our next step? Having regard to the opinion held by the entire Moslem community and specially the present atmosphere of mutual distrust and communal consciousness, the present system of representation cannot be altogether overhauled, although one might wish the relation between the two communities was such as to allow the abolition of the entire system at once. Reservation of seats as alternative to separate electorates seems to be the best practical course under the circumstances. It is possible that this will place the relation of the two communities on a more friendly basis. It may be said that communal leaders would not have the heart to rouse the mob as they did in the days of the last riot, if they only knew that their chance of entering any public body or rising to public eminence did not depend solely on the support and sympathy of their co-religionists alone. A few lines from the Congress Presidential Address of Dr. Ansari may be quoted in this connection. He says :

“ The one great cause of friction so far has been separate electorates. If the success of a candidate at elections depends entirely on the votes of his co-religionists, the tendency to exaggerate and accentuate points of communal friction and division in order to catch votes is inevitable. The resolution of the All India Congress Committee on May 16, 1927, while making the fullest possible allowance for the fear of minorities regarding adequate protection, by reservation of seats, presents fresh opportunities for the development of a spirit of friendliness and mutual confidence, the best augury for a united India.”

In constitutional matters sudden and wholesale changes are politically inexpedient and are often attended with disastrous results, specially when it is attained against the decided opinion of a certain influential section. So let us begin with the joint electorates giving minor communities adequate protection with a view to allay their ‘reasonable’ suspicion. Let this be a temporary arrangement to continue for a number of years when, it may be confidently hoped, the communal outlook will be replaced by a national one and the spirit of hostility and distrust will be replaced by bonds of friendship between the two commu-

nities. Then, communal representation may safely be abolished without any opposition whatsoever. When most of the differences between the two communities have ceased, it will be a matter of indifference to the masses in general whether Ram goes to the council or Rahim fails provided both can equally represent their common views. But a complete overhauling of the present system at once, however lofty the ideal might be, under the existing strained feelings between the two communities, will be a potential danger which is not worth risking at this time as the whole structure may come down as a house of cards before the experiment has time to work itself out and reap any lasting results. With the introduction of joint electorates by which the Hindu and Moslem candidates will be thrown open to the sense of justice and fair play of people of both the communities, the promotion of nationalism is sure to become the ideal of our leaders and of the people in general, and sectarian interests are bound to become a secondary concern.

Nationalism has been so much emphasised in this paper that one may feel impelled to ask : 'What is the goal of nationalism?' People may differ on this point and as to its exact purpose and ends. But on some fundamental principles we can all agree. The aim of nationalism is to develop political power and promote social progress in the country of our birth or adoption. Its aim is the perfection of national life after security, liberty and justice have been well-established in the country. Its aim should be, as that of the State also, to maintain national independence and to work for the general welfare of the people.

KAZI MAHABBAT ALI

THE INLAND BILLS OF EXCHANGE

Financing of Inland Trade.

Sufficient attention was not drawn to the internal bills of exchange or inland trade bills till the year 1920 and the Indian banks never cared to finance internal trade largely by means of discounting trade bills. It is indeed true that Hundies were used to a limited extent in this direction. But, broadly speaking, the system of cash credits was adopted in preference to trade bills. The advance is made on demand promissory notes signed by two or more persons unconnected with each other in general partnership with collateral security when necessary. The bulk of our mercantile business is transacted on this cash credit basis or "running overdraft" basis as bankers put it. An export merchant who wished to secure banking accommodation to help him in the export of raw material would approach the banker and secure 20 or 25 lakhs as the maximum for the overdraft for a specified period. The actual accommodation however depends on the varying needs of his business. This affords him cheaper finance than any other method. He usually takes notes or rupees from the bank and purchases the product from the cultivator direct or through an intermediary and no bill is drawn on him or his intermediary by the cultivator. He sends the material out of the country and draws on the foreigner. This export bill is bought by the exchange bank and the proceeds would enable the merchant to pay the loan to the domestic bank.

What happened in 1920 and after.

The analogy of the Federal Reserve Board appealed strongly to the Babington Smith Committee which recommended the issuing of seasonal currency against export bills.¹ When the

¹ See Mr. M. M. S. Gubbay's Oral Evidence before the Hilton-Young Commission. Vol. V, p. 110.

Paper Currency Act of 1920 was passed the difficulties of basing the seasonal expansion of currency up to five crores of rupees on export bills were realised and in their place the internal bills of exchange or *hundies* were recommended as suitable cover.¹ Detailed regulations were issued on 16th February, 1922 to this effect. The rate of interest at which this seasonal currency was made available to the Imperial Bank was fixed at 8 per cent. The experience gained in this matter during the two busy seasons of 1922-23 and 1923-24 pointed out the necessity of raising this limit from five to twelve crores of rupees. The loans were also made available to the Imperial Bank as soon as the Bank rate rose to six per cent. and the whole amount was made available at a predetermined schedule of bank rates. But during the busy season of 1923-24 in addition to this expansion notes had to be issued by adding the British Treasury Bills to the extent of 12 crores in the Paper Currency Reserve. In September, 1924 it was announced that Treasury bills would be used as the basis for expansion of the P.C.R. and a change was also made in the issuing of loans to the Imperial Bank. Four crores were made available at six per cent. and the remainder at seven per cent. The Government also undertook to reimburse the Imperial Bank the amount of loss sustained by it in "creating" bills to the necessary limit.

It is indeed disappointing to find that although self-liquidating bills of exchange were recognised as the basis for seasonal currency and due provision was made for it no attempt was made to popularise these bills of exchange. The Imperial Bank had really to "manufacture" bills out of cash credits granted to the merchants and as a heavy stamp duty had to be paid on these bills the bank had to consent to bear this duty and although the Government came to the rescue of the bank in this connection neither the Government nor the Imperial Bank undertook any

¹ For a succinct summary of provisions for seasonal expansion of currency, see the Memorandum of Mr. H. Denning submitted to the Hilton-Young Comn., Vol. II, Appendix 3, pp. 19, 20.

measures to increase the volume of internal trade bills of exchange. The paucity of bills and the absence of an active discount market were realised by the advocates of the Central Bank of Issue but these preferred to run the risk of prematurity in starting this Central Bank. Although there is no other method so successful as the starting of a Central Bank for the improvement of the discount market still other attempts must be made to popularise the drawing of trade bills.

Recommendations of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce in its memorandum drawn in September, 1924 drew attention to the necessity of increasing the bills of exchange and suggested that the stamp duty should be reduced and the Government should willingly accept bills on stores purchased locally so that these would become popular instruments available for discount in the money market. Some of the more successful and large-scale manufacturing firms like the Tata Sons and Co., already adopted by this time the practice of drawing on the wholesale merchants and these were freely discounted by the Banks in the Calcutta Money Market. However the financing of crop movements from the up-country to the port centres or the centres of trade was not done by the internal bills of exchange and unless this is done freely bills would not increase and an open discount market cannot be created in this country as in the case of the economically developed Western countries.

Advantages of multiplying these trade bills.

The Central Bank's business is admittedly to finance the commercial banks by rediscounting their bills or, if open market operations are allowed, the buying of such bills of first class character is its legitimate function. To facilitate the free and successful functioning of the Central Bank these bills have to be

created and a money market dealing with these bills has to be developed. Secondly the ordinary banks stand to gain much by discounting these self-liquidating genuine trade bills. One great difficulty in the matter of branch extension by these joint-stock banks is the non-availability of such liquid instruments as these short-term trade bills. If enough scope exists for discounting such bills the banks would not feel it difficult to embark on a policy of branch extension in the interior. The general public would stand to gain by stabilised money rates. Thirdly it is admitted by all that the system of providing currency on the security of bills of exchange tends to make it automatic and due expansion and contraction takes place as fresh currency is issued against bills and as these mature there is automatic contraction of the same. It is in the interests of sound currency then that these internal bills of exchange should be developed. Fourthly, it must be remembered that the Imperial Bank is becoming more and more censorious in the matter of the *Hundies*. It is of opinion that *hundies* are becoming "very risky documents." One of the Governors of the Imperial Bank¹ is of opinion that "*hundi* brokers generally are not of a reliable character and they have the knack of disappearing in a monetary crisis. Any Bank which wishes to discount largely these *hundies* should take security from these brokers which should be confiscated if any loss arises out of these transactions. Endorseees of these *hundies* must also be of a solvent character." All these precautions are essential to check kiteflying by men of doubtful standing in the money market. Finally the creation of an open discount market has to be faced and when self-liquidating bills can be converted into gold the holding of such bills by foreign banks might be brought about. Continental Banks are freely purchasing bank bills in the London Money Market and they do not buy even British Treasury Bills for they are

¹ See Sir D. E. Wacha, Written Evidence before the Hilton-Young Commission-Vol. II, p. 389.

precluded from buying bills unless they have two names.¹ Similarly foreign banks might care to hold our bank acceptances if we succeed in maintaining a free gold market and levy no practical hindrances in the matter of the export of gold from the country. Lastly the habit of drawing bills has to be encouraged and if the indigenous bankers are assured of rediscounting facilities at the hands of the Jointstock banks and the Imperial Bank they would perform the original discounting of these bills and the cultivator can secure cash from the indigenous banker. These can act as the discount houses in this country. The indigenous banker would collect the proceeds of the trade bill from the drawee merchant who has already accepted it. He would have to be rewarded for this service and if his monetary compensation is higher than the cost of securing a cash credit from a banker and moving rupees or notes into the interior this method of financing internal trade by means of drawing bills would never become an established fact.

Other Suggestions.

Now that my suggestion for a standardised inland bill of exchange drawn up in vernacular is accepted² it remains for the local Government to consider the reduction of the heavy stamp duty which has been suggested by the Hilton-Young³ Commission and approved by the Government of India. As it is a matter for the provincial Governments to decide it would take certain time to accomplish this needed change. To defeat the intentions of the law bills are drawn as Darsani or sight bills for these need not have to pay such heavy duty as the usance bill. There is always the implied understanding that the bill would be renewed. As the present tax,⁴ which bills other than

¹ See S. E. Thomas, "Principles and Arithmetic of Foreign Exchange"—3rd edn., pp. 96-99.

² See Rau, "Present-Day Banking in India," 2nd Edition, p. 110.

³ See para. 116 of the H. Y. Commission's Report.

⁴ See Article 13 of 1st Schedule of the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, and the amendment of 1910.

demand bills would have to pay ranges from 3 *as.* to Rs. 27 up to Rs. 30,000 and subject to Rs. 5 for additional Rs. 10,000 or part thereof in excess of Rs. 30,000, is nearly two times heavier than the tax prevailing in the United Kingdom, there is every reason for prompt reduction of this "Nuisance Tax" if the resources of the local Governments do not permit a complete abolition of the same. Barring the two provinces which have shown a deficit other provinces can hope to point out the way in this important direction.

A change in the law is also needed. The existing law with reference to the practice of the bills of exchange or *hundies* needs distinct change in favour of the banks. A negotiable instrument if originally drawn as a bearer instrument¹ must always continue to be so and should not lose its bearer character by any restriction or reservation by reason of subsequent specific endorsements.

Permission should also be granted to put in not only the adhesive stamp on the bill but a postage stamp. This would bring in difficulties in the matter of allocating the stamp revenue between the Postal Department and the Provincial Governments.² Some remedy should however be devised to overcome the administrative difficulty and allow the people to put a postage stamp on the bills. In America during the war time there was a stamp duty levied on the cheques and bills but they were understood to create a good lot of "nuisance"³ so that these "nuisance taxes" were the first to be abolished as soon as peace was restored.

Much capital has been made out of the illiteracy of the people. It is indeed true that a large number of our people

¹ See 27 Bombay L. R. 34 (1925) where it is held that a *hundi* drawn in favour of the payee or bearer and endorsed by the payee to a third person was considered to be no longer a bearer *hundi*. The Associated Chambers of Commerce have been trying their best to amend the law in favour of the banks.

² See the Report of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, 1926, p. 291.

³ See the evidence of the American Witnesses before the Hilton-Young Commission, Vol. V, p. 314.

cannot read and write. In Egypt the illiterate people kept deposit accounts with banks though they had no idea of how to write their own names.¹ It is confidence that is essential in this vital matter. Lacking this there would be no free mobility for capital or any other use cannot be made of banking instruments if our joint-stock banks fail to conduct conservative banking business.

Even if the legend on the bill is drawn up in vernacular in a standardised form it would not work miracles in the matter of making these instruments popular ones. A legitimate campaign for the free use of these bills must be undertaken in this country. Merchants should be granted preferential terms by the sellers of commodities and the wholesale merchants should grant preferential rates to retailers who are willing to accept such bills in lieu of obtaining credit on open accounts. Commercial banks should be granting preferential rates to merchants who finance themselves by discounting bills than to those who borrow on overdraft or by one-name promissory notes. The Central Bank itself would have to grant preferential discount and rediscount rates on trade acceptances.² In order to promote the custom of drawing bills some Central Banks are empowered in their charters to charge higher rates on advances than on discounts. The charters of the Central Banks of Austria-Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the National Bank of Bulgaria prescribe that if the banks' loans exceed the total of the bills held the rate charged for advances is to be raised to one and half times the discount rate.³ No such provision was enrolled in the Bank Charter of the Reserve Bank. The Imperial Bank would stand to gain if it freely rediscounts these trade bills, for these would be of use to it for rediscounting at the hands of the Controller of Currency. The limit of 12 crores is meaningless and should not be insisted upon. So long as genuine bills are offered by the Imperial

¹ See F. T. Rowlatt's Oral Evidence before the Babington Smith Committee.

² Similar measures were advocated by the Kemmerer-Vissering Commission. See Report on the Reversion to the Gold Standard in South Africa, para. 49 (2).

³ See C. H. Kisch and W. A. Elkin, "Central Banks," pp. 133 and 134.

Bank there is no reason for this limitation. This is not indeed so ideal a monetary reform as the one of a Bank of Issue considering the bills of exchange as part of its fiduciary currency, but in the absence of the best the next best would have to be resorted to to ameliorate the situation. There should be a vigorous campaign conducted by all parties, the Government, the Imperial Bank, the joint-stock banks, the shroffs and the co-operative purchase and sale societies to create these bills. By moral influence as well as pecuniary inducement efforts must be made to increase the bills of exchange. It would create a healthy and desirable development in Indian monetary progress.

Dangers to be guarded against.

There is always the danger of a Micawber drawing bills for his house-hold expenses on the fond hope that something would turn up to save him in the long run. It is the duty of the indigenous banker to see that such abuse of bills is not made. such accommodation bills should be eschewed altogether and knowing the nature of the parties and their business it would not be difficult for the indigenous banker to know the bona-fides of the transaction. Anticipatory bills are freely drawn and discounted by banks in America but there is a very grave danger with regard to these kinds of bills. As our agriculture is subject to pests, diseases of crops, and storms it might so happen that it would be as foolish as counting chickens before they are actually hatched. The practice of renewal of maturing bills should be frowned upon and the indigenous banker or the original discounting body should be aware of the fact that too frequent or continuous and indiscriminate renewals mean a departure from the strict principles of banking and might involve them in pecuniary loss in the long run. The period for which bills would run might undoubtedly be longer, for agricultural trading in the interior, devoid of proper facilities in the matter of conveyance facilities, requires longer time than in any other industry. With

such suitable safeguards as are outlined here the discounting of inland trade bills should be freely done and so long as bills up to a certain limit are discounted by the banks there is no reason to suppose that the solvency of the banks would be threatened.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

THE OFFERING

Yet when I sit in joy's embrace,
And when the dawn doth kiss my lids,
And when the wind in sportive race
My sleepy soul "awaken" bids;
'Tis then I think it were but sin
To live in lands of such delights,
Alone such smiles of nature win,
And climb alone ecstatic heights;
To feel the pulse of throbbing earth
Vibrate in every single vein;
To feel the joys of merry mirth
Tingle in my youthful brain;
'Tis then I feel afflictions throng
And choke my little heart with pain,
And just one sacrificial song
I offer thus at Sorrow's fane.

BYRAM K. TALOOKDAR

Reviews

A History of Hindu Political Theories (from the earliest times to the end of the Seventeenth Century A.D.)—By U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., Oxford University Press, 1927, second edition, pp. 257, price Rs. 8.

We welcome the second edition of this handy little volume on Hindu Political Theories. It deals with an exceptionally difficult subject, and it cannot reasonably be expected that everything that the author has said on a number of highly controversial questions should be unanimously accepted. When the first edition was reviewed in these pages, some of these controversial points were critically discussed. Dr. Ghoshal has extended the scope of his enquiry in the present edition, and briefly alluded to the contribution of the Marathas and Sikhs to political speculation in India. He refers to the famous *Dasabodha* of Samarth Ramdas but does not mention two Marathi works on polity. Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis's *Rajniti* was based mainly, if not wholly, on old Sanskrit works, but Ramchandra Pant Amatya's little treatise was certainly a valuable manual that did not fail to take note of existing conditions. In other words, he was the official exponent of Shivaji's views on the functions and mechanism of the state. The *Raj Vyavahar Kosh* also might be used with profit, for although it was strictly speaking nothing but a dictionary, yet it treated mainly with political terms, and it is likely to throw some light on the actual practice, if not the theories, of the Maratha statesmen. The chief feature of Dr. Ghoshal's work is its sobriety and simple exposition. We have no doubt that it will be very useful to students of Comparative Politics and Ancient Indian History.

HISTORICUS

Communism vs. Individualism in Land: an Italian Theory. The Italian land-economist Ciasca's *Il Problema della terra* (The Problem of Land) is fortified with a preface by Professor Prato (Milan, 1921, 320 pages, Fratelli Treves Co.). The standpoint of these two authors is directly opposite to that of recent tendencies in land-legislation and land-theory.

According to Prato the French system promotes the stability of social equilibrium as contrasted with the Russian excesses of to-day (of which the first symptoms could be seen in 1905). Direct proprietorship in France

leads to progress in agriculture and economic life, whereas the Russian conditions constitute but the prelude to a catastrophe and rebarbarization. Italy is oscillating between the two systems. Speaking of recent Italian developments he says that there was sequestration by Government during the war-period. The *decrets* and schemes of laws (Vissocchi, Micheli, Falcioni) aim at (i) transformation of the *Latifondi* (large estates or Zamindari), (ii) intensification of cultivation, and (iii) reduction of the price of bread. The recent tendencies indicate an absence of confidence in the capability of individuals to make the best use of private property and point to the "coercive intervention" of the state as a more efficacious mode in the creation of wealth. They thus embody the principle of despotism as anticipated by Tocqueville, to which "*la violence est legitime*." The "economico-social problems" are being sought to be solved, says Prato, "exclusively by politico-juridical" means.

But what are the lessons of economic history? asks Prato. In *Curis' Storia del latifondo italico* (History of Italian Land-ownership) we find that absolute individual property was the rule in Pre-Imperial times. The *diritto dominicale*, which meant territorial overlordship, concentrated possessions, as well as stability and *garanzia* assured to cultivators, was the rule in the Imperial period. The modification of the above system was synchronous with "burocrazia, fiscalism, monopolio, *Stato ipertrofico*." And along with it began the degeneration of agriculture.

The principle of "*collettivizzazione parziale delle terre*" was synchronous with the downfall of the Roman world according to the late Professor Pareto. The "*uniformita*" or "*legge storica*," i.e., the historic law, that according to Prato can be deduced from ancient Roman experience, says that individual proprietorship is conducive to rational and intensive production.

Prato then discusses the conclusions of the studies in village communities (Secbohm, Maine, Landau, Meitzen). He finds that collective property bears the impress of the "common slavery" of the group, and at best indicates a form of "pastoral economy." It can rise up to the archaic system of coercive and inelastic equality. The "enclosures" of the Renaissance constitute but the expression of a "social necessity" consisting in the withdrawal of lands from the promiscuous wastage under the conditions of "ruinous cultivation." The advantages assured to the peasants during periods of depopulation and chronic agrarian crisis (cf. the third and fourth centuries under the Empire and the fourteenth and seventeenth in Europe) are strictly "contractual" phenomena intended to induce the labourers to stay on the land and do not indicate any abstract philosophical sympathy with a communistic system.

In Prato's analysis, economic opinion also has been anti-collectivist. For example, in the eighteenth century the abolition of archaic "communism" was held to be indispensable in the interest of "technical progress." Increased production and individual proprietorship were considered to be intimately associated. The Napoleonic civil legislation, assuring as it did proprietorship but abolishing general privileges, has promoted agricultural progress in the nineteenth century. Proudhon (1848) also admires the "mutuality" consisting in the spontaneous associations of small and free farmers as opposed to the "communal centralization" of property.

Ciasca examines the state "providence" that has been instituted in the poorest parts of Italy. He points out the inefficiency and stupidity of the methods of empirical intervention, for example, as manifest in deforestation which is really ruinous. The experiments of agrarian legislation are disappointing on the whole. The varied forms of compulsory control can show at best but negative results. On the other hand, progress is due almost exclusively to private initiative. After such precedents, to invoke the state is absurd.

The real problem, according to Ciasca, is not whether the present movements arise "out of old laws" by way of "direct derivation," nor whether they reappear today under the stimulus of "similar operating forces." He would rather advise theorists and legislators to investigate to what different phases of technical and economic evolution, to what different needs and circumstances these two types, *viz.*, individualism and collectivism, correspond. The chief problem consists in studying what forces and motives have led to the disappearance of patriarchal and communistic residues of the land-economy with the advent of industrial civilization. The object should be to ascertain whether the perpetuation of this industrial civilization is reconcilable with a return to the "froglydytic forms" re-established by violence and superimposed by law.

Ciasca quotes Professor Mortara on the significance of land in Italy's present-day economic system. Land is considered to be the most essential element in Italy's productive capacity, according to this authority. It is the chief source from which to recuperate the passive side in the Italian balance of accounts, says Mortara. The exports of agricultural produce are large and may grow. As the source of exportable wealth like hemp, oil, fruits, kitchen garden products, cheese, eggs, poultry, wool, land's place in national economy is very high.

That being so, an increase in the productive capacity of land should be the chief concern of legislation and patriotism. But, asks Ciasca, is it likely to be promoted by revolutionary communistic schemes?

State interference in land can only lead to its systematic destruction. It implies an arbitrary regime of requisition and government prices and compels the cultivators to adopt less remunerative methods of cultivation. For instance, it prohibits the alleged "luxury" of cultivating non-food vegetables (*e.g.*, textiles) and orders all fields to be given over to food-stuffs, although by selling hemp, hay, etc., the cultivators can get more wheat from abroad than by producing it at home. It likewise forbids the exportation of cheese, olive oil, etc., and compels their sale at home at very low prices, and interrupts the judicious specialization in farming (as in Sardinia).

Finally, it offers a subsidy to idleness. Rice fields have been reduced from 140,000 hectares to 100,000. The Visocchi, Falcioni and Micheli *decrets* to regulate the transfer of land to cultivators have led to mal-cultivation,

The farmers of Emilia and Ferrara, guilty of introducing improved methods in cultivation, have been dispossessed on the charge of negligence in cultivation although they were forbidden by Government to sow and thrash. And peasants have been allowed to occupy lands in Cremona and destroy the tools and implements without hindrance from the Carabinieri.

The authors furnish a strong plea for existing conditions and offer a stout resistance to the inroads of Soviet Russia's ideology.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

India by Air, by the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, with an introduction by Lady Maud Hoare, pp. 156, Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1927, price s. 6-6.

Sir Samuel and Lady Hoare made a flying visit to India last year. Their object was not to seek pleasure, but Sir Samuel as a responsible minister wanted to ascertain for himself the possibilities of a regular air service between India and England. His experiments proved successful, and he presents in this interesting little volume his experiences of this wonderful journey. It might be imagined that a voyage by the air, however adventurous, was bound to prove monotonous. For the passenger has little chance of observing the varied landscape and the natural charms of the countries over which he speedily passes. Sir Samuel, however, assures his readers that there is nothing to beat an air journey in interest, excitement and pleasure. The wardrobe is bound to be limited but at every halting place the passenger can expect all modern comforts. He has a

unique opportunity of having a bird's eye view of all the interesting places on his way. Even the desert has its charms, and it is by no means so monotonous and uniform in its general aspects as is commonly supposed. Sir Samuel spent only a few days in India and he cannot be expected to speak on anything but Viceregal parties. He paid a visit to the frontiers where he met an old Afridi chief. He observes—"The chief's benignant smile may have expressed the present friendliness of his people—I say the present friendliness of his people, for no one would be so bold as to guarantee the permanence of Afridi affection." It would be interesting to learn what the old Afridi gentleman thought of the smile of his English visitor and the permanence of English affection. Sir Samuel was lavishly entertained by the Maharaja of Bikanir who is, according to the author, well-known for his extensive hospitality. Here again one feels tempted to enquire whether Sir Samuel had any leisure to enquire about the economic condition of the peasants of Bikanir who have to find money for the lavish hospitality of the Maharaja. For it is these very people for whose good the British are supposed to be labouring in this unhealthy country. The value of the book has been increased by many beautiful photographs taken from the air.

S. N. SEN

Ourselfes

DATES OF DIFFERENT EXAMINATIONS.

Engineering—

The next I.E. and B.E. Examinations will commence on Monday, the 9th July, 1928.

Law—

The following dates have been fixed for the next Law Examinations :

Preliminary—Tuesday, the 3rd July, 1928, and following days.

Intermediate—Monday, the 9th July, 1928, and following days.

Final—Monday, the 16th July, 1928, and following days.

M.A. and M.Sc.—

The M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations for 1928 will commence on the 1st of August next.

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RESULTS OF LAW EXAMINATIONS, JANUARY, 1928.

Preliminary—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,180 of whom 460 passed, 550 failed, one was expelled and 169 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 11 were placed in Class I.

Intermediate—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 667 of whom 421 passed, 140 failed and 106 were absent. Of the successful candidates 37 were placed in Class I.

Final—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 759 of whom 310 passed, 203 failed and 246 were absent. Of the successful candidates 24 were placed in Class I.



SASANKA MOHAN SEN

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1928



UNIVERSITIES AND POLITICS

The subject which you have allowed me to take for this address¹ is difficult—difficult and many-sided. While preparing what I am about to say for your consideration, I tried to keep in mind the different circumstances of universities in various countries, both at the present time and in past times. The connexion between universities and political ideas or controversies is at this moment by no means alike all over the world; nor has it been the same, in the case of the more ancient universities, at all periods of their history. Therefore, a comparison of the circumstances in which the main groups of universities are now placed may throw some light on the question which we are about to consider. And it is also possible to get some guidance from looking at the matter in historical perspective. But our knowledge of the historical side of the question is still incomplete. For example, we know comparatively little about the earlier history of the ancient universities of India, and what Dr. Cooke recently called “the awakening of our historical conscience” leads me to suspect that we may sometime arrive at a clearer understanding than we now possess of the political atmosphere of the European universities during the earlier and during the closing parts of the Middle Ages.

¹ Address delivered by Sir Michael Sadler, K.C.S.P., at the Annual Meeting of the Indian Students' Union and Hostel.

The attitude of universities towards politics is necessarily affected by their administrative relation to government. Some universities, like those of Italy, France, and Russia, are intimately dependent on the central administration of the State. Others are dependent on a State Government like those of the unified German Republic since the war, or like the State Universities in the Federal Republic of the United States. All of these are, by the nature of their being and their financial dependence, necessarily sensitive to the tone of political feeling dominant in the State authority from which they draw an indispensable part of their support. At the other end of the scale are universities which derive no part of their revenue from State subsidy and are wholly free from State influence in the planning of their courses of study and in the choice of their teachers. Such are Harvard and Yale, Princeton and Columbia, in the United States; such was the Free University of Brussels in which the great geographer Elisée Reclus took a leading part, and (if we accord to it the status of a university) such is the Shantiniketan founded by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at Bolpur in Bengal. Intermediate between these two opposite types are two others, both British: one of these intermediate categories is represented by Oxford and Cambridge, each mainly supported by endowments supplemented by fees but now also subsidized by the central government, and each subjected at intervals to investigation and remodelling by Commissions which Parliament appoints and clothes with statutory powers. The second intermediate type is represented by the modern English universities which, though deriving about one-third of their income and most of their buildings from gifts, fees and endowments, are dependent of the remaining two-thirds of their income on grants from local authorities within their area and from subsidies voted by Parliament and assigned by a committee appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The more remote a university from control by the State, the less likely are its members to be restricted in the expression

of their political views. But it is by no means the case that the State always encourages, still less is it true that it always requires, a university maintained by public money to give active support to the policy of the government by voice or pen. A government may bear the cost of maintaining the university, not in order to get a political advocate, but because it regards learning and higher education as indispensable to national welfare and because national conditions in that particular case make it (or at some earlier times have made it) convenient or necessary to maintain the university directly from State funds. But no government would take it kindly if a university, maintained from funds under the direct control of the government, opposed the policy of the government on any crucial question. And if the government were struggling, or conceived itself to be struggling, against heavy attacks which threatened its existence, it would be more than human if it did not look to the university whose expenses it defrays to give to it its moral and intellectual support. The classic example is the case of the German universities during the thirty years before the war. The Prussian Government was justly proud of the scientific eminence of the universities which it maintained. In those parts of the field of learning and investigation which had no direct bearing on the political aims of the State, the Government gave (and felt great satisfaction in giving) complete intellectual freedom to the professors whom it had appointed. But, on matters of moment in political science it welcomed professorial support; it looked coldly on professors whose political opinions it distrusted; and it took steps through the Department of Higher Education to prevent the appointment of candidates who were thought likely to be critics or opponents of its policy.

Universities which receive no money from government and are free from government control have in theory the greatest liberty of expression on political questions. But it does not follow that they make use of that liberty or that they have any wish to use it, in opposing the government. Harvard and Yale,

Princeton and Columbia, have not been political opponents of the Government of the United States. Nor does independence from government subsidy or from administrative supervision by government necessarily secure at all times a university from government interference. In times of acute civil tension a government by the law of its being is bound to defend itself against any enemies, intellectual enemies included, who challenge seriously its right to govern. But it has been found by experience, especially in France, that fussy interference with university teaching is not an effective weapon in the armoury of government. Governments in these days rarely take a university professor by the throat and say "pay me what thou owest." Forbearance has been found the best form of conduct. And this is to our general comfort and, on the whole, to the public good.

The present case of the universities of the intermediate type in regard to controversial politics is especially interesting. The modern English universities have risen swiftly to a position of intellectual influence. It is true that University College, London, King's College, London, and Owens' College, Manchester, have, for more than three-quarters of a century, been eminent in things of the mind. But I can remember when it seemed a profanation to think of a university at Birmingham. Mr. Chamberlain's courage showed itself in his determination to make his beloved city the seat of a modern university. When it was proposed that the Yorkshire College should apply to the Victoria University, a federal institution of which the earlier members were Owens' College, Manchester, and University College, Liverpool, there were many people in Leeds who thought that it would be insufferably presumptuous on their part to ask that the august word "university" should be attached to their town. But I find that in Oxford to-day the great modern universities are profoundly respected and that all traces of their being treated like parvenus have been obliterated by the finger of time. Nevertheless, they are still young. There are people

still living who remember Manchester before Owens' College was founded—many more who can remember the contemptuous rejection by the Government of the day of the proposal that Owens' College should receive a University Charter. Liverpool was still not a university when the Prince of Wales was born. Without being in any way precarious, the position of the modern universities in England does call for tactful avoidance of local unpopularity. A penny rate is not easily got, but indignation might jeopardize it. There are still vestiges in English life of party prejudice. A retired public servant wrote angrily to us the other day because the committee of the Oxford Luncheon Club, a representative but not a political society, had invited Mr. Pethick-Lawrence to tell it the hard and bitter truth about the Surtax. If, in a narrowly-contested parliamentary election in a local constituency some of the professors of a modern university developed striking powers of propaganda, a good many ratepayers would say that they were not going to be taxed for that kind of thing. I can remember a sagacious Yorkshireman saying that nobody could prevent a member of the university staff from writing to the newspapers about anything he liked, but that if he wrote about controversial questions in politics or religion he ought to date his letters from his private house and not from the university. But I have said enough to show that there are reasons for circumspection on the part of those whose work lies in the modern English universities.

With the two ancient English universities which form the other group in the intermediate type, the case is different. No one suspects Cambridge of being unanimously Liberal because Mr. J. M. Keynes is chairman of the directors of *The Nation*. No one imagines that Oxford would poll a unanimous vote in support of the Conservative Government because its two representatives in Parliament are Lord Hugh Cecil and Sir Charles Oman. It is not only that the two ancient universities are big and therefore, being broad-bottomed, can carry a mixed

crew, but that a truce of God has been called in the political conflict which used to rage in both of them. Oxford and Cambridge in their present form and temper are the outcome of the Liberal movement of the last century (I use the words "liberal movement" in its continental and not in its narrower, English party sense). Stamped upon them is the impress of John Stuart Mill's belief in the value of discussion and of progress through the candid utterance of varied opinion. For this reason the ancient universities are, at the present time, the protectors of professorial liberty in all English universities in regard to controversial matters of politics.

If, therefore, any person were to say that all universities should keep clear of politics, I would ask them whether they do not think that Oxford is strengthened by the presence of Professor Gilbert Murray, of the Master of Balliol, and of Mr. G. D. H. Cole. And whether in an earlier generation it was not good for Oxford to be the scene of the varied political activities of Professor A. V. Dicey, Arnold Toynbee, and Henry Scott Holland. Whether it is not good for Columbia University to have such varied spokesmen on public affairs as Professor John Dewey and President Nicholas Murray Butler. Whether, finally, the brave voice and unfaltering courage of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee were not worth considerably more than a crore of rupees to the University of Calcutta.

The view which I would submit for your consideration is that all universities should encourage an open-minded study of the fundamental principles of politics, but should, as institutions, be allowed to keep themselves free from entanglements with momentarily raging political controversies. Further, I would suggest that, if a university is strong enough to stand the battering waves of stupid misunderstanding, it should be generous in allowing individual members of its society to express, in speech and writing, their sincere convictions on controversial subjects, relying on their good sense, and on their sense of obligation to the corporate society of which they are

members, to restrain them from unworthy partisanship and from impropriety in self-expression. Thirdly, I would add that, even in great emergencies when strong conviction feels that silence would be cowardly, activity in political affairs should be kept strictly subordinate to the full discharge of the other duties which in a learned society devolve both upon the old and the young.

Upon the old and the young. These words remind us that every university consists of two parts—the senior and the younger generation.

Having spent the most part of a long life in three universities, I am drawn by experience to say that in the academic world some of us who are old are apt to forget how old we are, and that some of those who are young do not always realize how young. Nearly fifty years ago, when I was head of the School House at Rugby, I felt the weight of my responsibility as seriously as if I were Viceroy of India ; when I pored over Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian speeches, spread out on one of the old brown oak tables in the School House Hall, I had less misgiving about right and wrong in British Foreign Policy than I have since been troubled with. Once when I was an undergraduate at Trinity, Professor Robinson Ellis, a Latin scholar whose fame stood high in every university of the world, took me for a walk round the University Parks. Naively, but with conviction, I told him that those of us who went to the Union thought that Curzon would some day be Foreign Secretary and that E. T. Cook knew more about the tangle of English Local Government than any man except Mr. Goschen himself. Robinson Ellis sighed, and said, " Sadler, I take little account of *undergraduate reputations*."

In words not devoid of irony, John Henry Newman said that " A university is a place to fit men of the world for the world." But he was not ironical when he wrote that " The practical end of a university course is training good members

for society.”¹ Many a young man has tried his wings in politics during his undergraduate days ; a few while still at college have impressed experienced statesmen by their promise as parliamentary or platform speakers and by their good judgment in dealing with political topics ; far more, through political discussions at the university, have first come to close grips with the reality of public affairs. “ Man,” says Aristotle in a famous passage in the first book of the *Politics*, “ Man is by nature a political animal.” No university is vigorous unless the active minds of its young and older members are thinking about fundamental things—God, Freedom, and Duty to one’s neighbour. To muffle conviction about these things stunts the mind. One’s courage shrinks if one shirks fundamental issues.

I have quoted Aristotle in support of my argument, but some of my hearers may feel that I have no right to call in aid the words of one who, if I understand him aright, was a thorough-going advocate of putting all education, including what we now call university education, under State control.²

But you will remember that Hellas intellectually was a congeries of relatively small states and that Aristotle had in view the circumstances of a city state. He is careful to point out how different in scope, method and tendency were the educational systems of the constituent state-members of the mental and, one might almost say, cultural, confederacy of the Greek-speaking world. Viewing Hellas as a whole, therefore, we may justly say that in effect it had (as we moderns have) a variety of university disciplines, compensating one another’s defects by their several merits, just as in pre-war Germany the University of Marburg had a tone and outlook different from those of the University of Berlin, and just as London,

¹ J. H. Newman, *The Idea of a University* (1852), pp. 77 and 232.

² In W. L. Newman’s *The Politics of Aristotle* (Oxford, 1887), Vol. III, pp. 39-46, there is a good summary of Aristotle’s scheme of education, and the general index at the end of Vol. IV of the same work (s. v, Education) is a useful guide,

Cambridge, and Oxford differ from one another, though all are organs of English higher education. What Aristotle would recommend is that each university should have a specific tone and a thought-out purpose, governing not only its courses of study but the pre-suppositions of its educational life. Yet he takes it for granted that, in its institutions for the training of the young, Hellas as a whole will have diversity of type, and that each great unit in the consortium will, as in the modern world, be adjusted to the needs of the community which it was designed to serve.

Maladjustment to the needs of their time and country is hurtful to the well-being of universities and, in some cases, has been the cause of fatal decline. One is apt to think of universities as immune from death. But history shows that among them the rate of mortality is rather high. Of the universities founded in Europe during the last eight centuries, nearly one-third, I think, have perished. Except in periods of unusual quietude or in the torpor of decay, universities are not, as we sometimes think them to be, haunts of ancient peace. If we look back upon their history we see them tossed at their moorings by great waves of controversy in religion or in politics, and the storms have been worst when religion and politics have been in explosive combination. In our time, indeed, most universities are remote from political or religious controversy. Their chief intellectual activity now lies in the domains of history, of the comparative investigation of custom and belief, and in the physical and biological sciences. But what lies ahead? Before our eyes, applied science is causing economic change. Economic problems loom larger in politics. But they touch at many sensitive points the lives of men. They involve ethical questions, questions of responsibility in employment, new contacts between races, our assessment of the value of what we may enjoy in life. There are signs that these questions may touch the quiet of universities. By the law of their being, universities have one foot in the past and one foot in the future. Within their walls

meet minds which are mature and minds which are promising and eager but still immature. To blend these two is to help in stabilizing society. But at times of rapid change in social or intellectual outlook, courses of academic training are in danger of getting out of date. Old ways of thought may become obsolete, not by reason of inherent defects but through subtle changes in the mental appetite of the young. At these times, conservatism which is rightly cautious may be over-tenacious of tradition. Into this mistake fell the English universities at the Renaissance, the University of Paris in the time of Descartes, some of the German universities after the Thirty Years' War. Again, it is a perilous time when a new culture and the power of large-scale industry impinge upon the venerable studies of an antique civilization. And whenever the spirit of Nationalism has gripped the imagination of the most eager-minded part of the community, universities, because one of their functions is to stabilize society, are wise, I think, in not withholding sympathy with what is fair and feasible in national aspirations.

To sum up : Politics play so great a part in life that places of education which prepare young men and women for life cannot be isolated from politics. Every university has always been the scene of political discussion. The hardest questions of belief and duty both in religion and in politics cannot be evaded by old or young in any centre of sound learning. Political philosophy and its applications have been inseparable from university training from the days of Isocrates, Plato and Aristotle to those of Treitschke, Henry Sidgwick, and Woodrow Wilson. To think and talk about politics during undergraduate days has for centuries been part of the training of those destined to lead in the public affairs of their country.

But the first duty of a university and of all those who work in it is to get at the truth. To hear both sides, to be candid and fair-minded; to shun (except in debate) the spirit of party, are primary obligations on those who teach and learn in it. But if the conditions of life in a country are unhealthy, political

talk may become feverish and unbalanced. In such circumstances, university teachers and students are under especial obligation to set an example of steadiness in judgment and, if after patient thought conscience constrains them, of courage in standing up for what at the moment may be the unpopular side.

MICHAEL SADLER

AWAKE, MY SOUL AWAKE

See! the crimson dawn-lights fly
Across the freshen'd morning sky,
And I hear the birdlings cry,
Awake! my soul, awake!

Live in glory through these days
Treading kindly on life's ways
That dear God may give his praise,
To thee, my soul, to thee!

And, when from out the great Beyond
Comes the Call, my soul respond!
It draws thee from thy earthly bond
To rest, my soul, to rest!

LELAND J. BERRY

THE DESERT SPEAKS

The Eastern desert spoke, pointing to a littered
waste of sand :
“Here stood Babylon and Nineveh,
Thebes and Samarkand ;
The jackals prowl through ruins
Where once their beauty mocked the world !
Where is their glory now, and all their lust ?
Their songs are mute, their singers turned to dust !
Where are all the joys they knew ?
Their course is run; the old gives place to new.”
The Western desert spoke, pointing to a littered
waste of sand :
“Here men will come, and cities rise,
And on this barren ground will stand
The miracles of brick and stone !
A new race comes from out the sea,
To graft its blood and bone
On my broad waiting breast ;
And cycles hence, an unborn race
Will speak of cities vanished from this self-same
place ! ”

LILY S. ANDERSON

W. B. YEATS

III

Yeats's treatment of love brings me to dwell for a moment on an important question of poetic art. Yeats as a true lyrist practically asserts the supremacy of a *single mood* of concentrated but refined passion or of intense emotion on the strength of a deep poetic faith that such moods are destined to live for ever. The range in his poetry of these *moods* is quite extensive and their depth at times remarkably profound. The poet's heart thus unburdens itself in a large variety of ways in perfectly spontaneous and impassioned outbursts of significant self-revelation. The highest mark is reached when passion is deepened, chastened and elevated into a tranquil spiritual resignation leading to the peace of the soul or to religious adoration. Then, oftener than not, the poet's utterance becomes charged with a mystic* meaning and his treatment becomes symbolic.

We have to bear in mind that *mood* is of the very essence of that emotional quality of our life which it is the function of poetry to restore to humanity whenever man loses it in the fret and fury of life's maddening pursuits or even in the scientist's absorption in the intellectual investigation of fragmentary truth or discovery of a law and in the philosopher's logical thinking. Mood arrests our too quick-paced straight march to the goal of our utilitarian existence and gives us a moment's needful halt in which we get the leisure to recapture a glimpse (be it transient) of lost beauty or to lose ourselves in enjoyment pure and simple, if not disinterested. "As the guiding principle of practical thinking," rightly observes a philosophical critic, "is some interest, so that only what is pertinent to that interest

* Cf. "A Friend's Illness"

is selected by the attention...so in poetic thinking the guiding principle is often a mood or a quality of sentiment."

Thus in one poem called "The Moods" in his "Wind among the Reeds" (1899) we read—

" Time drops in decay
Like a candle burnt out
And the mountains and woods
Have their day, have their day;
What one in the rout
Of the fire-born moods
Has fallen away?"

Elsewhere we have—

" O sweet everlasting Voices, be still;
Go to the guards of the heavenly fold
And bid them wander obeying your will
Flame under flame, till Time be no more."

Better still—

" The wrong of unshapely things is a wrong too great to be told,
I hunger to build them anew and sit on a green knoll apart
With the earth and the sky and the water, remade, like a casket of gold
For my dreams of your image that blossoms a rose in the deeps of
my heart."

Here we have the soul's ¹ hunger for pure and perfect beauty. In another poem a romantic quest of the ideal of the vanished glory of the innocent earth's infancy ends in a spiritual vision of God. This is entitled characteristically "Into the Twilight":

" Outworn heart, in a time outworn,
Come clear of the nets of wrong and right;
Laugh, heart, again in the grey twilight,
Sigh, heart, again in the dew of the morn.

¹ Cf. "To the Rose upon the Rood of Time," lines 9-12.

Your mother Eire is always young,
 Dew ever shining and twilight grey;
 Though hope fall from you and love decay,
 Burning in fires of a slanderous tongue.

Come, heart, where hill is heaped upon hill:
 For there the mystical brotherhood
 Of sun and moon and hollow and wood
 And river and stream work out their will;
 And God stands winding His lonely horn,
 And time and the world are ever in flight;
 And love is less kind than the grey twilight,
 And hope is less dear than the dew of the morn."

The whole poem in its exquisite music palpitates with the pure passion of the sudden recovery of vanished joy vibrating at the magic touch of undying hope.

The matchless grace of only 6 lines of exquisite poetry in "He Reproves the Curlew" challenges comparison with Wordsworth's "Cuckoo" in which the haunting mystery of that bird's familiar music, we know, brings to the elder bard "a tale of visionary hours." But Wordsworth's dreamy reminiscence is pale by the side of the ruddy passion with which Yeats's short piece is flushed into energetic vitality. Let us quote the lines—

"O, Curlew, cry no more in the air,
 Or only to the water in the West;
 Because your crying brings to my mind
 Passion—dimmed eyes and long heavy hair
 That was shaken out over my breast:
 There is enough evil in the crying of wind."

But I must stop somewhere however difficult it may be to abruptly curb oneself. The writer of a short paper on a long subject labours under a serious disadvantage and I must pull myself up mercilessly. Let me finish this aspect of Yeats with a reference

Distinction with other
 lyrista.

to a well-known artistic principle which differentiates Yeats as a lyrist of such moods.

In the case of poetry of this exceptional class we have to remember that the aesthetic appeal to the reader is produced by the captivating charm of the poet's extraordinary command over the indefinable resource of melodious rhythm. In "Rosa Alchemica," Part IV, we are told that "rhythm is the wheel of Eternity on which alone the transient and accidental could be broken and the spirit set free."

"In all the beauty" (of medieval portraits and engravings) "whether it was a beauty of religion, of love, or of some fantastical vision of mountain and wood, was the beauty achieved by *temperaments which seek always an absolute emotion*, and which have their most continual, though not most perfect, expression in the legends and vigils and *music* of the Celtic peoples" (Italics mine).

Music, we remember, plays an important part in the legends of the Fenians and we read in a story that Manannán, son of the Celtic Poseidon and Lord of the Celtic Paradise, gave King Cormac, the Magnificent, a magic branch of silver bearing golden apples which being shaken made such sweet music that the wounded, the sick, and the sorrowful forgot their pains and were lulled into deep sleep.

The Fiddler of Dooney says—

"When I play on my fiddle in Dooney,
Folk dance like a wave of the sea;
My cousin is priest in Kilvarnet,
My brother in Mocharabinee.

I passed my brother and cousin:
They read in their books of prayer;
I read in my book of songs
I bought at the Sligo fair."

This fiddler is sure that St. Peter will sooner admit him into heaven than the other two, for, "the good are always the merry, save by an evil chance."

When Edain (*i.e.*, Etain) came from Midher's hill to the tower of young Aengus she

" Wove seven strings,
Sweet with all music, out of his long hair,
Because her hands had been made wild by love."

Quite recently this very important feature of spontaneous poetry has come to the forefront through the valuable publications by the Oxford University Press (1925-1926) of anthologies of Negro Workaday and Folk Songs supplemented by Messrs. Chapman and Hall's collections of American Negro "Spirituals" (1926-1927) or "Sorrow-Songs." These songs are simply wonderful for their soul-entrancing rhythm and melody. The high-pressure life of a Continent largely given to Dollar-worship is tempered with the ravishing sweetness of these really artistic natural songs of which the music comes straight from man's unsophisticated heart with its irresistible appeal to hearts considerably deadened to this primitive appeal by commerce, industrialism, machine-governed civilisation, and economic competition, on top of which comes to-day very ironically a staggering budget provision for huge armament! Melody thus seems to come as a saviour of competition-ridden society preserving from decadence and degeneration the vast population of a vastly wealthy New World. Booker T. Washington appropriately observes—

" There is in the plantation songs (*i.e.* spirituals) a pathos and a beauty that appeals to a wide range of tastes, and their harmony makes abiding impressions upon persons of the highest culture."

The shepherd in "The Sad Shepherd" says—

" I thought of rhyme alone,
For rhyme can beat a measure out of trouble
And make the daylight sweet once more."

It is needless to multiply by quotations these remarkably significant instances of Yeats's persistent emphasis on two things, *viz.*, (1) the supreme importance of love as a poetic theme and (2) the value of music, rhythm, time, song. Yeats's lyrics, like those of Burns, are wonderful and very effective in their song-quality. Having just now no authority before me to enable me to ascertain what was precisely the nature or extent of the influence of Troubadour poetry on Yeats, if any, I can only go so far as to lay stress on the fact that to Troubadours in general, but specially to those of Spain under Arab supremacy, only *one life* did count at all and that the life of love and song and music. It is not without significance that as an artist Yeats too seems to care for no other life, whatever his interests may be as an Irish patriot or a student of, if not adept in, alchemy, theosophy, Indian philosophy or Christian mysticism and his sympathies with symbolism, to all of which I have drawn or shall draw your attention. There is another evidence in support of this supposition which is rendered thereby more probable. The structural FORM of some of Yeats's poems reminds me of the Provençal "*tenso*" (*i.e.*, *tension* or contention in verse) which the Troubadours performed in the shape of a song of which one part "*answered*" another (just as Miriam in the Old Testament *answered* the women with timbrels and dances). With this is connected the French "*débat*". The dialogue-form used in many Troubadour compositions on love, chivalry, religious dogma or ethical problems is often reproduced by Yeats who more or less adheres also to the *tenso* rhyme-arrangement in such poems as "Michael Robartes and the Dancer." I refer to "An Image from a Past Life," "Phases of the Moon," "Ego Dominus Tuus" and "The Sad Shepherd" for their dialogue-form which can easily be differentiated from "The Wanderings of Usheen" which in spite of the interlocutor in St. Patrick is essentially a narrative poem, or "Anashuya and Vijaya"

which is frankly a miniature dramatic piece. The form of "Fergus and the Druid" is also dramatic, for, there is no "contention" here, the queries of the Druid serving merely the purpose of giving liveliness to the story of Fergus which, if put in the shape of a continuous narrative, would surely lose much of its vividness and persuasive force. Not so, I contend, is the case with the poems I have cited as instances of *dialogue poems* written in the manner of the Troubadours, though the modern reproduction of the older form does not exactly represent the peculiarities of the *tenso*. "The Saint and the Hunchback" marks the transition in form from "Fergus and the Druid" to "Phases of the Moon."

Will it, in this connection, be too fanciful to speak of another (circumstantial) evidence furnished by Yeats's use of the word "embroideries" in "A Coat" ("Responsibilities," 1914) with which, he tells us, he "covered his song," reminiscent as it is of the favourite type of Arabian Song called "*maouchah*" full of fantastic rhymes justifying the name which means "embroidery"? This *maouchah* has its counterpart in short Troubadour lyrics noted only for their elaborate dainty rhymes.

Something of the irresistible charm that we relish in Yeats resides, we know, also in Swinburne's exquisite melody. Now, the suggestive power of the subtle art of music unconsciously induces in appreciative readers of true poetry a mood akin to that of the poet when he actually composes under the stress of a powerful emotion. The mood may not deliberately be made itself the subject-matter of the poem concerned. The Arion-Dolphin myth of antiquity is not without its significant application to the point I am now discussing about the emotional appeal of (Yeats's) musical verse. May not this also be one of the reasons why hymns (which according to St. Augustine's "cum cantico" suggest worship of God with songs, requiring, as Bede holds, *metre*) are recognised from early times by the Church as appropriate to liturgy, possibly

in imitation of Hellenic forms of worship of Zeus, Hermes, Dionysius and Apollo? In Hesiod's *Theogonia* the poet is the Muses' follower whose chief function is to *sing* the glories of the Olympic gods and goddesses as also those of semi-divine men.

Even when a melody-induced mood is not the theme of a poem, the reader's imagination co-operating in harmony with the poet's under the incantation of such melody realizes in a mysterious way that the harmonious sound of the words uttered in their proper rhythmic movement makes the entire composition vital with a living energy full of emotional warmth and glow. The rhythmic verse-beat conveys a delicate, dim, sensuous pleasure lulling for the moment the too wide-awake intellect to sleep so that it may successfully play on the cultured sensibility of the heart like the soft motion of a gentle breeze playing on the attuned strings of an Æolian harp. I am quite confident that all true lovers of pure poetry to whom, be it remembered, poetry, in the first instance, is *more an art than a philosophy of life* and as such must be enjoyed and appreciated in an appropriate spirit, will be charmed by the compelling power of the sheer beauty of Yeats's entrancing music—of the melodious sweetness of sound apart from the sense. Yeats in this respect challenges comparison with Spenser, Shelley, Rossetti, Swinburne, Poe and Arthur Symons.

. Now Yeats himself rightly observes at one place that "all poets, even all delighted readers of poetry, speak certain kinds of poetry to distinct and simple tunes, though the speaker may be deaf to ordinary music" (Collected Works, Vol. III). To this I have only to add that in his poetry the tune, with rare exceptions, coincides with the sense in a perfect manner. Aleel's song in "Countess Cathleen" (Act I) is highly suggestive in this connection. He sings—

"Impetuous heart, be still, be still ;
Your sorrowful love may never be told ;
Cover it up with a lonely tune."

This characteristic of Yeats brings his poetic art as far as practicable under modern conditions close to the antique art of the Greek rhapsodists, to that of the lyric poets of the school of Sappho in the 7th century B.C. or of Pindar in the 5th, though the parallelism must not be pushed too far. We have to remember that even the best lyrics of our day (except songs expressly written for being *sung* instead of being *read* or *recited*), rarely merits the name of musical¹ as distinguished from literary poetry. That well-known art of Troubadour poesy is practically a dead art with little chance of being revived; and lyrics now appeal to our heart not so much by their music as the thought, sentiment, emotion or feeling they are primarily intended to record on which the attention of the reader as well as of the poet becomes mainly concentrated. Yet *mutatis mutandis* Yeats naturally and spontaneously clothes his sentiment or feeling in highly melodious verse and the point demands special notice. I have, therefore, thought it necessary to dwell at some length on this feature of his best poetry and to make an attempt to distinguish his craftsmanship from that of other modern lyricists while not forgetting his affinity with Shelley or Swinburne.

I hope by now I have succeeded in making it clear that Yeats is remarkably rich in poetic felicities in his treatment of the longing of a restless soul ever eager in the quest of a divine beauty and a heavenly love or of a serene repose that can be realised alone in a world or a life more perfect than the fragmentary mental life we daily live or the worse one of maddening futile activities. That is why he often depicts with rare exquisiteness of touch the flitting *mood* laden with² sad or pensive memories—memories which are the ghosts of the ever-vanishing present or of the long-buried past. Thus even every sight and sound of Nature speaks to his delicate soul of what is to him “the fluttering sadness of earth.”

¹ Tennyson's lyric “The splendour falls on castle walls” (in *Princess*, Bk. IV), for instance, is such by virtue of its superb music, as also Christina Rossetti's “Dream-love.”

² Cf. “When you are Old” (1893).

His nature poetry is seldom purely descriptive. It proceeds from a subjective and mystical conception and is enveloped in a romantic dreamy atmosphere of twilight. An attempt was successfully made by him to shake off this mood and the result was the series of later poems called "The Wild Swans at Coole" belonging to the last stage of his poetic career and published in 1919.

POET OF MOODS.

In "Rosa Alchemica" is elaborately set forth the contents of the book on alchemy mentioned there which expounded the whole principle of spiritual alchemy—which was "the gradual distillation of the contents of the soul"—and declared the independent reality of our thoughts. So, "if you imagine the semblance of a living being, it is at once possessed by a wandering soul." "All minds are continually giving birth to such beings and sending them forth to work health or disease, joy or madness." "The divine powers would only appear in beautiful shapes, which are but, as it were, shapes trembling out of existence, folding up into timeless ecstasy, drifting with half-shut eyes, into sleepy stillness. The bodiless souls who descended into these forms were *what men called moods*; and worked all great changes in the world. ** In this way all great events were accomplished." (Italics are mine.)

In this passage we have a very indirect and somewhat vague assertion about the transcendental quality of the imagination. At all events, it serves to show how and why Yeats as an idealist assigned great importance to *moods*, which, according to my estimate, form the staple of his best poetry. I have elsewhere attempted to establish by quotations from Yeats that he was a great believer in the potency of a single supreme **moment** of emotional intensity or passion, or of ecstasy or trance. One may make this the theme of an essay or a brief thesis on Yeats, for, among others, it explains his theory of poetic inspiration,

doctrine of intuitive *vision*¹ (which he carefully distinguishes from dream) his extraordinary imaginative quality, his ideality, his symbolic treatment of sights and sounds, the source of his exquisite imagery and of his ravishing rhythm and cadence, his abiding sense of joy and repose alike, the austere classic beauty of his mature work and all the deep mystery with which he, as a poet-seer, beholds all the universe to be completely enveloped, till the exalted *moods* unfold to him as to us, through his poetic vision and his great art, the intimate and eternal connection between the passing shows and phenomenal changes and God. Thus to things material his *moods* give the shape and colour of the spiritual and to all discord the note of harmony. The baffling burden of the mystery is then lightened, not as in Wordsworth's case, by reflective meditation or contemplative communion with Nature but by the depth and intensity of *feeling* as in Shelley (*cf.* "Prometheus Unbound"). This will give an enduring vitality to his art as it clearly marks his individuality and originality.

Criticism makes much of the poet's habit of writing "with the eye upon the subject." I may claim, after all, that I have succeeded in a single paper in explaining and illustrating, that Yeats more than satisfies that condition as an artist. Besides, the eye that he fixes upon his varied themes is not merely the physical eye that notes minutely what lies on the surface of reality by means of a rare power of alert observation alone. He is, when he chooses to be so, as exact as the most exacting of our latter-day so-called realists but he does not stop there. He is endowed with a double vision—one that sees with others whatever appeals to the senses and the other that penetrates through the outershell into the inner kernel and reveals to the less fortunate world that which eternally abides, and his is always the artist's beauty-way of revelation which, however, as Keats has once for all

¹ *Cf.* E. Brontë's "Speak, God of Vision" and "Often rebuked, yet always back returning," specially ll. 3-4, 7-8 and last two lines and Christina Rossetti's "Dream-love."

proclaimed with his mighty voice, is not opposed to the truth-way. His yearning¹ for ideal beauty is a part of his intense sense of temporary separation from God and true Life with which he hankers to be eternally united. His quest is the mystic's quest of a Joy which is the deepest peace that knows no change even in the midst of this universe of incessant changes. The pathos of the whole world of failures, partial successes, fragmentary realisation of transitoriness, sorrow, disease, decay, and death and the weariness that all these cause are dissolved in his deep sense of the felicity of Joy in which all these disturbing elements at last find their fruition and significance. We know that Wordsworth, too, saw Joy immanent everywhere—"joy in the widest commonalty spread" as is suggested by the Northampton peasant poet John Clare (1793-1864) in his "The Woodcutter's Night-song"—just as Shelley saw the immanence of Love, Keats of Beauty, and Browning of Energy (शक्ति). The idea of immanence, be it Wordsworth's "something far more deeply interfused," Shelley's "one spirits' plastic stress," Goethe's Earth-spirit "weaving God's eternal vesture at the loom of Time," or what is beheld by Browning's Paracelsus in his dying vision, stood sharply opposed to the 18th century Deist's mechanical idea of God's relation with the created world, having been made the common property of all great poets once for all by German romantic philosophy. It also explains in part the common currency of Pantheism in most of the poets of the 19th century and accounts for the reverent love of the commonplace in some of them who invested it with a soul of divinity. The commonplaces of Irish peasant life, for instance, and of the superstitious and traditional beliefs of Irish fisherfolk are well-nigh a kind of lure to the poetic imagination of Yeats. So far as immanence is concerned, the mystic, however, almost reverses the pantheist's process in his individual way of realising it by not so much seeing God's presence in all things as by completely immersing (and some-

¹ Cf. D. G. Rossetti's Sonnet "Sibylla Palmifera,"

times dissolving) all distinct individualised existences in one pervasive God-presence and there seeing all things in God outside which nothing in the universe can live, move and have its being. According to the mystics this God-vision comes to intellects quickened—made particularly sensitive to its ineffable touch—by the solvent of intense burning love—or better, by the rushing tide of love inundating the entire personality of man so as to obliterate all demarcations and barriers, all definite contours, of individuality in an all-embracing soul-existence. This spiritual consciousness is induced by tranced moments of ecstatic vision, by deep insight, effulgent illumination undazzled by excess of light, or by emotional exaltation. It is in rare moments of supreme value that the Finite succeeds not merely in having an occasional glimpse of the Infinite (as is indicated in Shelley's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*) but in thoroughly grasping the Infinite as *at once* Truth, Beauty, Love and, finally, Joy as these are *seen* by God Himself.

Thus even a poet like Browning, who is the least mystical in his mysticism which he ever modifies by the inevitable stress laid on all his poetic utterances of a clear **ethical** note (of constant upward endeavour made by a powerfully active **will**), has been interpreted by a very competent critic as one to whom "God was present, sharing **their joy**, in all the vitalities of the world, from the uncouth play of the volcano to the heaven-and-earth transfiguring mind of man." In a way, this too is pantheism in disguise or in the guise of mysticism with its unmistakable emphasis on the **joy element** though the same critic contends, I know, that "this God of manifold joys was sharply detached from Browning's universe; he was a sensitive and sympathetic spectator, not a pervading spirit. * * *

"The mystic's dream of seeing all things in God, the Hegelian thesis of a divine mind realising itself in and through the human, found no lodgment in a consciousness of mosaic-like clearness dominated by the image of an incisively individual and indivisible self."

This authoritative verdict of a great critic makes me a little diffident in urging that in my view this peculiar variety of (radically reconstructed) mysticism—well-nigh re-shaped out of all recognition by the new form given to it—makes ethical endeavour interfere too much with emotional fervour and suffusiveness, creating as if it were a strange amalgam consisting of two well-defined Indian religious disciplines poetically re-interpreted for a modern imaginative presentation, *viz.*, (1) the imperative ethical note of Buddhistic culture and (2) the sweeping emotional intoxication of *Vaisnava* ardours. Perhaps he will rashly venture too far who, as a critic of Yeats, will suggest that Yeats too seems to have in some measure inoculated the Celtic Movement in literature with something akin to this verus. I simply throw out with extreme hesitation a critical hint for worthier persons to work my suggestion out (if it is worth anything) or refute it outright by a more thorough analysis of all Yeats's utterances than my present limits permit. If mine be a surmise ridiculously wild or extravagant I can only crave the generous indulgence of more competent interpreters of this Irish mystic poet. I offer my humble suggestion at all because it appears to me to be one of many possible ways of explaining the apparently abrupt change detected in the last phase of Yeats's development which drove back the former cabalist, occultist, theosophist so definitely into the Christian fold, connection with which even in the earlier stages of his life was surely never severed but allowed somewhat to be slackened and loose.

The iron does sink into his heart, if not his soul, yet it is not allowed to inflict a wound for which there is no healing. He is melancholy at times and his verse is sorrow-laden and his heart is anguished but he soon passes on to exaltation divine, and ultimately, he finds for us permanent solace through spiritual resignation and absolute surrender to divine dispensation—to the law of Love and loving sacrifice which fulfils instead of destroying the older law of "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not."

My point is that in Yeats and in his poetry there is thus to be discovered a steady and gradual growth—a systematic development, stage by stage, leading from tentative juvenile efforts in which “*embroideries*” are so prominent to artistic perfection combined with ecstatic or mystic vision which entitles Yeats to the glory of a prophet-poet, at least of modern Ireland.

In connection with my brief remarks on Yeats’s first longer poem “The Wanderings of Usheen” I have
Note of Melancholy.
just mentioned that even then (1885-1889) the poet was subject to a romantic melancholy which was his own. In the later poem “The Wild Swans at Coole” (the title piece to the series of poems under that name published in 1919), stanza 3 records his sadness due to the contrast between the present and the past of his own life much in the way in which (not Shelley or Keats but) Wordsworth refers in his “Ode on the Intimations of Immortality” to a similar change. His “Lines Written in Dejection” seems to me to differ significantly from Coleridge’s “Dejection—an Ode” or Shelley’s similar lines written at Naples, for though Yeats knows

“The holy centaurs of the hills are vanished
 I have nothing but the embittered sun,”

he does not complain but on the contrary resolves

“And now that I come to fifty years
 I must endure the timid sun.”

“The Green Helmet” poems of 1912 contain a number of pieces overcharged with a temporary sadness. Let me quote a few verses from here and there.

“And I grew weary of the sun
 Until my thoughts cleared up again.”

“But, dear, cling close to me ; since you were gone
 My barren thoughts have chilled me to the bone !”

“ And I that have not your faith, how shall I know
That in the blinding light beyond the grave
We'll find so good a thing as that we have lost ?”

“ The fascination of what's difficult
Had dried up the sap out of my veins and rent
Spontaneous joy and natural content
Out of my heart.”

“ Wine comes in at the mouth
And love comes in at the eye ;
That's all we shall know for truth
Before we grow old and die.
I lift the glass to my mouth,
I look at you, and I sigh.”

We may match these with an extract from “The Wild Swans at Coole” (1919) :—

“ I have looked upon those brilliant creatures
And now my heart is sore,
All's changed since I, hearing at twilight,
The first time on this shore,
The bell-beat of their wings above my head,
Trode with a lighter tread.”

This too is Yeats's *poetry of mood*—only the mood is one of temporary depression due to loss of faith sustained by a wearied soul. He speaks in such a mood almost like Shelley and Keats of the contrast between man and nature to bring out the lurking pathos of human life which is subject to change—particularly to the benumbing power of time, of old age. The prose piece “Red Hanrahan's Curse” contains that poet's “curse upon old age and upon the old men”—old age which like the wind comes and blows away the blossom of youth and of the beautiful people of the world.¹ The pathos of the coldness of heart that old age brings with it is well expressed in “A Song”

¹ Contrast Browning's “ Rabbi Ben Ezra ” and R. W. Dixon's (1883-1900) “ Ode on Advancing Age.”

(in "The Wild Swans at Coole"). Yet Yeats soon shakes off this mood, conquers sadness born of the consciousness of this change till the balance of the soul is once more restored. He is found next to "praise the winters gone" and the recognition of the fact follows that

" Wisdom is a butterfly
And not a gloomy bird of prey."

Forthwith the stern subdued beauty of mature age finds its due meed of the poet's praise in "Peace" where we read of

" Such a delicate high head,
All that sternness amid charm,
All that sweetness amid strength."

Similarly another short verse runs—

" Though all the lying days of my youth
I swayed my leaves and flowers in the sun,
Now I may wither into the truth."

In his latest published volume¹ of poems, mostly written between 1923 and 1927 and published in 1928, called "The Tower," we come across in "Sailing to Byzantium" (composed, 1927) which, we are told, in the opening line "is no country for old man" and where it is further said that

" An aged man is but a paltry thing,
A tattered coat upon a stick, unless
Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing
For every tatter in its mortal dress,"

the beautiful thought embodied in the third stanza which runs

" O sages standing in God's holy fire
As in the gold mosaic of a wall, •

¹ All references to "The Tower" are necessarily fresh additions to the Paper read before the Poetry Society in September, 1927, when this new publication had not yet reached the writer.

Come from the holy fire, perne in a gyre,
 And be the singing masters of my soul.
 Consume my heart away; sick with desire
 And fastened to a dying animal
 It knows not what it is ; and gather me
 Into the artifice of eternity."

With the recovery of this mental equipoise, however, grows a strange distrust of mere knowledge as we find recorded in "The Sad Shepherd," "Lines Written in Dejection" and "The Down." In short, mysticism deepens with a growing sense of perfection and peace. Like Wordsworth he finds ample compensation in his own type of a philosophic mind for all the loss sustained with the passing away of youth's glorious visions, of those days of "immense despair, unfathomed love—every eternal *mood*" (cf. "Our Lady of the Hills"—Italics mine). I do not find anything like pessimism in Yeats whose trials and sufferings for his country's degradation were not less crushing than those of Shelley or Byron or whose disappointment at the failure of people around him to appreciate Irish art and Ireland's poetry and myth, the beauties of her scenery or of her once pure and simple life and faith less depressing than that of Ruskin. There is, however, in his satirical and humorous pieces, comparatively negligible, an occasional touch of cynicism which sometimes threatens to be hard but the balance thus temporarily distributed is quickly set right.

I have yet to take into consideration this note of sadness in his poetry and rightly interpret its significance and meaning.

So far as the pervasive note of pensive sadness is concerned, it brings to him for ever a message of a beauty fading that fills the heart with an autumnal reverie and he stands before us as

"A man of songs
 Alone in the hushed passion of romance."

His appealing address "To the Rose upon the Rood of Time"—

"Red Rose, proud Rose, sad Rose of all my days!
Come near me, while I sing the ancient ways:

* * *

Come near, that no more blinded by man's fate,
I find under the boughs of love and hate,
In all poor foolish things that live a day
Eternal beauty wandering on her way"—

goes straight to the responsive hearts of all his readers by the sheer force of its downright sincerity.

It must not, however, be inferred even from the poet's insistence on this pensive sadness that his outlook on life is permanently overclouded with romantic gloom or that his poetry enervates more than it chastens, braces and ennobles the human heart. There is not, nay, cannot be, any real pessimism in a poet like Yeats who in his early stage had absolute confidence in the human heart and in the last period became noted for his reliance on God. Though one notices in him something of the Troubadour spirit, of an opposition to the church in its externalities which he shared with the 12th-13th century Christian mystics like the Abbesses St. Hildegard (1098-1179) and Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231) and Abbot Joachim (1145-1202), his faith in God remained ever unshaken and his "pathway," finally chosen with determination, led him from the immortals of the ancient belief of Ireland and from the Order of the Alchemical Rose to chapels where he lost himself among the prayers and the sorrows of the multitude" repeating an ancient prayer of poor, suffering Gaelic men and women of yore—

"Seven paters seven times,
Send Mary by her Son,
Send Bridget by her Mantle
Send God by His strength."

There is an abundant stress emphatically laid on the underlying idea that this entire **mood of longing** means essentially nothing but the soul's hankering for release from thralldom to sense which is achieved by its union with an abiding spiritual unity behind all transient diversity, with a permanence at the core of all impermanence, with an eternal life far beyond the power of "Time, Space, Chance, Change and Fate." There he discovers the "land of heart's desire"—the land that is too good to be a burden on the heart. In that poetic drama "The Land of Heart's Desire" (1894) a mysterious child-voice thus addresses the soul of the young woman Mary (the wife of Shawn) significantly—

" You shall go with me newly-married bride
And gaze upon a merrier multitude (*i.e.*, fairies)
Where Beauty has no ebb, decay no flood,
But joy is wisdom, Time an endless song,
I kiss you and the world begins to fade."

In his "Ideas of Good and Evil" (1903), Yeats tells us—"We love nothing but the perfect and our dreams make all things perfect that we may love them." Here is verily the triumph of the spirit over the flesh that is so weak in all of us.

I should add here that with this significant note of the poet's undying faith in perfection we step into the third stage of his poetry, beginning, roughly speaking, with the birth of the new century. At any rate the year 1903 may be accepted as a sure land-mark. From that date Yeats's poetry is distinctly charged with a message of heart-easing joy and of slow-reviving hope.

THIRD STAGE OR THIRD PERIOD.

The direct transition from the second stage is marked by the comparatively unimportant volume "The Seven Woods" (pub.

1904) preceded, the year before, by two beautiful narrative (long) poems, *viz.*, "The Old Age of Queen Maeve" showing the difference between now and then and the love story of "Bailie and Aillinn" whom the Master of Love, the Gaelic Eros Aengus, caused to die of broken heart by telling each an invented story of the other's death so that he might make them happy in his own land among the dead. The title piece of "The Seven Woods" speaks of the poet's having left behind "unavailing outcries and the old bitterness" and of his "contentedness" even though there lingers a clinging to the old beauty of Ireland.

To this period belong all later works of Yeats including the revised version of "The Shadowy Waters" (1906), "From the Green Helmet and other Poems" (1912), "Responsibilities" (1914), "Nine Poems" (1918), "The Wild Swans at Coole" (1919), "Michael Robartes and the Dancer" (1921) and "The Tower" (1928). We can easily afford to dismiss the Green Helmet poems which to my mind are not representative of the poet's great art. Nay, I venture to say that they are feeble in sense, obscure, full of mannerism and lacking in free play of emotion and in lyrical beauty.

In "The Responsibilities" (1914) the style altogether freed now from "embroideries" referred to in the poem "A coat" which I have already quoted is, I must say, a bit rugged and hard but Yeats now becomes remarkable for lucidity. That I consider to be a great advance in art. There is another important change and we cry out with the poet in the gladness of heart and soul "O heart, the winds have shaken," for, indeed, they now finally cease to be

"Desolate winds that cry over the wandering sea
Desolate winds that hover in the flaming West."

With this new poetry of Yeats the reader's imagination veers round to the grey East touched at last with streaks of new light heralding the glorious break of a new dawn.

There is now a supremacy of idealism¹ but it ceases to be dreamy reverie and has for its solid foundation a
 Idealism, Optimism. sure basis of a robust² optimism without which life even as it is reflected in art misses its true meaning and value. We also come across a highly ethical note which gives the lie to that cheap criticism which so comfortably disposes of in its stupid self-complaisance such great masters of poetry as Poe, Blake, Shelley and Yeats, as if they are nothing more than mere visionary dreamers. Psycho-analysis practically proposes to class all idealistic dreamers with neurotics—only it charitably distinguishes the former by adding that “the literary man generally saves himself from neurosis by putting his dream into artistic shape,” as if art, after all, is a safety valve. “One dreams on,” we are told, “till he is rescued from going mad by a physcian’s help, if possible; the other partly cures himself by self-expression, and at the same time gives the world a piece of art or literature, which consoles many, because they too have either had or witnessed similar troubles, or consider themselves possible victims to such sorrows.” So, even the readers or appreciators of art productions are not altogether spared by psycho-analysis!

Now, this is scientific analysis with a vengeance. All sciences in their infancy or even in the hey-day of youth are a bit over-confident and must shoot beyond the mark till Time, the supreme mender of all extremisms, steadies the audacious, if not over-hasty, youth into sobriety. To-day the craze is for psycho-analytic interpretation of all literature and particularly of poetry and of poets, and the craze must, we know, be left to run its natural course as experienced physicians leave certain fevers to do. We need not be alarmed at this “modern” *furor*, far less should we refuse to give psycho-analytic *literary*

¹ Cf. Introductory verses to “Responsibilities,” “Ego Dominus Tuus,” “His Phoenix,” “Broken Dreams.”

² Cf. “Pandeem.”

criticism a full scope or a patient hearing. Nay, we do gratefully accept here and there some of its verdicts but not all its theories and are certainly ready to have guidance from it to serve as a corrective to over-emotional, super-romantic, too individualistic (*i.e.*, egoistic) or merely impressionistic critical attitude. This may not satisfy the over-zealous scientist but may, we trust, appeal successfully to sober sense. I have just pointed out that though the range of Yeats's love poetry is extensive he is nowhere what psycho-analysis calls¹ an "*exhibitionist*" unless, of course, his extraordinary curiosity and remarkable desire for knowledge, specially of a somewhat esoteric type as evidenced by his keenness for occultism, for the *cabala*, for psychical research and the like,² be interpreted as an instance of the *sublimation* of exhibitionistic traits. Gautier seems to have some influence on Yeats's art and his symbolism and we cannot omit to notice that Gautier's exquisite artistic craftsmanship is ascribed by psycho-analysis to this exhibitionism. Vision³ cannot altogether desert artists, though Browning's Don Juan tells us that "a poet never dreams, we prose folk always do," lest our world should grow too poor and drab, but it now makes our poet—

"Talk of the embattled flaming multifude
Who rise, wing above wing, flame above flame
And, like a storm, cry the Ineffable Name."

Let us next listen to Yeats consoling himself and us by saying—

¹ *Vide* page 95, *Calcutta Review*, for April, 1928.

² *Vide* "Auto-biographies and Reveries, etc.," Sec. XXV; "The Trembling of the Veil," Sec. XII relating to 1887-91, pp. 181-187 and "Hodos Chameliontes," Sec. I, pp. 313-339, 456-460 (1897-98).

³ For a full description of a seer girl's waking trance which enabled her to see fairies dancing to a tune and the poet's own trance (which is explained as a "suspension of the will in which the imagination moved of itself") *vide* "Regina Pigmeorum Veni" in "The Celtic Twilight." Reference to his own dream-like reverie is significantly made also in "Rosa Alchemica," Part II. I shall have to dwell at some length on this question of vision later on while speaking of symbolism.

“Dear heart, make a soft cradle of old tales,
 And songs, and music : wherefore should you sadden
 For wrongs you cannot hinder ? The great God
 Sailing condemns the lost : be mirthful : He
 Bids you be merry and old age be wise.”

This is wise resignation, this is surrender of the over-active spirit to the blessedness of peace. Let us sometimes have the courage to acknowledge that old age too hath its victories as great as those of earnest youth. Let us unite our sober and serene voice with that of the mature poet and in the meekness of spirit say—

The
 Mirth.

“We who still labour by the cromlech on the shore
 The grey cairn on the hill, when day sinks drowned in dew,
 Being weary of the world’s empires, bow down to you,
 Master of the still stars and of the flaming door.”

Mystic-Symbolic.

Now the poet’s vision is spiritualised and he beholds the flaming door of heaven opened wide to receive the weary and worn soul. He is soaring to higher heights and diving into deeper depths of man’s consciousness. His note becomes now distinctly mystic and his art frankly symbolic. We may refer in this connection to the prose essay “*Rosa Alchemica*, Part II,” specially the utterances of Michael Robartes addressed to his friend Yeats. I cannot quote them here in full but must point out the very suggestive and strange experience of Yeats while under the mysterious influence of Michael Robartes as to how he felt his whole self (memories, hopes, thoughts and will) melting away and himself next passing beyond the mysterious forms full of unearthly beauty, after having in the meantime endured strange moods, melancholy with the weight of many worlds, “into that Death which is Beauty herself, and into that Loneliness which all the multitudes desire without ceasing.” Finally, Yeats, who had at first remonstrated and refused to be initiated into the mysteries of *Eleusis* as opposed to those of *Calvary*, yields

and unconditionally surrenders himself to Michael's guidance. We must remember, however, that Yeats ultimately outgrew this stage and found peace and happiness in the Christian fold. He beautifully puts the idea at the end of his "*Rosa Alchemica*" as to how the mastery of the indefinite world of these esoteric studies is not altogether gone and how he presses the rosary to his heart saying—

"He whose name is Legion is at our doors deceiving our intellects with subtlety and flattering our hearts with beauty, and we have no trust but in Thee;"

and then

"the war that rages within me at other times is still, and I am at peace."

How strange is the close parallelism between this cry of the Irish poet's innermost heart and that of St. Augustine in his famous *Confessions* (Chapter X)!

His appreciation of symbolic art is indicated by the following extract from "*The Tables of the Law*":—

"The certitude of a fierce or gracious fervour in the enraptured faces of the angels of Francesca" (the 15th century painter of the Umbrian school remarkable for tenderness of colour and beauty of expression in his frescoes at Borgo San Sepolcro and in Arezzo); "and in the august faces of the sibyls of Michael Angelo" (1475-1564) well-known for his Christian Platonism); "and the incertitude, as of soul's trembling between the excitement of the spirit and the excitement of the flesh, in wavering faces from frescoes in the churches of Siena" (executed mostly in the 14th century and noted specially for imaginative force and technical skill); "and in the faces like thin flames, imagined by the modern symbolists and pre-Raphaelites, had often made that long "grey, dim, empty, echoing passage" (leading to Aherne's private chapel) "*become to my eyes a vestibule of eternity.*" (Italics and the portions in parenthesis, mine).

In the "*Cap and Bells*" (1899) in his own way our poet had already complained however indirectly of the world's¹ indifference and apathy to the inspiring urge of poetic visions just as Shelley had done before him in his passionate lyrical

¹ Cf. The complaint of Seanchan in the drama of "*The King's Threshold.*"

cry. Yeats in his quieter and characteristic symbolic way suggests that the young queen would not listen to the wisdom of the jester but on the contrary—

“She drew in the heavy casement
And pushed the latches down.”

But the earnest soul cannot be thus baffled, for,

“It had grown wise-tongued by thinking
It had grown sweet-tongued by dreaming,”

and so,

“In a red and quivering garment
It sang to her through the door.”

This is the mystic's way and with him the blind,¹ the so-called insane, the professional jester, the man, superficially viewed, senile and decrepit with age—these are, after all, often the chosen vessels of God through whom His divine wisdom pours itself into the empty souls of the busy world. (Cf. such plays as “The Hour Glass” “On Baile's Strand” which have in this respect much in common with the symbolic dramas of Maeterlinck and of Rabindranath).

The poet's deep faith in perfection which is the fountain-head of noble optimism is intimately connected with his keen pursuit of the Ideal in the real, showing clearly his affinity with Shelley. (Cf. “The Tables of the Law.”)

In the song of Wandering Aengus who in Celtic myth is the God of youth, beauty, poetry and ecstasy, we read how a little

¹ Cf “Helen's Eye” in “The Celtic Twilight.” “I think Raftery (the blind poet) was altogether blind,” said an old man to Yeats, “but those that are blind have a way of seeing things, and have the power to know more, and feel more, and to do more, and to guess more than those that have their sight, and a certain wit and a certain wisdom is given to them.” Maeterlinck's *Les Aveugles* (1890) and the grandfather in *The Intruder* are like Plato's cavern man groping in exile with his back towards the light yet “these who see least see most.”

silver trout, caught by the hero in a stream, suddenly and mysteriously changed itself into a glimmering girl

“With apple blossom in her hair
Who called me by my name and ran
And faded through the brightening air.”

At once begins in consequence an eternal quest of the Ideal in the hero's firm and passionate resolve

“Though I am old with wandering
Thro' hollow lands and hilly lands,
I will find out where she has gone,
And kiss her lips and take her hands ;
And walk among long dappled grass,
And pluck till time and times are done
The silver apples of the moon,
The golden apples of the sun.”

This is really the key-note to the poetry of Yeats and it appears so early as 1889 even in his “Wanderings of Usheen,” the renowned poet-hero of the Fenian cycle of Irish mediæval legend, commonly known as Ossian, where the hero is full of sighing because he has detected in the faces of men and women the intense longing of sacred desires—“the immortal desire of immortals.” In “The Tables of the Law” we read that “the angels who have hearts of the Divine Ecstasy, and bodies of the Divine Intellect, need nothing but a thirst for the immortal element, in hope, in desire, in dreams.”

I am afraid I have detained you too long. It will be seen that I have practically shut out most of the poet's dramas and also that I have dwelt at greater length on the second stage of his poetic career. In that period we have his best poetry *considered as poetry* and his best craftsmanship, though naturally the final period shows deepening of thought into something more profound. His art, however, suffers and he grows more idealistic, mystic and symbolic.

(To be continued)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

IS FREUD A PSYCHOLOGIST ?

To ask whether Freud is a psychologist would at first blush, seem a presumptuous if not ludicrous question. One might as well ask whether Darwin was a biologist or Kant a philosopher. A little analysis, however, will readily alter the perspective.

Before the advent of psychoanalysis, there were two kinds of psychology, that of the common man and that of the scientist; a psychology of the street and a psychology of the laboratory. Popular psychology was immersed in the daily preoccupations of men and women; it dealt with personalities, characters, dispositions. It classed some as intelligent, others as stupid; some as mean, others as kind; some as gifted, others as commonplace. It spoke of talents, geniuses, leaders of men, keen observers, born naturalists or inventors. It loved to dwell on the ineradicable psychological traits of nations. Also, it always dealt with the whole man, the whole woman. Its syntheses were realistic and pragmatic, its analyses allowed for no exceptions or inaccuracies. Its conclusions, generally, were categorical, sweeping and dogmatic.

Popular psychologizing was raised to an exalted status by the realistic novelists and dramatists. Men like Chekov, Balzac, Maupassant, Tolstoi, Shakespeare and Molière, Ibsen and Dostoyevski, Galsworthy or Maugham, used the psychology of the street, of the common man; but whereas the average person employed in his operations pick and shovel, hammer and saw, these great seers of the human psyche wielded refined surgical instruments, the painter's brush, the sculptor's thumb. They saw further and more clearly, expressed their insight with greater precision and refinement. Also, they discerned much that lay hidden from the common eye. Still, all in all, their conclusions were comprehensible to the lay reader. They belonged to his universe of discourse. They dealt with living

men and women of flesh and blood, with aptitudes and inaptitudes, passions, characters and personalities.

Scientific psychology belonged to an altogether different domain. Whether in abstract analytical procedure or on the graphs of the laboratory, it dealt with the human psyche not as a whole but in parts. It dismembered familiar realities into fragments of abstraction which bore no resemblance at all to the things of the flesh and the spirit in which the common man was interested. Sensations, perceptions, sensory illusions, after images, memories, associations, habits, two-dimensional or three-dimensional vision, cutaneous sensitivity to pain, heat or cold, blind spots, semi-circular canals, functions of the sympathetic nervous system and innumerable other topics, were as uninteresting to the layman as they were incomprehensible to him. Just as grammar which is of the very essence of language always seemed stupid and dry except to grammarians, so scientific psychology, though full of problems and adventure to the initiated, brought to the average man nothing but vague formulæ and high-sounding propositions. Technically accurate they may well be, he thought, but also empty and useless.

All this changed with the advent of the New Psychology, in the form of behaviourism and psychoanalysis. However different in technique and perspective, these two systems had this in common: they dealt with the whole man, their concern was with the humanity familiar to ordinary humans. Therein lies the secret of the extraordinary popularity of these two phases of the new psychology. For once scientific psychology had come down to earth, and as such it was welcomed. Behaviourism in its modern form took its inception in the animal laboratories of the Russian Pavlov; it was picked up in America by the dynamic John B. Watson, whose personal initiative and ability are largely responsible for the present vogue of psychological behaviourism. The behaviourist, building on the foundations laid by such experimentalists as Fechner, Weber and Wundt in Germany, or Cattell, Titchener and Stanley Hall in the United

States, refused to accept as data anything but objectively observable and measurable phenomena. He was less interested in the psychological process as such than in the organism, human or otherwise, in which the process took place. The behaviourist's province was animated organisms in functions, and he attempted to reduce our knowledge of such functions to a form comparable to the findings of the exact and natural sciences. In the introspective psychology of old, behaviourism saw its principal enemy and the great menace to a scientific psychology. Grudgingly, the behaviourist admitted that a psyche, a mind, did exist; but for scientific purposes it was available only in so far as its operations were observable under controlled conditions, recorded in objective form and measured with exactitude.

It is here that the behaviourist joined hands with the psychoanalyst. Psychoanalysis was born in the seances of the hypnotist and the clinic of the psychiatrist. Freud, a Viennese physician who had turned his attention to psychic disorders, found the then prevalent system of hypnotic treatment inadequate in various directions. He substituted for it a procedure in which the patient, instead of being reduced to a will-less tool of the physician, was on the contrary urged to permit his mind to function freely, unencumbered even by the checks of habitual criticism and selection. This so-called method of free association, to which dream analysis was subsequently added, became the operative tool of the psychoanalyst.

As mentioned before, the psychoanalyst was at one with the behaviourist in his distrust of the conscious psyche. In introspection psychoanalysis and behaviourism found their common foe. But having thus met in friendly compact, they presently parted company, never to meet again. The behaviourist stepped outside the psyche, as it were—the good old-fashioned psyche of the common man and the analytical psychologist—and devoted his attention to muscular responses which could be graphically recorded, measured and reduced to figures. The psychoanalyst, on the other hand, dug deeper into the psychic soil to discover

there another psyche, the Unconscious, the operations of which had heretofore been unknown to the layman and scientist alike.

The psychological system of the psychoanalyst, meaning primarily Freud, may be reduced in its principal features to the following propositions :

The conscious psyche represents but a surface phenomenon of psychic life. It is but a fragmentary and distorted replica of the unconscious psyche which operates with great coherence and consistency, subject to as rigid laws of causal determination as are the events of the material universe. Nothing is accidental in the psychic domain. Its apparent incoherence or freedom are merely due to our ignorance of the deeper-lying connections. Once these are understood, the mystery and casualness of psychic life vanish and it begins to assume the form of a well-ordered and strictly deterministic system.

The unconscious itself is populated by psychic urges, originally conscious, which come into conflict with certain attitudes, taboos and regulations brought by civilization and imparted to the individual in education. In the ensuing test of strength the original urges lose out, to be forthwith repressed into the unconscious. They do not, however, cease to exist. On the contrary, they remain active and dynamic and continue to influence the life and reactions of the individual. In this they are most successful just because their very existence remains unknown to the person who harbours them. These unconscious processes display a marked resistance to being once more pulled into the domain of the conscious psyche, this resistance being the greater the more thorough-going the preceding repression.

Analysis has disclosed, moreover, that the repressed urges of the unconscious are mostly or wholly sexual in nature. In this connection Freud introduced a conception of sex wider and more fundamental than that current before his day. The essence of sexuality to him was not in the sexual act and the ensuing conception and subsequent procreation, but in the sexual urge itself, the sexual excitation. This extension of the

concept of sex made it possible for Freud to cover by the term not only the phenomena of the normal bi-sexual life, but also of the so-called perversities, such as homosexuality, sadism, masochism, and fetichism. A further extension, finally, embraced also the sexual phenomena of childhood, nay of infancy. Thus the infant, heretofore regarded as an asexual creature, a symbol of angel-like innocence, stood revealed as not only sexed but "polymorphous perverse," in so far as it combined homosexual, sadistic, masochistic, and other tendencies.

When this early sexual period is left behind, there comes a more or less extended period of amnesia or forgetting during which the sex urges and experiences of early childhood are largely repressed. When the child emerges from this condition, during or somewhat preceding puberty, its sexual orientation has become different. It is no longer perverse nor polymorphous. From now on, it is dominated by the Oedipus Complex, which consists in a positive fixation toward the parent of the opposite sex and an ambivalent attitude toward the parent of the same sex, an attitude which combines a positive and a negative element. Thus, to put it briefly and inaccurately, the boy loves the mother and both hates and loves the father ; whereas the girl loves the father and hates and loves the mother. The Oedipus Complex, in normal instances, is resolved after adolescence, the boy often substituting his sister or sisters for the mother before his love or libido becomes attached to other women, while the girl passes *vis-à-vis* brothers to other men.

If all goes well with the psyche of the individual, "normal" sexual life begins at this point. In cases of difficulties, however, into which we need not enter here, conflicts arise, the nature of which or even their very existence may for long remain unknown to the person in question, as at least one of the conflicting elements remains in the unconscious. Then we say that a person is afflicted with a complex and the time is ripe to consult a psychoanalyst, with whose assistance the conflicting elements in the unconscious are raised into

consciousness, blind spots of memory are illumined, the complex, if all goes well, is resolved, and the patient is cured, temporarily or permanently.

In addition to the method of free association, the psychoanalyst uses in his technique still another method, that of dream analysis. Dreams, so teaches Freud, are not as simple as they seem, nor as chaotic, nor as meaningless. Dream life, like that of the waking hours, proceeds in two levels: the dream of actual sleeping experience, which is the manifest content of the dream, and the dream thought or work, the dream's latent content. The significant part of the dream lies in the latter process. The repressed elements of the unconscious, which during waking hours are prevented by resistance from reaching consciousness, succeed in doing so after the control elements in the psyche have been weakened during sleep. It is then that the wishes or urges present in waking life, but hidden from consciousness, appear in the manifest content of the dream in the form of wish fulfilments and in a setting largely made up of experiences of the preceding day. They do not, however, appear in their pristine form—the resistance is too great even then—but in a disguise. They take the form of symbols which constitute a large part of the manifest content of the dream. In order to interpret the dream, therefore, it is necessary to understand the language of symbols. In the interpretation of symbols considerable differences of opinion exist between psychoanalysts. Some hold that certain things or events always appear in the form of certain fixed symbols, while others grant symbols greater leeway.

It now becomes clear how dream analysis can assist the psychoanalyst in his therapeutic technique. It helps him and the patient to pull the veil from certain elements of the unconscious, which are held back so powerfully by resistance as not to appear in the consciousness during waking hours, even though the patient is willing to co-operate with the analyst in permitting these elements to make their appearance. Moreover, an

avenue of approach is thus opened to the hidden wishes of the patient which often lie at the root of his disorder. All these things are likely to make their appearance in the dream life of the patient because during the period of analysis it is just these matters that concern him and torture him.

Not satisfied to trace neuroses to repressed sexuality, Freud and other psychoanalysts believe that certain positive and outstanding elements of psychic life, such as extraordinary creativeness in art, music, religion, or any other form of imaginative activity, also represent sexual repressions of childhood, sublimated in such cases in a positive and productive direction.

Such, in brief, are the main tenets of the Freudian psychology.

This being so, one may well ask, how can the status of a psychologist be denied to Freud? Has he not raised psychology from a state of vagueness and conjecture to that of definiteness and positive knowledge? Has he not illumined heretofore unknown or misunderstood elements of the psyche? Has he not originated a psychological technique by means of which men and women, otherwise hopelessly lost, may be returned to the joys and activities of normal existence? Finally—and, from the standpoint of the layman, most important of all—has he not, first among professional psychologists, turned his attention to living humanity, to the men and women of actual life, rather than lose himself in elaborate but unilluminating analyses and meaningless abstractions?

Yes, all this may be so. To a large extent it is. And yet, in senses more than one, Freud is not, strictly speaking, a psychologist. Both what he does and what he does not do support this contention. The failings and exaggerations of his system, moreover, are largely due to the absence of the comprehensive view of an all-around psychologist. Freudian mechanisms do exist and perhaps operate as he describes. For the purposes of this article, in fact, we may assume that these mechanisms are strictly true to reality and that their operations

are just as represented by Freud. But at this point two questions arise. Is it justifiable to transfer the mechanisms which explain neuroses to the psyche of the normal individual? To a degree, no doubt it is. It is quite in line with modern psychiatry generally as well as with latter-day criminology, medicine, and, in fact, biology, not to draw too sharp a line between the normal and abnormal, between health and disease. Nevertheless, just as in medicine it is understood that whenever there is disease, certain pathogenic factors, toxins, disease germs, are present in unusual number or under exceptionally favourable conditions for their multiplication and growth; just as in criminology it must be assumed that certain anti-social trends or animalistic tendencies hold excessive sway, when there is crime; so in the domain of the neuroses the mechanisms which engender them must be assumed to be in more emphatic control of psychic life in a neurotic than they are in a normal individual. To put it differently: the psyche behaves the more true to Freudian pattern the more truly a neurotic an individual is.

In committing this error Freud has strayed after the fashion of many psychiatrists and of physicians generally who are naturally tempted to look at the individual from the angle of pathology with which they are especially familiar, a temptation not easily nor frequently resisted.

One of the reasons why Freud could so readily have been led into this error is the fact—a crucial one from our standpoint—that much of what belongs to the domain of psychology has never concerned Freud. Sensations, perceptions, the mechanisms of vision or the other sensory organs, including illusions, such things as after-images, or even the processes of memory or association, the psychic mechanisms of learning, the nature of creativeness, the analysis, finally, of such traits of character as kindness, meanness, temper, magnanimity, courage—none of these topics, nor many others of the well-nigh interminable list of factors that make up the life of the psyche, have ever formed part of Freud's subject-matter, have ever

figured in his mental laboratory. If a pre-Freudian psychologist had written a book leaving out these topics, we might have asked with some surprise: "Where are the remaining chapters? Are they coming in another volume?" Surely we should have been justified in expecting some treatment of topics which form so essential a part of psychology. In the case of Freud, what he has given has proved so exciting and astounding that little attention has been paid to what he has neglected. And it is this neglect which raises the doubt as to his status as a true psychologist.

What Freud has really done is to discover a number of highly important mechanisms, some new, others but imperfectly understood, which function in a typical way in the neurotic psyche. Prompted by the common enough desire to generalize his findings, thus giving them greater universality, he proceeded to apply his mechanisms to the normal psyche. In this he was to a degree justified, as we have noticed before. But he was so concerned with his own mechanisms as to be blinded to the fact that, on the general map of psychic life, they, after all, constitute but a small corner, however significant they may prove to be on occasion.

Another aspect of Freud's system which justifies our contention, reflecting as it does upon his status as a psychologist, is the undue simplification which he introduces into his interpretation of the psyche. However important sex may be, the reduction of psychology or any part of it to sexology can surely not be undertaken without specific proof being provided that the urges of sex do indeed constitute not only part and parcel of certain psychic phenomena but their exclusive source and root. It is not for those, moreover, who dispute Freud's position to furnish evidence, for such is amply provided by ordinary human experience. The proof must be given by him who claims that the plurality of experience is at bottom but a unity, and that this unity is sex. There may be common elements between the religious and aesthetic functions and the sexual ones,

but it does not follow therefrom that genetically or ontogenetically the religious sense or the sense of beauty are derivatives of the sex urge. Nor is it sufficient to make such an assumption plausible. That, indeed, is easy enough, for what is simple is in itself plausible as well as attractive. If such an assumption is to be accepted as true, it is to be demonstrated. This has never been done, nor even attempted.

In Freud's treatment of sex life itself, moreover, there is a similar tendency toward excessive simplification. Paradoxically enough, Freud does not seem to give due weight to the so-called normal heterosexual tendency of most men and women past adolescence. To him this tendency is but the last phase in the evolution of sex in the individual, beginning with the early sex gropings of the infant and normally ending with post-adolescent heterosexuality. Now, it is not at all clear that this is actually so. As is well known, the sex organs of man, male and female, reach their maturity just preceding or during adolescence. At the very same period, certain psychic mutations take place in the organism of a boy, and especially of a girl, which are popularly characterized by the phrases, "He has become a man," "She has become a woman." Now is it not more feasible to assume that these psychological tendencies are as congenital as the physical changes an accompaniment of which they are, but that both are timed to appear not at birth nor in infancy or childhood, but at the period roughly described as puberty? Take, for example, milk teeth and second teeth. There is nothing in the milk teeth which would make one suspect that second teeth are to appear there, and obviously enough the second teeth are not an evolution of the milk teeth. Both the milk teeth and the second teeth are congenital, but the first are timed to appear earlier in life, the second considerably later.

Here then we have once more a simplification without proof, which reminds one of the mode of procedure in the theoretical natural sciences, like physics, or chemistry, where conceptual simplification is justified whenever it can be achieved

in such a way as to render our conceptual universe in the particular domain more simple and coherent. Psychologists, like historians, have at length learned to resist this tendency toward simplification, for they are confronted with the human reality, every element of which clings to its independent right to existence, and will not be submerged for the sake of a comprehensive unifying formula, however intellectually attractive.

So here it seems Freud once more functions not as a psychologist.

Freud's concept of the unconscious, finally, and that of its relation to the conscious, are subject to the same stricture.

First, Freud over-emphasizes the unconscious psyche at the expense of the psyche of awareness. We need not quarrel with the concept of the unconscious as such. It is most helpful in our thinking about psychic life, nor is it even particularly new. The ungodly fear, moreover which some psychologists and philosophers have of it, may have reasons of its own (Freudian or otherwise). But to have grasped the significance of the unconscious and to have applied it to an interpretation and elucidation of the conscious is one thing ; to explain away the conscious is another. In his zeal to explain the conscious psyche and reduce it to some sort of order, Freud has spirited it away. The only way to understand the conscious psyche, it would seem, is to follow the guide-posts it provides to the unconscious, and there understanding will be found. Now this is obviously a highly artificial and unrealistic procedure. The conscious may be all wrong, it may be nothing but illusion, but it has one undeniable characteristic : *it is*. This Freud seems to forget. The conscious psyche, after all, constitutes a reality. It may not be *the* reality, but it is a reality : the reality of the life of awareness. If there are in it contradictions, incomprehensibilities, tensions, illusions, such is psychic reality, experience, life. We are fully justified to attempt an interpretation of this conscious psyche in terms of something that lies beyond it, but this is only one way of approaching it. The other way—

and it is a way which preserves its autonomy, the autonomy of life as consciously lived—is to remain in the level of the conscious psyche and do with it what we can, for better or for worse. A psychologist who sacrifices the psyche of experience to a psyche of conjecture—psychic, if you please, but conjectural—is, after all, a psychologist who has strayed from his primary subject-matter.

The psychic nature of the unconscious itself, finally, is of a somewhat dubious kind. We are, to be sure, reminded frequently enough by Freud and others that the unconscious is psychic ; also, that it must be assumed to be such in order not to impinge upon the autonomy of the psychic level : psychological explanations must be in psychic terms. The unconscious is but a subterranean extension of the conscious. The conscious and the unconscious are a continuum. So far, so good. But, on analysis, the unconscious—Freud's submerged psyche—does not operate like a psyche at all. It is most orderly, coherent and deterministic, while the psyche is casual, chaotic and somewhat disjointed. The unconscious knows no conflicts, no contradictions, the very traits which characterize the conscious psyche. If we try to classify the unconscious, not in accordance with the baptism given it by the psychoanalyst, but rather in accordance with its nature, derived from the same source, we find it to behave much more like blind organic substance, if not like that other substance—equally blind, and not even organic—which, at bottom, is the substance of the cosmos. It is, therefore, not wholly accidental that Jung, Freud's renegade disciple, in an attempt to widen the concept of the unconscious still further, has given it a form which lacks even the external signs of the psychic discernible, perhaps, in the unconscious of Freud. Jung's unconscious may still be organic, but it is certainly no longer psychic, not so far, at least, as one can gather from any use made of it in Jung's system.

Freud's psychologism thus seems to be but a mechanism in disguise. The unconscious, which is the dynamic and

operative principle of the Freudian system, even though it be called psychic, functions as if it were part of the inanimate cosmos. When we remember how commonly physicians are mechanists, and that the same has, until quite recently, been true of psychiatrists, this last characteristic of the Freudian ideology receives its historical setting and interpretation.

Freud was a physician, trained in his formative years in the techniques and concepts of the physiological laboratory. When his attention was attracted to psychic disorders, he attacked them with the preconceptions of a natural scientist endowed with a constructive and speculative intellect. He soon found himself on the track of a number of significant mechanisms, which he proceeded to use not only as postulates in his therapeutic technique, but also as corner-stones for a new psychological philosophy. This philosophy, now fully developed and forming a closed system, proves, on analysis, to be simplicist, mechanical, and deterministic. It thus possesses all the characteristics of the speculative constructs of theoretical physics. Freud may call it psychological, but it differs in all fundamentals from the nature of the psychic as known to us in the reality of conscious experience.

In this way, the unpsychological background and presuppositions of Freud's system may be seen to account both for what he has given and for what he has left out. What he has left out he omitted because of deficient interest in much that should be the concern of the psychologist; and what he has given he has conceptualized in a form bearing the earmarks, not of psychology, but of physics, not of mind, but of mechanism. In this sense, then, we must conclude, Freud is not, strictly speaking, a psychologist.¹

ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER

¹ *The Reflex*, New York City, January, 1928.

AN ALLEGORY

She lay in the golden haze of sunny Spring-time ; dreamily, drowsily watching the apple-blossoms shower around her like blushing snow-flakes, falling on the soft, green grass where she nestled lovingly. The blood pulsed deliciously through her veins ; she stretched her limbs in the warm, glad light and watched two white butterflies chase each other among the flowers ; they intertwined wings as though eager for embraces.

In the blue fields of heaven two delicate cloudlets, like larger butterflies, flew together. A pair of turtledoves cooed above her, and all things sang of love. Love, love, love,—the song stole into her mind and hummed a musical drone like bees among the lilac blooms ; her senses reeled in ecstatic joy, and a blissful sleep took possession of her.

Suddenly, she was singing and dancing her merry way through fields of flowers beside a wimpling rill, happy in the exuberance of youth and sunshine. Across the streamlet a boyish, roguish face smiled into hers ; they looked into each others' eyes and loved, even as the birds and butterflies mate.

They clasped hands over the gleaming water and danced on, singing together, and lips could cling across the silver thread when not content with clasping hands ; but as they pressed the ferns and violets down, and pushed the rose-blossoming vines apart to form a pathway through the perfume, the brooklet grew a brook ; no longer could lips reach, but fingers interlocked. A faint chill passed over their hearts, and their songs grew softer and dancing footsteps lagged.

Then the brook widened into a stream and hands were severed too ; only hearts touched, only eyes embraced, and a sob crept into their song.

Then the stream flowed on, a river, and far apart, the lovers could only gaze and long for the streamlet once again.

The song quivered and died on the air ; their feet grew weary, and fain would they have retraced their steps ; but the roses had turned to thorns, the violets were dead, the pebbles cut their feet, and, alas, there was no going back !

They looked behind them, and the garden of flowers had vanished ; the pathway was obscured, and only memory remained. The twilight shadows came and purple clouds hid the brightness of the sun. No longer could they look into each others' faces ; they could only cry, " Love ! Love ! " across the noisy water.

Then night and darkness came upon them ; like the wings of some giant bird of prey ; it hovered over them, and the voice of the girl's lover grew silent, or was lost in the river's rush. It flowed on, dark and sullen ; the path grew steep and rough, and she fell often, bruising her face and cutting her tender hands on the rocks. Her feet were tired and her heart ached and cried in anguish.

" Oh, why did I not cross the streamlet to my Love, and abide with him among the flowers ! "

She was athirst, and stooped over the river's bank to cool her fevered lips. A vivid flash of lightning lit up the heaven and earth, and painted on the river, she saw the ghost of herself. Youth had vanished, and she had grown pale and hollow-eyed. A tempest was brewing, and she was all alone, alone ! Oh God, to find the pathway back ! But she knew there was no going back to the past ; relentless Fate drives us ever onward. Again the lightning's lurid sheet spread across the darkened clouds, and she saw that her feet had wandered into a valley, cold and dark and dread. She wrung her hands and cried out to God to help her ; and suddenly, upon the pinnacle of a mountain, a light gleamed, like unto a light from a tower, over a seething sea, and her heart leaped up :

" There is the garden of youth and love," she cried, as she tottered on, her eyes never leaving the beacon.

But pitfalls were plentiful, and the way was long. Then, at last, she reached the mountain, and began to climb; her bleeding hands clinging to rocks and boughs as she slowly went upward, upward. The way was so long; the night was so dark, and her soul seemed to bear a burden on its back. But the light shone steadfastly above her, and she knew that she should find her lover there.

The river in the valley roared and rolled, lashed by the tempest; the wanton wind used her roughly; but she clung to the rocks and climbed, higher and higher. It seemed hours, days, months, and years passed whilst she toiled up the mountain side. At last she reached the pinnacle, and behold, the light she had striven to attain, was the light of a star, still so far, so far away!

She stood in darkness and desolation, alone and in despair; the rough pathway now led down, down, into fathoms of darkness; and she could not hope ever to penetrate its desolation. She must still seek to go upward and reach the star; for she knew that only there could she find her lost Love, her sunshine and her flowers. There had been a wall with a gate around that lost garden; Faith was the key to unlock it; the star must be the key-hole through which the light shone and there was the garden of Heaven!

But how could she penetrate that pathless waste of infinite space? Her feet were useless as a bird's save for earth; her hands were helpless; but, suddenly, a thrill of joy permeated her being, and her soul trembled with bliss; for it realised that the burden it had borne so long was fledgling wings, that now were plumed for flight! Wings! Beautiful wings, with which to cleave a way through the fathomless blue ether, and reach the starry gate of the garden where her Love awaited her. She stretched her pinions out, and soared up, and up, leaving the darkness and cold far beneath her, and, as she flew higher and higher, she cried aloud in her joy!

“ O Love, I will meet you once more ! ” ...

A burning kiss was pressed on her lips, and lo, the face of her Beloved lay against her own, and the apple-blossoms floated down through the golden haze, bearing perfumes of Spring-time again.

“ Tell me, when does love cease ? ” she asked ; and the voice of her Beloved answered her :

“ *Love never ceaseth. Love is like God, from everlasting to everlasting. Love is eternal !* ”

TERESA STRICKLAND.

THE TEMPEST

AS I shut my weary eyes I behold
The ravages of a gale—trees torn apart ;
But what is a gale, or lightning and hail
Before the tempest in my heart ?

NEXT I see a wreck on shore,
Bodies floating—Death's dire toll ;
But what is a storm or thunder's roar
Before the tempest in my soul ?

BYRAM K. TALOOKDAR

EGOTISM

Egotism is the practice of talking about oneself, an all too frequent use of 'I' and 'me.' Most of us are wise in our own conceit. Egotism is thus a general weakness. When anything that is not exactly good becomes widely prevalent it often passes for a virtue, and even the few who at first stand outside its influence are gradually drawn in and induced to 'toe the line.'

Although everybody is, more or less, addicted to egotism you will always come across people who take a special delight in inveighing against it and look exceedingly self-righteous. The curious fact is that in doing this they generally forget the whole world but themselves. Such persons are prone to egotism and as they least know it themselves, are comical to a degree.

With the vast majority of mankind number one exercises a compelling spell. Each carries his 'kit-bag' of self-conceit. There is not any very great harm in this so long as self-conceit does not become absolute selfishness. Self-importance is only a weakness; active selfishness is nearly a crime.

Egotism in its venial form takes various shapes. Quite a large number of us adore ourselves honestly and openly. From this spring some of the most fascinating and perplexing facts of life such as shyness, slyness, individuality and anger. Life would, of course, lose most of its charm if 'I' and its manifold adjuncts are struck off the roll. It should be a beautiful disaster if all attain what sages name conquest of self.

Taking life as it is we find that shyness is almost a virtue, at least, a winsome weakness. Shyness torments its possessor and delights the onlooker. The shy are the beloved. The shy are the sought. The coy maiden is the attractive maiden. If a girl is lost to shyness she is lost also to charm, that most elusive thing which we cannot fully see or fully escape seeing.

You think such a girl plain, not quite coming up to your cherished notions about the fair sex.

What is the origin of shyness? It is difficult to say what, if it is not egotism. Shyness is surely one of egotism's many lovely off-shoots. Some gifted souls simply vanish in the ether of self-adoration the moment they start thinking about themselves. Shyness is really egotism exaggerated to the point of humility. This old earth of hard pebbles and sharp thistles is, to every one's joy, draped in the evergreen of sweet shyness. Indeed, everybody ought to be shy in some measure. Most great men of history were. It is always pleasant to see the human soul struggling in the soft, strong meshes of shyness.

In some respects slyness is allied to shyness. Slyness is born on the wrong side of the blanket of egotism. Slyness is shyness turned upside down. The sly always see without being seen. They esteem others slightly, but themselves as incomparable. The faults of others are to them indisputable proof of their own perfection. Whatever they do not do, these secret people always do two things, namely, praising themselves and prying furtively into the secrets of others.

But even slyness has its place in society. It provides harmless entertainment. Few things are more pleasing than to study the sly. Their hiding places invite exploration. Their stealthiness is half concealed in a wrapper of romance. Look at the tortoise. How it watches the world when none are about. How deftly does it withdraw when it knows that you are by. The tortoise is a very egotist, and what is true of the tortoise is equally true of the sly.

The sly ones seldom meet one another. And an event occurs if they do. An error in their calculations might bring the sly Tom face to face with the sly Dick once in a long while. Then a fierce struggle ensues and, like sparks of fire, they presently fly in opposite directions. In this case 'diamond cut diamond' is all wrong.

Now from the greenroom comes *individuality*. Individuality is the principal character in the play. Individuality! thy name is egotism. Its very appearance on the stage brings down the house. One had, therefore, best write about it seriously.

Mistaken notions have settled upon the term individuality. It is, however, clear that there is no individuality* without egotism. Indeed, egotism in flower is individuality. In very many cases the bud seldom opens. There must be real effort, active aspiration on the part of the bud to blossom. A man without individuality is like a jelly-fish, although too much of it makes one somewhat of a 'character.' Everyone must attain to a measure of individuality to be anyone at all. If you do not have it you should be lost in the throng and stress of life. Also in the absence of individuality most of the amenities of life will go. Progress will stop. The higher yearnings will slumber. Gentle wayfarer along life's pebbly paths and arbour'd walks, do not let yourself be cut off from individuality, for in shine and shower, in mirth and melancholy, it will stand you in excellent stead, and your strength will be as the strength of ten.

Lastly comes anger. The angry man is easy to understand. He is a fanatic in the faith of egotism. He will permit none to cross his path. He will have the pride of place for his, 'I' at all hazards. He will try to shake the earth with his tread, to frighten the heavens with his looks. His opponents must fly in terror. This is 'I' in eruption.

Consider for a while what the results would be if egotism never bursts into anger. Then there would be no quarrels, no brawls and no battles. Humanity will be deprived of its wild flutterings, and drop into a dreaming passivity. This little ball, on which we are so many tiny specks making twice as much noise as our size, is indeed kept continually in motion by the electric power-station bearing the little name 'I.'

ON MODERNISING SPINOZA

III

Reviewing as a whole his procedure in the gloss on Spinoza, it will not be unfair to conclude, therefore, that the situation does not at all improve on the introduction of Time into the system nor are its outstanding difficulties solved thereby. On the contrary the Spinozistic *Weltanschauung*, which hinges on the geometrical method that views the world *sub specie æternitatis*, stands out, as already observed, in bald antagonism to the proposed method of viewing the world *sub specie temporis*. Now, the all-important question that crops up here is : whether after expunging the geometrical or the mathematical method from Spinozism, we have any the least justification for associating the honoured name of Spinoza with any superstructure that may be raised on it. If 'the Ethics,' as it has been so happily described, be 'the strange book in which the soul of poetry is clothed in the body of geometry,' the continued survival and functioning of the disembodied soul of Spinozism, become matters on which 'psychical research' has yet to press its seal of authority. To Mr. Bertrand Russell, at least, than whom there has been no more ardent advocate of the 'Scientific Method in Philosophy,' it is the aspect of timelessness, enshrined in the heart of mathematical truths, and productive of that 'austere beauty of mathematics' like that of sculpture, so ably grasped, and exalted by Spinoza as the standard of perfection that has commended itself. In his strictures on Evolutionism with its shibboleth of 'progress,' he goes back to Spinoza and by way of reinforcing his own arguments cites with approval the well-known proposition LXII of Ethics, Bk. IV, which runs thus : "In so far as the mind conceives a thing according to the dictate of reason, it will be equally affected whether the idea is that of

a future, past, or present thing.' Accordingly, this specific attempt to improve upon Spinoza by importing time into it, would be, in his opinion, tantamount to a mutilation of the very soul of Spinozism, if not of the substance thereof,—which it avowedly is. On the general problem of Time in a philosophical reference, Mr. Bertrand Russell is equally emphatic. What Prof. Alexander—'by whose writings' on the subject of Realism Mr. Russell, as a realist, thinks to 'have profited greatly'¹—welcomes as the tendency 'to take time seriously' and therewith the idea of 'evolution' leading to a 'hierarchy produced in the order of time,' Mr. Russell would unambiguously condemn as 'ethically inspired metaphysics' with its characteristic 'slavery to time' and would insist that "both in thought and feeling, even though time be real, to realise the unimportance of time is the gate of wisdom."² Furthermore, Prof. Alexander has not been able to substantiate the pledge that 'Time displaces Thought in the Spinozistic scheme' so far as he has been constantly appealing, in a tacit and recondite way, of course, to Thought in his evolutionary scheme, beginning from bare Space-Time of which 'the time element becomes' at a late stage of evolution 'mind, or rather the character of mentality.' The logical and the temporal, all along jostling with each other, come out here in the baldest antagonism; and it is the logician in him that runs the whole show, while the evolutionary naturalist retires to the background only to be exposed and condemned eventually. Indeed, it is by a sheer *tour de force* that Prof. Alexander has been here trying, and that clearly in vain, to make Time do the work of Thought, and, in fact, his very language embodying this forced construction in the startling paradox that 'Time is the mind of Space' unmistakably betrays him. Nor is this procedure calculated to do justice to the notion of 'evolution' with which Prof. Alexander is evidently in 'bitter earnest.' As it is, the evolution of mind or

¹ *Mysticism and Logic and Other Essays*, p. 125.

² *Ibid*, p. 22.

'mentality' in his scheme appears more or less like the emergence of something that has been surreptitiously smuggled in, or in more familiar language, like drawing out of a ballot-box what has been already put into it. That is why Prof. Lloyd Morgan has justly taken exception to this procedure in words that bear quotation: "If we take evolution—that is, the progressive advance of natural events,—*seriously* (as Professor Alexander might say), we must not 'posit' the human mind at the advanced stage of development with which the logician, quite properly for his purpose, starts as somewhere already in existence¹.

It may, however, be profitable to enquire whether the realms of 'ethics' and 'religion' fare better under the somewhat anarchical *regime* of Time along with its faithful consort, Emergent Evolution. At first sight it appears strange how in a universe reduced to its lowest terms—the bare differentiations of Space-Time—there can conceivably be any room for conservation of the values of life, the ethical and the religious in particular, as it has been found to be the case in Spinozism, which has placed under a perpetual ban the much-maligned human or 'modal' point of view. An ethical metaphysics may be bad, but a geometric or cosmo-centric ethics is a contradiction in terms. In defence of Spinoza it might be argued, however, that there are two voices in Spinoza, and that Spinoza who is clearly greater than his method,—on which he seemed to have pinned his faith,—so far redeems ethics from the domination of the geometric method that the last word of his philosophy seems to be the direct negation of the first and the prevailing note. Besides, as it has been condoned by Dr. Duff in his interesting work on Spinoza, Spinoza, although born in an age in which the prestige of the Geometrical method was universally acknowledged, employed it, without being enslaved thereby,—as an academic, 'convincing mode of statement' rather than as 'more cogent kind of proof.' It is further borne out by

¹ Life, Mind and Spirit, p. 224.

the fact that there is no trace of it in his earlier and later works. In the light of the author's limited purpose the contention may have a plausibility of its own; but, as we reckon that Spinoza's abiding interest was metaphysical, we feel convinced that Spinoza's employment of the Geometrical method is not, in view of his central interest, a matter of methodological expediency, or historical accident merely, but is the direct off-shoot, and logical outcome of his metaphysics. However, as it is, Professor Alexander is convinced that the Spinozistic 'Supreme Being lacks the human note'¹ and, here as elsewhere, directly 'Time is introduced into the ultimate reality as an essential ingredient, the conception of God and of the religious passion is altered at once'² and eventually 'the gap which we find in Spinoza between the speculative conception of God' and 'the religious demand that God should be an object of worship,' is filled when Time is acknowledged to be of the very life of ultimate reality.³ To the unsophisticated mind the very mention of time as an operative agency in the context of 'religious passion' 'worship' and "God" may justly appear to be highly inappropriate and irrelevant. Nowhere are the artificiality and unnaturalness of the procedure, by which Time has been pitchforked into this gloss of Spinoza, more markedly realised than in this reference. Although the chapter on 'Religion in Spinoza and the Intellectual Love of God' opens with a profoundly stimulating curiosity as to 'the consequence for the conceptions of religion and God of recognising Time to be an attribute' we keep our alert eyes open, all in vain, to catch the faintest trail of Time throughout the remnant of that section. Until we pass on to the next chapter, we do not discover any 'important consequence' whatever of the introduction of time, and thus the proleptic use of time in an earlier context stands without a justification.

¹ S. & T. p. 69.² *Ibid.* p. 69.*Ibid.* p. 78.

(1) This is, however, a minor point. The main theme of this chapter is the direct inversion of the relation between 'God' and religious emotion or 'the intellectual love of God' as conceived by Spinoza. Spinoza, it is contended, has tried to conceive the religious emotion or passion as 'a symptom' rather than 'intrinsically,' whereas the logic of religion presupposes the substantive existence of the religious emotion which, as 'the master-light of all our seeing' lights up the reaches of the unknown, and leads finally to an intellectual discernment or justification of the object of such emotion or passion. In other words, Professor Alexander is here contending, against Spinoza, for the priority of the religious emotion to its proper object as being a specific case of the general law governing the relation of an emotion to its object. Herein he is, evidently, in sympathy with the modernist attempt to shift the centre of gravity from the object of religious emotion to the emotion itself which is supposed to stand in an adjectival relation to the former, and to concentrate on the psychology of religion—the 'that' rather than the 'what' of the religious emotion. Now, in view of Spinoza's theory of the oneness of Will and Understanding together with all its implications, the propriety of this contention is seriously to be called into question.

(2) Secondly, the psychologist as hidebound by the data he manipulates is necessarily precluded from saying anything authoritatively with regard to the nature of God or the object of religious worship. Hegel's arraignment of 'feeling' on the ground of its inadequacy for religious consciousness, although somewhat reactionary, has its own relative justification. Summarily, whether the religious emotion is all of a piece with the other emotions, or to be placed in a class apart as acquiring a new dimension of value, and thus differing *toto calo* from the rest, is a matter on which discussion has yet to do its work—on which psychology of religion, at least, has not the final say. Lastly, while admitting that the intellectual and the emotional

factor must inseparably blend in the religious consciousness, one is not bound to make the precedence of the one the law absolute—the one exclusive approach to religion; in Martineau's words, 'nor does it matter to their indissoluble union which of the two you put into the prior place; whether you trust first the instinct of intuitive reverence, and see the reality of God emerge as its postulate; or whether, having intellectually judged that He is there, you surrender yourself to the awe and love of that infinite presence.' ¹

(3) Whether this psychological or empirical approach to religion is the only possible one or whether Professor Alexander's exposition of the Spinozistic 'intellectual love of God' is fair or not, we shall not here stop to enquire. We shall only allow ourselves to observe that his criticism of 'the intellectual love of God' as failing 'of being religious as it wants the special flavour of worship' ² is hardly compatible with his full and frank confession that in Spinoza "the intellectual recognition of the object of a passion is itself something practical." ³ Rightly construed, the Spinozistic intellectual love of God' is *ipso facto* a religious passion that culminates in worship, and not merely 'an intellectual passion' that 'wants the specific flavour of devotion.' ⁴ It may be one of the alternative constructions to which Spinoza's utterances on the point lend themselves, but it is hardly fair—and that for a Spinozistic scholar of his eminence—to tie Spinoza down to one definite construction, and then convict him of misrepresenting the religious issue. As for Spinoza himself, there is scarcely any hard-and-fast line of demarcation between emotion and its corresponding object, much less in the case of religious emotion. He would resist all attempts at artificial analysis that has been, in modern times, brought to bear on the 'intellectual love of God'; it is not merely *love* or *intellectual love* but *intellectual love of God*—an emotion differing by that very fact from the entire

¹ Martineau's *Study of Religion*, Vol. I, p. 3.

² S. & T., p. 66.

³ *Ibid*, p. 65. •

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 69.

gamut of emotions and, therefore, necessitating a differential treatment. It is, in the words of William James, 'a total reaction' upon experience, a reflection of the whole man, an integral state of mind, rich in all the intellectual, emotional and volitional responses constitutive thereof.

Now, one of the besetting dangers of concentrating on the psychology of religion comes out prominently in Professor Alexander's presentation of 'God' or rather 'his divinity.' In strict keeping with his professed empirical standpoint in Philosophy, Professor Alexander offers us consistently enough, not God but Deity 'as the next higher empirical quality than mind' and Religion 'as faith in deity.' Deity is not indeed spirit, 'but something which mere spirit subserves,'¹ and though as deity God is beyond good and evil, his deity is on the side of goodness.² The ultimate reality of Space-Time cannot be 'as such identified with God,' but his divinity is 'contained within it'³ and must be traced back, not in the Spinozistic 'conatus' but further down the scale of creation to a 'nisus'—which is 'the impulse of the world towards new levels of existence,' deity being 'the characteristic quality of the next higher level of existence prophesied by the nisus of the universe which has created mind and the finite beings endowed with it.'⁴ Not the effort to persevere in one's own being, but the constant effort of every form of existence by virtue of the primal 'timefulness' or 'restlessness' inherent therein, that there emerge in time, levels upon levels, in an ascending hierarchy. The convert *petitio principii* stands unmasked here: why is this unceasing emergent evolution?—because there is a *nisus* towards development? Further, it appears nothing short of a miracle that this original 'restlessness,' or 'nisus'—vaguer than the 'conatus' or the blind irrational will or impulse—should have with unerring precision threaded its way through the intricate mazes of materiality,

¹ Space, Time and Deity, Vol. II, p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, p. 413.

³ S. & T., p. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

vitality and mentality, and been in travail with deity. Not a shred of evidence whatsoever, so far as we can see, has been produced to show why God should be represented 'as the *whole* universe possessing deity' or why the *nisus* 'towards deity' should be along one specific line (of advance) rather than all possible lines of advance. Nevertheless, we are 'assured that God 'is the world as a *whole* with its *nisus* towards deity'¹ and that his body is the whole universe, his mind is 'infinite deity'² or, as he puts it more clearly, 'God as actually possessing deity does not exist, but is an ideal, is always becoming, but God as the whole universe tending towards deity does exist.' In spite of Professor Alexander's protestation that in his system 'God is immanent in nature, is pantheistic, in respect of his body, but in respect of his divinity transcends us, though still remaining within nature, and is theistic,'³ one is inevitably reminded of its undeniable affinity with the text of shallow pantheism embodied in the two well-known lines of Pope's *Essay on Man* :

- " All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
• Whose body nature is, and God the soul."

One cannot, however, help admiring the ingenious way in which Professor Alexander seeks to bring about an Eirenicon to the age-long problem of Transcendence *versus* Immanence by way of a refined or attenuated anthropomorphism. But the compromise, desirable as it is, has been, as we shall presently see, too dearly purchased.

In the first place, the question that suggests itself at the very outset is : why is it 'the *whole* universe' or 'the world' as a *whole*, and not a part of it, as in the case of every other emergent quality, that makes for deity. No *prima facie* case has been, so far as can be seen, made out for this differential

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³ *Ibid.*, p.

treatment of deity. Perhaps under the stress of criticism he came to realise later the mis-understanding it was likely to engender, and hastened to retract the statement in question thus: 'God's deity, that which is characteristic of him, is lodged only in a part of the world,¹ 'belonging not to the world as a whole, but to a portion of it.'²

Secondly, starting from the presupposition that 'the religious passion which we find in ourselves cries out for an object which intellect then sets itself the task of describing in intellectual terms,'³ it is no wonder that Professor Alexander religiously accepts—with a literalness that is appalling—that God 'is always becoming,' and that 'in religious experience the vague future quality of deity is felt, not in its quality, for that cannot be known, but as giving a flavour to the experience of the whole world which it does not possess as merely an object of sense or thought.'⁴ Quite apart from the question of its adequacy or otherwise for the purpose of religious worship, such a concept of God illustrates the characteristic fallacy of a radical 'progressivism' or moralism, which invariably ends by making religion of morality.⁵ It is not meant, however, that there is any intrinsic incompatibility or antagonism between the two but the moral ideal cannot *eo ipso* become the object of religious worship. The moral life is admittedly a life of endless becoming, 'something ever more about to be' and the religious life is, too, in a sense, ever-progressive, but that does not, in the least, justify the proposition that the object of religious veneration or worship should develop *pari passu* or be always becoming. Here the argument is clearly guilty of a vicious psychologism. If, however, Professor Alexander elects to abide by the 'exclusive moralism' or what Hegel called 'the merely moral standpoint of Kant and Fichte,' can he consistently provide for that

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 75-77.

² *Ibid*, p. 76.

³ *Ibid*, p. 78.

⁴ Space, Time and Deity, Vol. II, pp. 379-80.

⁵ In his Gifford Lectures, Vol. II, Prof. Alexander does indeed delimit the scope of the two, but then his presentation of the case of religion cannot obviate the criticism urged here.

'feeling of our oneness with God' which "the healthy, religious mind 'shares' with 'Spinoza's Mysticism' "? ¹ Is not the moral life, which is committed to the pursuit after the infinite ideal, condemned to something like the fate of Tantalus—perpetually progressing towards, but never reaching the goal? Whether this notion of 'infinite progress' can be logically sustained or not is another matter: but those who prate of a perpetual progress shut out the very possibility of that 'fathering response,' ² which the religious mind always craves for. 'In my Father's house there are many mansions'—is a saying pregnant with deep philosophic import, and suggestive of the secret of the religious life.

Thirdly, just as it cannot be pretended that Space-Time as the ultimate reality can be the object of religious worship, so also a God that is an ideal, is always becoming. Even if we grant that 'God as actually possessing deity does not exist' we fail to understand why He should be 'always becoming' or emerging in time. Again, is not this very notion of a God that is 'ideal, always becoming,' one that was anathematized by Martineau so eloquently in the 'Introduction' to his 'Study of Religion.' As he therein put it with prophetic pertinence, 'Amid all the sickly talk about "ideals" which has become the commonplace of our age, it is well to remember that, so long as they are a mere self-painting of the yearning spirit, and not its personal surrender to immediate communion with an Infinite Perfection, they have no more solidity or steadiness than floating air-bubbles, gay in the sunshine, and broken by the passing wind ... The very gate of entrance to (religion), is the discovery that your gleaming ideal is the everlasting. Real, no transient brush of a fancied angel wing, but the abiding presence and persuasion of the Soul of souls: short of this there is *no object* given you.' ³ As for Prof. Alexander, there can be, and need be, 'no object' given; it is the 'quality' of Deity that can cater to the demands

¹ S. & T., p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³ Study of Religion, Vol. I, p. 13.

of the religious experience, and afford a permanent satisfaction and saturation to the religious devotee. That it obviously cannot is evident from his bringing up in a secondary way that 'God' which 'as the whole universe tending towards deity, does exist,' and is thus the God of religious consciousness. Now, is it in an instrumental relation that this God 'that does exist' stands to the God that 'does not exist' but is an ideal 'with a cloud of unknowing' on its face? If 'we must needs love the highest' and worship it, is the function of the God 'as tending towards deity' something transitional and preparatory so far as it subserves the purpose of the admittedly higher God 'as actually possessing deity,' just as, in the Religion of Humanity, the function of orthodox Monotheism is 'to direct provisionally the evolution of our best feelings under the regency of God during the long minority of Humanity?' So far as we can see it is God 'as the whole universe' that goes about tabernacling among its human worshippers, and appropriating all the homage that is due to the highest during the perpetual minority of a God 'that is always becoming.' Thus circumstanced, it is difficult to see how the true object of worship differs from George Meredith's "Mother Nature" or the religious emotion or passion from a vague 'cosmic emotion' or even a 'Natural piety.' But the accredited exponent of 'natural piety' would rather be a conservatist 'suckled in a creed outworn' than worship with the modernist at the altar of the God 'that is always becoming.' Worship of such a God may justly arrogate to itself the title of 'a free man's worship' which prides upon worshipping 'at the shrine that his own hands have built,'¹ the man-made God 'all-powerful and all-good, the mystic unity of what is and what should be,'² but it is the worship not of a free man, in the strict sense of the term, but of 'a weary but unyielding Atlas,'³ enchained to the bed-rock of naturalism or mechanism, and hunting after ethical harmony and

¹ Russell, 'Mysticism and Logic and Other Essays,' p. 57.

Ibid, p. 49.

³ *Ibid*, p. 57.

religious peace, after the manner of Lange in his 'flight to the ideal' or the free creation of a spiritual home (*Heimath der Geister*). Far from being the worship of a man, spiritually free, such a gospel of 'unyielding despair' is a melancholy mimicry of what man has, during the ages past, understood by religion and religious worship. The bifurcation in God's being, whereby Professor Alexander has sought to substantiate the religious attitude, may be brilliant, but leaves us unsatisfied so far as it fails to do justice to the basic truth about religious worship that there can be no worship of ideal as ideal, nor worship of the actual as such, quite apart from the consideration of its worth. In other words, immanence is truly conceived when it is conceived as the immanence of values; and here the idealistic leanings of Professor Alexander will, on closer inspection, be found to be strangely at variance with his ingrained Naturalism. An Idealistic Naturalism is a curious amalgam whose antipathic elements are sooner or later destined to break asunder. Similarly, in respect of the relation between the human individual and God, he is always alternating between what he calls 'mysticism of the sound variety' and 'dangerous mysticism.' How he can, in strict consistency with his peculiar notion of God, make good, as against Spinoza, the point 'that God's need of us is no less than our need of him,'¹ it is more than we can pretend to say. Howsoever refined and sublimated, his deity is at bottom, the *nisus* and the true object of his worship is this *nisus* raised to the power of infinity. This form of worship can be described, with no loss of meaning, only by substituting 'nisus' in Mr. Fredric Harrison's travesty of the Agnostics' worship of the Unknowable thus: "O (nisus) love us, help us, make us one with thee. In such a reference the talk of a 'fathering response' or of 'God's need of us' sounds absurd, if not preposterous. In thus constantly harking back to Space-Time with the 'nisus' embedded therein, the religious passion, too, is diluted down to a vague 'cosmic emotion' or 'natural

¹ S. V. T., p. 68.

piety' bereft of what Professor Alexander happily calls 'the specific flavour of worship.'

Summarily speaking, this enterprising venture, on Professor Alexander's part, to deduce a God from a godless world *ab initio*, is not very much unlike its Spinozistic prototype—the attempt to deduce the world from the indeterminate substance. No excuse can be made out on the ground that God is not deduced, but that God emerges. As in the other case, the world has been brought *ab extra*, and engrafted upon the substance, so too here. There is, in both cases, no organic connection between God and the world. Pile up your 'emergents' as you may, the deity never blossoms upon 'the virgin soil' of Space-Time. Accordingly, Professor Alexander's dialectic is but the Spinozistic dialectic turned upside down. In trying to avert the proverbial 'lion's den,' the inevitable pitfall of that 'dangerous form of mysticism' 'in which the worshipper is lost in the adoration of God,'¹ Professor Alexander has, it is feared, 'tumbled into a godless deep,' fondly hoping therein to save, as the healthy religious mind would, 'the individual from absorption by securing his independent entry, into the relation of dependence upon God, and to seek 'in God the fulfilment of the human being and not absorption.''²

Against this universal levelling down of man and God, this systematic naturalising of the specific human character of religious worship together with all its edifying implications, what we venture to suggest has nowhere been expressed with greater force and persuasiveness, than in the following lines of Browning's 'Rabbi Ben Ezra':

"Look not thou down but up!

To uses of a cup....

Thou, heaven's consummate cup, what need'st thou with
earth's wheel."

(Concluded.)

SAROJKUMAR DAS

¹ *Ibid*, p. 67.

² *Ibid*, p. 68.

SOME MORAL HOLIDAYS¹

Recent advances in Psychology have brought out two facts that are worth more than a passing notice. The first is that much of overt human conduct springs from the hidden soil of the unconscious and is inexplicable without an adequate knowledge of that source of origin. That unconscious, again, is largely constituted by anti-social thoughts and feelings repressed out of consciousness by the need of mutual adjustment without which people cannot hold together as members of the same society. The second is that the psychology of a group is different from the psychology of an individual and that it is risky to predict from the behaviour of an individual in his ordinary setting how he would behave in quite a different environment or in relation to a different social group. Without an adequate understanding of these two factors, *viz.*, the individual equipment of unconscious tendencies to thought and action and the variable response that different social groups call forth from the same individual or from the same collection of individuals, it would not be possible to explain adequately how lapses occur in moral life or a sense of morality develops in unexpected quarters. It must be remembered that the moral response is always to other persons and has no meaning apart from the group to which it is made. The sense of beauty may be called forth by inanimate nature and the sense of truth may arise in connection with individual experiences; even the religious sense may find in the non-human world sufficient materials to justify itself. But there is no sense of morality except in reference to a society of individuals, so much so, that it is doubtful whether suicide would be immoral but for its effect upon the society to which the individual belongs. Our conscience is a very accurate barometer of the pressure of the social sense, and indicates very faithfully the

¹ Dacca University Popular Lecture, 1928.

degree of our valuation of the opinion of any particular social group. The sense of obligation decreases in proportion to the diminishing degree of intimacy and the increasing extent of the social components. Regarding intimacy, nothing is so patent as the fact that the family, the clan, the community, the society, the nation and humanity at large claim our moral allegiance in progressively decreasing amounts. We are more solicitous to be at peace with our immediate environment than with one more remote, and are more particular about the effect of our conduct on the minds of our kinsmen and our neighbours than on those of distant people with whom our social dealings are intermittent or intangible. Moral delinquency has a tendency to inflate itself as soon as the pressure of social opinion is relaxed, and hence we are more prone to immoralities in distant lands and in the midst of strangers than in the heart of our own society. Running away from society in order to pursue unhampered a career of vice or illegal and immoral enjoyment is one of the most frequent devices in reality and fiction, for it requires a good deal of brass and courage to tread the evil path in one's wonted society.

Instances of the effect of intimacy of relation on moral conduct are quite plentiful. Robbers have their own code of morality but that is reserved for fellow robbers. The consideration we show to our kinsmen, fellow members of the same party or the same nationality, we are not often prepared to extend to others. A cheat does not necessarily deceive his family and a despot may be a good father and a good husband. A moral character that would have justified the hounding of a man out of European society develops very easily in the lives of many Europeans in the East,—in tea-gardens and plantations and isolated stations where the society which the individual values does not exist and where power facilitates a fall. War-babies and Eurasians owe their origin equally to power backed by license in places where the social opinion, instead of hindering, helps the commission of vice. For the same reason, in a city

where there are more crowds than communities and where population confers, paradoxically enough, a kind of privacy which is difficult to obtain in a small place, temptations to immorality are correspondingly greater.

There are many irregularities of conduct, again, which we would hesitate to indulge in as individuals but not as parties, communities or races. Even most reasonable persons may be guilty of irrational and violent behaviour as members of a mob-gathering, and friends belonging to different parties may fail to understand and respect each other on the floor of a parliament where members talk not as individuals but as exponents of party politics. The religious toleration we show in our private discussions we abandon in communal deliberations and, in times of accentuated communal jealousies, we are prepared to connive at the misdeeds of the blackguards of our own community,—nay, even to lend them our moral and financial support and to snatch them away from the hands of justice by a deliberately iniquitous verdict as jurors even though we have been sworn to honest conviction and impartial justice. How often do we lend our support to unworthy causes and withhold it from worthy ones, not because we have any doubt about their true nature, but because we have temporarily put our conscience in the custody of our party-leaders whose fiat we have agreed to obey implicitly even against our own personal conviction? By signing a party pledge or accepting office we may deliberately go into a moral hibernation and vote at the dictation of our conscience-keepers, sometimes backing up our conduct by a complacent rationalisation that there is more virtue in collective or official action than in individual opinion but at other times even without that pretext.

Think again of the ideal of freedom, equality and fraternity among all men and its application to practical politics. How exclusive are we, in the matter, of others, specially those whom we consider to be inferior? The Hindus are not the only people to suffer from a caste-system. The capitalists and the

labourers, the aristocrats and the plebeians in modern societies, tend to form exclusive groups with hostile interests and partial codes of morality, mindful of their peers and regardless of their opponents. Our sympathies and antipathies closely follow the alignments of social grouping except when self-interest demands that we should combine against a common foe and present a united front. But so dangerous is class-organisation and so sapping is it of national strength that driving a wedge between parties with conflicting interests has always figured as a category of supreme diplomacy from very ancient times in Sanskrit literature and dominant aliens have always found it convenient to resort to a policy of 'divide and rule' to keep subject races dis-united among themselves and have depended for its success upon the psychology of social, religious and ethnic groups.

The weakening of the moral bond takes place in proportion as the two parties to a moral relation cease to be definitely ascertainable. The strongest moral tie is between two definite individuals. If the second term of the moral obligation ceases to be definitely ascertainable or becomes identified not with a single individual but with a group or when both the terms consist of groups, the code of morality may undergo such a change for the worse that what would be regarded as immoral in private life or private relation ceases to give trouble to the conscience. Just consider how matters of international diplomacy are conducted. The standard of truthfulness and respect for other people's person and property you normally demand in the relations of individuals, you never expect the political states to follow in their international dealings. Spying, secret preparation for war, fomenting internal trouble and allowing one's secret agents connected therewith to pay even the extreme penalty of the law when detected, every ambitious nation would regard as a perfectly legitimate statecraft and would not hesitate a moment to disown, when accused, in order to keep up an appearance of international amity. The killing of one person by another would

be the heinous offence of murder but organised international murder would be called war which is less offensive in the eyes of the world. Forcible, unjust seizure of personal property would amount to robbery, but similar international brigandage would be conquest which the world is ready to view more leniently.

The conscience of the world is even more accommodating when one of the parties is outside the pale of the comity of nations. When uncivilised Africa is treated as a *res nullius* by the European races and divided among themselves without reference to the natives of the soil, when the islands of the Eastern Archipelago or the Polynesian Islands become the property of the first comers from Europe, when the lands of coloured races are apportioned as so many mandated territories or zones of influence of the white races, the world's conscience does not insist on a strict comparison with what might have been the feelings of the inhabitants had the countries belonged to Europe and even the right of a national plebiscite had been denied to their inhabitants. It is not because of international morality but because of international jealousy that the small states of Europe have escaped absorption by one or other of the great Powers, although it may also be that international immorality, like personal immodesty, becomes ashamed to show itself in its nudity only in the presence of one's peers. In far-off lands this international shame disappears, and so in the history of nations the colonies have often changed hands, for the pressure of Europe's public opinion is less felt when the hand of aggression plays havoc outside the restricted zone of obligatory considerateness. Religious mission and trade, both inoffensive in themselves and in some aspects beneficial to a less developed country, have almost invariably been followed by the national cupidity of strong Powers and led to unjust exploitation of that country's resources and ultimately to political subjugation, and yet the process may be so gradual that the line of demarcation between benevolence and injustice may be imperceptibly crossed and the pleas of civilisation and better govern-

ment may provide the necessary rationalisation to the strong nation for political and economic aggrandisement. But international and national 'immorality is so obvious a phenomenon that it hardly needs any elaborate treatment: it is taken for granted that we cannot behave as morally as nations as we do as individuals.' We may sign an agreement for armament limitation and yet go ahead with the secret strengthening of both the army and the navy in personal equipment and scientific device and wriggle out of our promises on some plea or other, when caught in the act of stealing this silent march on the other trustful signatories to that international covenant.

So much for the morality of groups in their mutual relation. Now observe the behaviour of an individual in relation to a group, whether that group be the state or a public utility company or a corporation or an institution or a joint-stock company. A variety of causes combine to make men less moral in relation to a group than in relation to single individuals; but the most frequent ones are resentment against authority, financial jealousy, invisible relationship, possibility of evading detection and a spirit of bravado. Obedience to authority is not an inborn characteristic and, even when acquired, is often coupled with a spirit of revolt. Hence the most loyal citizen takes moral leave when he does not find how by that conduct he can do any wrong either to the government or to any individual. Evasion of the law is practised more or less even by the most law-abiding on occasions, and by some systematically, without the least moral scruple. How many motorists can conscientiously declare that they have never exceeded the speed-limit fixed by law and did not rationalise their action by the thought that no harm to any individual was likely in the locality or that pressure of circumstances prompted that haste? Similarly, a cyclist will never feel any scruple in travelling without light after nightfall. The less obvious the moral significance the greater is the chance of breaking the law. Thus the breach of the Income Tax Law is notorious. There is delight if a sum

escapes detection and deliberate mis-statement is the rule rather than the exception. Very few barristers, attorneys, doctors or traders will make an accurate return of all their incomes and will take all steps to evade just assessment. People never take kindly to direct taxation of this type and cannot be made to see the justice of this kind of blackmail upon their hard-earned income. To the same category belong poll tax, immigration charges, admission to enclosures and all such direct payments. There is always a tendency to resent such levies and to evade them on every convenient occasion, especially if exemption is given by the law itself in some cases. I know of eminent educationists who did not feel the least scruple in smuggling books and instruments out of a country without paying customs duty, and of Englishmen who sent tea and cigar from India to friends at home through mere acquaintances who were instructed to unpack the case before landing to put on it an appearance of personal use during voyage and thus to evade the law. Similar evasions of the law relating to customs take place through the post-office. I know of cases where dutiable goods like silk scarfs and trinkets have been sent to and received from foreign countries without payment of any customs duty by otherwise conscientious persons of either sex. After the price of a thing has been paid, it is always galling to make additional cash payment in respect thereof, especially when the usual freight or postage has also been paid for transit. As compared with this fraudulent practice, a false declaration of value in order to avoid a portion of the duty is regarded by private senders and the trade in general as less offensive, for the moral sense of mankind refuses to acknowledge the "all or none" principle in fraudulent conduct and grades immorality with the extent of cheating practised. The same mentality is at work as in submitting false income tax returns: in both cases it is to minimise the rigour of a necessary personal evil of which no tangible benefit seems to accrue to the individual concerned. Similar attempts to cheat are not unknown to post-offices. In addition to under-

valuation of goods and remittances for purposes of insurance and customs duty, the misuse of the book-post is a familiar phenomenon. A few lines of communication that should under the law go by the letter post will often accompany printed matters without the writer feeling any sense of moral or legal guilt. Similarly, many contraband goods will be sent otherwise than as provided by the law for their transit. The man whose pocket is touched refuses to recognise that in cheating the government he is indirectly inviting on himself some other kind of taxation, for the government of the country must be maintained at all costs and if a government is not particularly solvent it will necessarily resort to fresh taxation to make up the deficit caused by cheating. He consoles himself with the thought that in that case the amount would be distributed over all. Every one thinks that his amount is too small to affect the government and very few look upon the State (especially when they are subject to an alien or despotic government) as the embodiment of their own highest social self which they ought to maintain at the cost of personal convenience or individual gain. No wonder that when no direct cheating is involved the sense of legality makes feebler protest still. Treasure troves, especially of ancient coins which the Government generally reserves to itself by law in the interests of historical research, are secreted away unless promptly brought to the notice of the department concerned; and so also portable archaeological finds if they can command a sale in the open market or by secret negotiation. The Curator of the Ajanta Caves told me that some beautiful specimens of fresco-painting had been secretly removed by foreign tourists, sometimes probably out of aesthetic curiosity but at other times out of the more sordid motive of gain, and then sold to museums of their own country. They simply took a moral holiday in the presence of works of art and in their case no question of identification with the government could possibly arise. The fact is that the impersonal character of the government affects the sense of moral or even legal obligation and

cheating the government is seldom regarded as a heinous offence. Death duties and escheats would have brought a handsome revenue to many governments had all people felt scruples in hiding the real value of an estate or the fact that the deceased left no legal heir.

Even those who are more intimately connected with the government have their own ways of taking moral holidays. Using one's public position for private ends is not an infrequent occurrence. The system of billeting soldiers on private citizens is no longer practised in normal times, but some executive and police officers still expect to be provided with free or cheap ration and labour while on tour. While officials use official cars on private errands, constables have a temperamental weakness for free rides on tramcars and hackney carriages. Indulging in lucrative speculations after getting possession of information in one's official capacity is not very widespread, but utilising materials and documents acquired by virtue of one's official post for the purpose of writing books or contributing articles that bring profit to one's private pocket seldom hurts the conscience. The beauty of the situation may be enhanced by employing labour at the cost of the government, consuming government stationery and using government postage stamps. To utilise the services of a typist, maintained at government cost, for private jobs is a common failing of officials and so also the use of government materials and stamps in many cases. Personal stinginess and a sense of official prestige may combine to bring about this failing, and the knowledge that waste and abuse are rampant in almost all departments of the government may bring about a complacent attitude. Personal abuse of official position may however suffer a transformation into connivance at other people's paying proper homage and respect to one's post and in this way the system of receiving presents (whether in coins or in kind) comes into being and the path to bribery and corruption is gradually prepared. The demand of a commission for accepting a tender or placing an order or

passing a bill is very seldom unknown to the agent as illegal, but an occasional present would be connived at as a token of social goodwill, which unfortunately it is very often not.

A peculiar type of impropriety develops in touring officers. Some heads of departments have peculiar propensities for creating occasions for travel and display a knack of leaving matters unfinished to justify a second tour in the near future. Members of legislative bodies have been known to return to their stations in order to be able to draw more than one travelling allowance even though there was absolutely no urgency about their return. Increasing the mileage is not an unknown failing, and where luggage expenses are also paid, overcharging is sometimes practised. Not satisfied with their normal savings on legitimate travel, many are known to travel by a lower class while charging for the higher and to rationalise their conduct by the reflections that the government would have spent the amount on them in any case had they travelled by the class to which they are entitled, and that the savings only compensated them for their personal discomfort in travelling by the lower class. That in fixing the class the government intended to keep up the prestige of its officers is a consideration that never enters into their head. When a false declaration about the class by which they actually travelled or the expenses they actually incurred is also signed, then the whole thing becomes a consciously motivated case of perjury and cheating.

That the indefinite character of the personality has something to do with these cases of fraud can be easily brought home if we refer to certain improper attitudes towards corporations and public utility companies. A want of civic sense and an ignorance of the rules of hygiene would account for the irresponsible way in which epidemic diseases are spread by infected persons or their attendants, but something more is at the root of our evasion of legitimate dues. It is notoriously difficult to collect municipal taxes on professions and vehicles,

and limited companies are the worst sufferers from the personal dishonesty of their directors and their clients. Religious and public trusts suffer the same fate. Cheating that does not aim at tangible personalities evades the strict vigilance of social morality which would not brook the violation of individual rights. Public utility companies have the same complaint to make regarding the morality of their customers. While loud outcries are made if the supply of gas, water or electricity becomes temporarily defective or the meter records abnormally high, the customers generally keep quiet if the meter stops recording or reads abnormally low. As a matter of fact, on the first contingency, the consumption is forced to get some reading at least lest the defect in the meter should be noticed and remedied. Perhaps the conscience of such persons would have pricked had they been offered through mistake more than their money's worth of articles or more than the change due to them by any vendor (and there are people who welcome such mistakes as windfalls) ; but a defect in any automatic machine is to them something different from a mistake in human calculation and they do not feel bound to suspect the accuracy of readings or take steps to remove the suspicion unless it touches their pocket. The defence of this particular immortality may take any form. Thus the defect in the meter may be looked upon as a heaven-sent compensation for some unsuspected (and unverified) leakage in the past or for some imaginary unsatisfactory service or the silence may be justified by taking up the position that the company charges higher rates than justifiable or makes huge profits or, when the concern is run by foreign capital, that it is no good filling the pockets of foreigners more than one can help.

Very interesting data can be collected from the conduct of passengers by railway and steamer. While travelling without a ticket would be set down to downright fraud, getting into a crowded conveyance to escape notice or to avoid payment by getting quickly down before the inspector can reach one.

through the crowd, would be resorted to with less scruple. While the more daring employees of the company would evade all payment, an outsider will not probably venture beyond travelling in a higher class than what he has paid for, especially when prestige demands a mode of travel which the 'pay does not warrant. Common British soldiers in India very frequently resort to this practice when separate accommodation in the lower class is not available. Misuses of railway permits for travel without payment or on favoured rates are not rare and relatives appear from nowhere for the purpose of claiming concessions in travelling rates. Far more frequent and widespread than the abuse of "passes" is that of season tickets. A person travelling with a season ticket belonging to another justifies himself by the reflection that as two persons are not travelling simultaneously the carrying agency suffers no actual loss, forgetting however that that consideration is not enough to justify any personal evasion of legitimate fares. Generally, the largeness of the number of such ticket-holders makes identification difficult, and as cheating is not directed against any ascertainable individual (for instance, it may be a state-owned railway) conscience quietly goes to sleep. But while the timorous and the scrupulous would not stoop to such low practices, only the most fastidious moralist would hesitate to use the return half of a ticket, originally taken out by another person, simply because the words 'Not Transferable' happen to be printed on it. Not many can be made to see that the railway or steamer company meant to benefit the original purchaser and not to enable him to make a profit out of the return half of his ticket or to enable another to travel cheap or even free according to the condition of issue of the ticket concerned. The money spent on travel does not bring any tangible benefit in return except a change of place and hence there is always an unwillingness to pay the legitimate dues. The same disinclination to pay manifests itself in prolonging untruthfully,

in the case of children, the age below which no fares are charged and the age above which full fares are levied. Children remain under-age much longer for purposes of travel than for most other things,—in fact, till their real age can no longer be hidden from anybody. When such is the attitude towards payment for personal locomotion, it is no wonder that the obligation to pay for excess luggage should be absolutely distasteful, especially to ladies whose outfit involves more bulk and weight. The effect is that handbags and attache cases attain the dimensions of suitcases, petty packages increase in number, unweighed and unpaid-for articles are smuggled into compartments and distributed among strangers having little luggage of their own, and, when all other resources fail, bribes are offered to railway officials to bring down the total weight or to pass the goods free.

But it is not only the public carriers that are defrauded by the general public. Many would not have the slightest scruple in getting into enclosures without payment for witnessing races, games, fights and shows of all kinds, especially when these take place in open spaces to which at other times the public have free access and in which the temporary structures are such as to facilitate easy and unobserved entrance at certain points. People are loth to pay for being amused or, in fact, for anything that does not bring any tangible return in kind; and this is why men would enjoy a free ride or a free show or a radio entertainment without any right while they would not feel easy if goods are delivered free at their address and no payment for them is demanded or apprehended. A free pass to a theatrical or cinematographical show is so delightful because it enables one to avoid payment for mere amusement and at the same time obviates the necessity of taking a moral holiday by unlawful entry. The same is the case with free medical or legal advice or free reading of hand and horoscope: in all such cases there is an unconscious disinclination to pay for intangible benefits received and a conscious rationalisation

that the person conferring the benefit is after all losing nothing in visible goods or chattels.

The differential moral attitude towards an indefinite assemblage of persons manifests itself also in relation to unknown and absent persons. Backbiting and passing adverse remarks against persons with whom one is not acquainted are really taking liberties with one's moral sense. Any ill-informed criticism, whether of books or of persons, and all hasty judgments on inadequate data would come within the scope of playing with one's conscience, and when the injured party is unable to defend itself the conduct becomes doubly reprehensible. That is why people are advised not to speak ill of the dead and criminals are accused in their own presence. There is a material check to irresponsible utterance when the party affected is able to refute ill-informed charges. One curious variety of this irresponsibility entrenches itself behind official immunity. On the floors of many assemblies, whose members are protected from prosecution by the privileges of those houses, many false or ill-informed statements are made against absent persons, and similar liberties are taken by counsels in a court of law. The temptation is greatest when it is known that such statements are likely to serve the purpose of the day by the catching of votes or the winning of a case.

That we become less moral where the signs of individual possession are absent is so well-known that it only requires mentioning. We shall probably think thrice before jumping into a field protected by a fence or hedge but we have less scruple in trespassing into open lands and even claim a right of way over them after the lapse of certain years, according to the law of the country, if no voice of protest is raised in the meantime. An absentee landlord, negligent of collecting taxes or asserting his rights, soon finds that his tenants have established the right of adverse possession against him. The same is the case with encroachment on the land of an absent owner by his neighbours. Roadside trees are treated by

passers-by as nobody's property, and so also jungles where no sign of ownership is visible. Flowers, fruits, and fuel would be collected there without any sense of infringing the proprietary rights of any person. Even the disciples of a Messiah, as they were passing through the cornfields, plucked the ears of corn and did eat, rubbing them in their hands, but we are not told whether they took the permission of the owner; perhaps the triviality of the commodity made them oblivious of the fact that they too had an owner just as a young girl, when accused of bringing forth an illegitimate child, sought to defend herself by saying that it was too small to deserve social or legal consideration. When proprietorship becomes invisible, a thing practically becomes a *res nullius* and the first finder is sure to pick it up and claim it as his own. Purses and articles dropped in the streets or left in cars, carriages, trains and steamers very seldom find their way back to the owners' pockets and the less identifiable they are the less the chance of recovery. Very few would have the honesty to deposit the articles in some safe custody and advertise the finding so that the rightful owner may come forward to claim them back. While occasionally stray dogs or bundles of documents would be thus advertised, presumably because they are easily identifiable, a purse or a common article, like an umbrella, an overcoat, or a waterproof, would be quietly misappropriated because it is always possible to evade detection if the thing has no distinctiveness about it. In this matter thieves behave in exactly the same fashion, for they too leave behind such articles as are likely to lead to detection if disposed of by themselves. The misappropriation of lands belonging to savage races by the civilised nations of the world is only a large-scale picture of the same phenomenon. In their code of morality proprietorship means ownership of a civilised race and what does not conform to that definition is a *res nullius* which may be appropriated without any moral hesitation. The treatment of weak races by the strong ones and of

coloured races by the whites comes pretty close to this predicament. The story of Alexander and the Robber is in point here : the extent of the misappropriation does not alter its moral character.

Enough has been said to show how the indefiniteness of the personality affected attenuates the moral attitude, whether that personality be a group or a single individual. But even when definite persons are affected, taking of a moral holiday is not unknown. Take, for instance, some cases of stealing which are overlaid with rationalisation for justification. One of the most famous hymns in Sanskrit owes its origin to a celestial being who lost the power of aerial locomotion as he came to steal flowers. In India while all theft has been viewed with disfavour the stealing of flowers for the worship of God is an ancient institution, as if the end justified the means in this particular case and in none other. Did not a great apostle of another religion say that he was not ashamed to lie to the glory of the Lord? The laudable character of the end is supposed to compensate for the sin of stealing or lying and to win merit in addition. This religious immorality has been at the root of much misery all the world over, for, in the name of religion, people have not shrunk from inflicting mental pain and bodily injury upon their fellow-men and done reprehensible acts under the mistaken notion that thereby they were serving God. Fanaticism, intolerance, religious persecution and forcible conversion are all mistaken forms of devotion and are sometimes positively immoral in spite of the honest conviction of the agents concerned that they are only serving the interests of true faith.

A practice closely akin to religious immorality is intellectual immorality. Of this there are many varieties. First of all, there is the crudest form which does not differ in any way from ordinary theft. It is the experience of many teachers and owners of books that at the time of periodical inspection they miss certain volumes because the persons to whom these had been lent had not the honesty to return them after use. This

weakness about books is quite widespread even among highly educated people. The process starts generally with a genuine temporary need. Then interest or idleness delays the return ; the delay produces a sense of shame or the hope that the loan has been forgotten ; and afterwards a habit of possessing the book begets avarice. If constant reference to the book is needed and miserliness prevents purchase, the chance of returning the book is reduced to a vanishing point, especially when it is known that the owner has no very great need of the book in question. The rich man who does not use the books himself finds that his library is gradually thinning, and as he has no firsthand acquaintance with the volumes, he is unable to trace them to the various borrowers. The public libraries are better off in this that the regular system of issue always makes it possible to trace the books, but then they suffer in other ways. The absence of visible ownership makes men less careful of their books, and defacing and tearing pages out of them are more frequent. Removing pictures and interesting portions is a familiar experience of many libraries, while annotations, interjections, underlinings and such disfigurements are too frequent to deserve separate mention. The reading public take liberties with books as if these belong to them personally, and even the small respect that is shown to serious compositions is withheld from light literature and journals and these are treated with very little reference to their ownership. But while downright theft would be galling to many consciences, a large number of mediocre intellects never hesitate to plagiarise from the works of others and to pass off the compositions as their own. The lure of a catchy phrase is irresistible to some writers, while others are swayed by the more ignoble motive of shining in borrowed plumes. Raking up of old books and journals is an habitual occupation with some writers and extensive pilferings without acknowledgment are their only passports to recognition. The less the chance of detection the more bold the plagiarism ; hence forgotten authors and foreign

writers are mostly laid under contribution in this business. And while the writers are thus misappropriating other people's books and compositions, their publishers are lulling their own conscience to sleep by secretly printing a greater number of copies than are agreed upon and making profit out of the surplus copies without the knowledge of the authors. They are, however, better off morally than those who publish pirated editions so far as the book-selling world is concerned.

But it is doubtful whether the act of the publisher, though in accordance with a generally accepted moral code of the fraternity, is not something more serious than a mere moral holiday, for here the conscious motive to cheat is present. But there are other cases where the element of cheating is present and yet the acts are less unfavourably viewed by society. Take, for instance, the case of passing off counterfeit coins as genuine. Those who actually forge currency notes or counterfeit coins stand on a different footing, for they make a livelihood out of their illegal occupation. But even courts of law have failed to reach effectively those who manufacture ancient coins to dupe the antiquarians and charge fabulous prices for the same. On the same footing stand those who manufacture apocryphal manuscripts of literary masters or forgotten pictures of famous painters and waylay the unwary enthusiast. But the ordinary public are interested in the disposal of forged notes and false coins that they have been saddled with in the course of their financial transactions and it is here that they allow their conscience to go to sleep. The effect of receiving a false coin is analogous to the reception of a squib on one's body: the first impulse is to get rid of it immediately. Thus if such a coin be received at one shop and it be too late to change it for a genuine one, the tendency would be to pass it off in the course of marketing on the same day at another shop, as if the dishonesty of one can be visited on another because both are traders. But a different mentality creeps in if the coin is in one's possession for sometime. In such a case there is a

greater sense of guilt attached to the fraudulent transaction ; but even then the affair may be regarded as more risky than immoral. These false coins gather in generous measure in the pockets of people who are unable to utter them for some reason or other—in the pockets of doctors and pleaders for it is not an etiquette with them to examine their fees and in those of court officials used to illegal gratification for they are afraid to utter them in the presence of their office masters for fear of being detected. Those who are afraid or punctillious about the disposal of such coins may entrust others with the work and thus save their coin and conscience at the same time. Generally the boys of the family manage to cheat with them petty hawkers or use them as gatefees in football matches where the rush prevents accurate examination of the coins. But adults may also buy for themselves a place in the Paradise of Fools by contributing them to church collections or relief funds.

Unfortunately, the law is in some cases in favour of the cheat. While a cheating of the type mentioned above will come within the clutches of the law, there are other types that escape them completely. Instances in point are adverse possession and time bar. After you have wrongfully kept the rightful owner out of possession in respect of a piece of land for a certain number of years, the law will confirm you in the possession of that ill-gotten right, however incontestable might be the proof adduced about the actual ownership. Similarly, if a hand-note is not redeemed within a certain period and you do not take steps to have it renewed, the debtor will throw the law about limitation in your face and escape payment of his legitimate dues. The law, in its desire to make men vigilant about their rights, has indirectly made provision for the taking of moral holidays, especially by those who feel themselves temporarily inconvenienced by the attempt to enforce rights against them. It is a rare phenomenon for bankrupts to repay their creditors after they have re-established their fortune; they take a moral holiday with the reflection that as the court of law has

once absolved them from the duty to pay, they are not bound to be just even after the recovery of their fortune. Similarly, minors are given the option to fulfil or not to fulfil certain obligations, entered into during their minority, after they attain majority. The same is the case with obligations which the law cannot enforce, *e.g.*, debts of honour, gambling debts, etc. Gambling itself is bad enough but it becomes doubly bad when it provides the additional opportunity of disowning monetary obligations. As a matter of fact, all transactions where the law is sought as a refuge for getting rid of undoubted obligations, whether it be a case of faulty execution of document or the expiry of time-limit or the plea of incompetency to enter into certain transactions or anything of such kind, are cases where leave is taken of conscience to achieve a selfish end. As an instance of cheating of an entirely different kind may be mentioned the practice of impersonation where one person passes himself off as another and does not feel himself any the worse morally, whether that be a student impersonating another at a roll-call or a voter recording the vote of another in favour of a party-candidate at an election. In such cases, the absence of a material benefit takes off the edge of the immorality practised; not so, however, if done for a consideration. Wasting office hours in gossip would scarcely be regarded as cheating the employer although it may be so in reality.

Cheating and lie are so closely related that it is sometimes difficult to separate them, the material difference being that in cheating there is an attempt to cause material loss through misrepresentation while the immediate object of lying is the misrepresentation itself by means of words that are known to be untrue. Now, while some lies are 'white' there are others that are quite 'black' and are used to induce people to do what they otherwise would not have done and therefore amount to cheating in a way. 'A loose classification of the lies that people use without thinking very much of their immorality may be made here. We have already mentioned lies made to the glory

of God which some zealous protagonists of faith are not ashamed to resort to. This is the 'religious' lie. But while such lie is doubtfully justifiable there are others that are 'permissible.' A doctor is allowed to tell a lie to a patient about his health if the truth is likely to affect adversely the latter's condition. So also is the withholding of bad news, especially news of death, from persons who are likely to receive a severe shock by a too sudden breaking of the bad tidings. Censorship during the war is a permissible lie of this type, for the sudden breaking of bad news may cause a national panic and dislocate business. Such, again, is lying in jest which is not regarded as morally offensive at all. To nonpluss a fellow-man by a lie in jest is regarded as an intellectual occupation analogous to a mock-fight where all the conditions of struggle are present with the exception of the reality-factor. To outmanoeuvre one in wit has all the thrills of outmanoeuvring another in combat as the factors of feinting, dodging, etc., are present in both. This justifies the making of an April fool of another ; but in some cases the joke may be pushed too far and cause practical mischief, when it ceases to be innocuous. Deceiving children is also largely practised without a thought of any moral significance. A bitter medicine would be administered with the prefatory remark that it tastes sweet and false excuses would be given by parents for leaving children behind at home. To stifle inquisitiveness in inconvenient matters false answers would be given, as, for example, the proverbial storks that bring the children. Mythical stories would be told to keep them quiet and to make them inhabit a world of make-believe where their imagination may have full scope for operation, and none would regard this as morally unjustifiable.

Practically in the same category would fall the lies of 'necessity' which have sometimes to be indulged in if a particular object is to be achieved. Thus the lies of 'exaggeration' are permissible not only to the trade to sell its goods, but also to official panegyrists in State documents and to compositions in honour

of the dead. It would be foolish to regard an advertisement as a gospel truth. for it is generally known that one interested in certain commodities is bound to boom them to command a decent sale. 'Infallible remedies,' 'everlasting cure,' 'the best article of its kind in the market,' 'the paper with the largest circulation,' 'the best low-priced car,' 'the most up-to-date clinic,' 'the most fashionable hotel,' 'the cheapest shop,' 'the institution that provides the best instruction,' 'the biggest emporium in the East,' 'the most lucrative life-policy' and such other exaggerated descriptions are blazoned forth by interested parties, for without them the unwary and vacillating customers cannot be ensnared. The psychology of advertisement is a study in the art of catching attention and filching money out of the pockets of undecided customers, and the purpose is achieved as much by the use of exaggerated language as by the display of catching posters and pictures, both of which diverge more or less from the truth. 'Unshrinkable' woollen goods will shrink after all, 'permanent' curls will lose their wavy character in the long run, and hairs will not grow on bald pates in spite of the most emphatic assurances of the vendors concerned. But whatever be the actual worth of the goods, the sellers thereof are conceded the right to deceive by false pretences so long as it is kept within proper bounds. So also, in theatres, cinemas and circuses, 'positively the last night' may have a number of nights later than the last at the request of imaginary multitudes. The same right to use hyperbole is given to brokers and promoters of companies who promise extravagant returns upon investments. 'A few shares still available at par' is a modest lie as compared with issuing shares at a premium to 'give an appearance of extraordinary demand. An artificial speculation in the shares may also be set up in the market by the directors themselves enquiring after the shares of their own concern just as bids are raised in an auction by the seller's men mixing up in the general crowd and bidding for his articles at higher figures than those offered by

bona fide purchasers. But the public, generally indulgent towards the seller, is rather stringent on those who compel people to sell their goods in execution of a mortgage and puts all sorts of obstacles in the way of a fraudulent underselling to the mortgagee so that the temptation to exchange a *jus in re aliena* for an outright ownership may not lead the powerful party to prevent a legitimate sale at a fair price.

But there are other species of lies which also are not seriously regarded. A number of lies is encouraged in matrimonial matters, for the unvarnished truth is unpalatable and people would rather have pleasant fictions than unacceptable truths. Matchmakers and marriage-brokers use this kind of 'compulsory' lies in order to pass off a boy or a girl. Exaggerating the good points in person, property, character, conduct and ancestry is a recognised method of discourse in matrimonial negotiations, and when the parties interested are themselves the actors in the negotiations, it is permitted to them to hide their weaknesses during courtship and to put forth only their good qualities. It is not expected of a man or a woman to tell the other party anything reprehensible about his or her own past life and a veil is therefore drawn over it as if life began anew at the matrimonial stage. In addition, the woman is permitted to invent fictions about her age according to the party chosen. This is why her age is seldom made public, even when known, lest her chances in marriage become minimised: up to a certain age time gallops with her so that she might claim the honours of a lady sooner than her age warrants, thereafter for some years her age and time run at an equal pace, and after she has passed a certain age time begins to move slower than her age and she stands at the same age for many years together. She is entitled to the use of all devices that human intelligence has discovered to hide the marks of time,—the crow's feet round her eyes, the wrinkles on her cheek and brow, the grey that begins to cap her frame, the drooping bust and the falling eye-sight. These are the compulsory lies that she must practise if she is to win and

retain the affection of men, especially where the number of desirable mates is small and the competition keen. In quite a different field, but falling within the same class, are lies that subordinates have to use towards unreasonable masters. If you have a legitimate ground to absent yourself from office on an urgent business that cannot wait and your master will not recognise anything but the illness of yourself or your wife as a sufficient ground for taking leave, you are compelled to lie to that effect from sheer necessity. So your wife becomes conveniently ill when your father's *sradh* ceremony has to be performed or you have to negotiate your daughter's marriage or your ancestral property is being measured by the Settlement Officer. When that even is not enough you have no other alternative left but to feign illness yourself and adequate payment will get for you the indispensable medical certificate which cannot be ignored.

Official lies are so far remote from the ordinary life of people that they only require mention. Even when the whole world knows a particular event the official concerned may have no 'official' information of it and may postpone discussing it till it has been communicated through the official channels. War documents are notoriously unreliable and partisan in their character, and it is only after many years that the collation of conflicting documents suggests something approximating the truth. Papers conducted on different party lines have different versions and views of the same event. Diplomatic and official denials very often turn out to be temporary and truth is kept back so long as it is possible to do so in order to keep the people in good humour and self-confidence. Secret dealings with other nations, underhand methods of retaining and increasing power and prestige, and fabricating false opinion against an adversary are the normal equipment of an international diplomat, and very often official protection has to be given to him lest the clutches of law should reach him. *

But all these are for the interest of the State. There are other lies, however, where the interest served is that of the indi-

vidual ; and foremost among them stand what may be called 'economic' lies. A man may hide his income as well for fear of being robbed or approached for help as for gaining respect in society ; in the one case there will be undervaluing and in the other overvaluing of one's real income. So it has become one of the conventions of decent societies not to make enquiries about income, for they may in many cases lead to compulsory lies. Banks are expected to keep the financial position of their clients a strict secret, for on it depends their social prestige. But there is one place where all are interested in appearing poorer than they really are ; that is the Income-tax Office. The imposition is resented and lies are resorted to in the interests of finance. The same psychology is at work in submitting false age-certificates in connection with employment, service examination and life insurance, for in all such cases age means money. The younger you are in age the longer you will enjoy an income from active service and the less you will have to pay as premium. You rectify the mistakes of your father, who is supposed to know better, by swearing false affidavits and you are as prepared to raise the age as to lower it as occasion demands. You thus raise the age to enter into contractual and matrimonial relations and lower it to get rid of obligations arising therefrom or to get concessions or to prolong personal benefit. And the doctor that certifies a false age or a sham sickness is looking to his own economic interest without any moral scruple. It is an open secret that the amount of fee paid has a marked influence upon the doctor and that when your case is officially referred to the Civil Surgeon you are still expected to pay the usual fees if you do not wish to have a certificate unsuitable for your purpose. 'General debility,' 'nervous breakdown,' 'insomnia' and such impalpable ailments are what you generally suffer from if you have a leave of absence to take and are prepared to pay for it to the doctor whose certificate is indispensable for the purpose ; and rather than be transferred to an undesirable station you are willing to wink at your conscience and bribe the

doctor and be none the worse morally in the eyes of the world.

Again, we have 'professional' lies which are incidental to the pursuit of a vocation. In a way the tradesman's lies are professional; but the best illustrations would be those of a pleader, attorney or barrister entrusted with a case. Although theoretically every member of the bar is expected to help in the administration of justice, the word 'justice' is usually understood to mean 'money's worth of legal help.' Hence even if it be known to the counsel that his client is the guilty party, he will not hesitate to hide that fact from the court and argue as if the latter is the wrongfully injured party. *Suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* are the two main weapons in the hands of a clever advocate. His citations of cases are always one-sided, for he is not interested in throwing doubt upon his own particular standpoint, and so at the end the judge is presented with two sets of facts diametrically opposed to each other and left to guess at the probable truth. Similarly, the memories of witnesses follow curiously enough the alignments of the different parties citing them and it is only in very exceptional cases that they prove hostile and have to be discharged lest they should reveal the true state of things by inadvertence or premeditation. The Police will also try to defend its arrest of a person by extorting confession, and real culprits will, when assured of ultimate release with legal aid, retract confessions voluntarily made. The touts who extol the legal acumen of their principals can live only by this kind of lies just as brokers have to boom their concerns and election agents have to advertise their candidates.

Lastly, there are lies of 'convenience' which are regarded as the whitest of all lies and are most universally practised. There is in most minds an innate disinclination to disoblige others or to give out unpleasant truths. In such cases, in order to avoid wounding susceptibilities, palliative fictions or mild lies are resorted to by considerate people. Thus, if you are asked your opinion about the beauty of her ugly

son by a mother or the taste of a nasty meal by your host or the architectural elegance of a badly designed house by a neighbour, you will feel embarrassed and very likely mutter out something by way of approbation because you do not wish to offend by candid remarks. The giving of testimonials to undeserving candidates should also be mentioned here, which is sometimes done by soft-hearted persons to oblige their proteges who often look upon this failing very favourably and call it kindness or generosity! The difficulty is that it is exactly those persons that have a vague suspicion that their articles are not first-rate that ask for opinion and they are the quickest to be despondent by any adverse comment. A novice in painting, poetising or singing needs words of encouragement when learning his craft and an unfavourable remark will probably kill all enthusiasm; so you have no mind to throw cold water on his ardour and you pat your conscience to sleep out of a feeling of considerateness for the budding artist. Want of moral courage may similarly keep you back from expressing your mind on acts of doubtful propriety done by powerful persons or official superiors. Similarly, in order to save yourself from uninteresting or troublesome situations, you may excuse yourself out of an invitation or engagement by a false plea. You may accept an invitation evasively, never intending to keep it, or you may decline it on the false ground of ill-health. You may excuse yourself out of an invitation which you know to be purely formal by a plea of previous engagement which does not exist in reality. To your creditors whose dues you cannot meet just now and to undesirable callers in general you are of course 'not at home' and your servants and children have standing instructions to announce that to certain specified persons. To unpunctual and bankrupt debtors you are always short of funds and you have to meet unforeseen calls for money from quarters which you cannot ignore whenever they ask for a loan. A note left by an undesirable person is always mislaid by your children or servants and when you yourself sign a receipt

you are always so overwhelmed with work that you find no breathing time to reply. The article you do not wish to part with, you either do not possess or have lent or lost already. Your memory gets wonderfully short when you do not wish to keep an engagement or advance a loan or bear witness in an inconvenient case. You thus fulfil to the letter the ancient advice given by a Sanskrit text, "Speak the truth; speak the pleasant; but do not speak the unpleasant truth," and you do not feel any the worse morally for having done so.

But it is not always out of consideration that you lull your conscience to sleep. You are as ready to take leave of morality when you wish to be cruel. Ceremonial slaughter has figured as a part of the creed in many religions, and although it would be contended that cruelty to animals is not really immoral there is no doubt that the practice of cruelty in one field stiffens up your heart in another and that cruelty to men is only one step in advance of your cruelty towards the lower creation. A candid examination of the religious faiths of the world will show that savagery towards fellow-men is in exact proportion to that practised towards the brute creation, especially towards higher animal forms, and that non-injury to animals in religious creed is a safeguard against cruelty of all types. It is true that in the world as present constituted independent political existence is threatened without the practice of some cruelty and the Hindu and Buddhistic East with *ahimsa* as its foremost creed has paid dearly for forsaking the creed of violence when the aggressive West with its Semitic legacy of ceremonial cruelty professed its adherence to Peace but practised the cult of the Sword in its dealings with other creeds and other colours. But rapacity and violence are now recoiling upon the heads of those who practised them originally towards alien people, and the colossal scale in which the civilised West is engaging in war shows, if anything at all, that the conscience of the world is forced to go to sleep so that in the night of violence the savage instincts of man may go about their work without any protest from the better

side of human nature. Nations are bound to take moral holidays so long as human nature is not radically transformed by the cessation of cruelty towards sentient beings and by the more effective preaching of peace by persons who have in their lives vindicated the possibility of a non-violent existence.

But let us abandon for the present this high politics in which the man in the street is not generally interested. In our everyday life we may still avoid wanton cruelty towards others, whether they be beasts or men. We can surely check the sadistic impulse of throwing a stone at the street dog or the perching bird and the unsocial habit of casting harsh and angry words at our fellow-men. We can avoid the still more refined cruelty of marrying without means to support a wife and of bringing children into being without being sure of maintaining them decently. We can avoid raising passions in a person of the opposite sex that we cannot legitimately quell and can so train our sexual instinct that we do not become instruments for wrecking hearts and homes. In our unwarranted zeal for efficiency and in our proneness to favouritism we are so often tempted to sacrifice helpless subordinates or members of a different community that a constant pursuit of partisan aims results in the long run in denying justice to other societies and meting out cruelty to some individuals. We are very often tempted to import our private quarrels into our public dealings and corrupt the administration by partiality. I have seen very liberal people forsaking their wonted principles out of self-interest and also out of grudge towards a particular person generated in connection with quite a different matter. I have seen heads of institutions anti-canvassing subordinates whom they do not like but about whose efficiency there is not the slightest doubt. In all such cases the conscience has to be quieted, for otherwise wrong cannot be done without remorse. Some amount of rationalisation has very often to be done when the voice of conscience refuses to be absolutely silenced ; but persistent habit may even dispense with that.

The review of cases where conscience goes to sleep is by no means complete and an introspective mind of the worldly type will be able to detect itself practising one or other of the many forms which this immorality takes. Many are regarded as innocuous and some will think that life would be intolerable without taking occasional moral holidays. How many of us can live as if ever before our Great Taskmaster's eyes? These little immoralities are the protests which the civilised man makes against his social bondage just as he protests against social restrictions about sex in many disguised forms.¹ The juxtaposition of so many kinds gives it the appearance of 'a drain-inspector's report' and really all these are not practised by all persons at all times. But there is no doubt that civilised man is sometimes inclined to make moral picnics outside his urban limits and not feel the inconveniences of the outings. And he is more inclined to do so when ascertainable individuals are not near about, when he is under the domination of a strong instinct or when his personal interest is involved. If he is weak, let him be candid in his confession about a personal frailty; for while there is hope for one who knows that he is committing a wrong there is none for one who is ignorant about the true nature of his acts and persists in them under the impression that he is doing nothing wrongful.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

¹ The reader is referred to the present writer's article on *The Ways of Sex* in the Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol. III, January and April, 1928.

A PILGRIMAGE TO THE EXCAVATION SITE AT PAHARPUR

Paharpur or Hill-Town lies in the district of Rajshahi in the old Mandala (division) of the province of Paundravardhana which comprised the modern division of Rajshahi and its outlying parts.

The Paharpur mounds including a central one of great height (about 80 ft.) and lower mounds encircling it about the boundaries on the four sides, stand on a non-alluvial laterite soil which is a characteristic feature of the land of Varendra. The soil beyond the boundaries on the East is, however, alluvial and in some parts entirely sandy as may be noticed near the bathing ghat brought to light at a short distance from the South-East corner of the boundary mounds.



I. Main Mound.

The local tradition has it, that there was a river named 'Nur' flowing from the south to north. It may be yet premature to opine that there were large gates in the middle of each of the four sides of the surrounding wall but the excavation has disclosed the existence of an entrance from the north which presumably was the principal entrance. The northern entrance had a number of pillars in three rows the

* Read before the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, under the presidency of Mr. J. N. Ray, Divisional Commissioner, March, 1927.

bases of which are existing even to the present day and the portion of the wall on the east and the west is still visible. Through the northern entrance there is a passage running from the north to south leading to a smaller pillared hall facing the central mound towards the south. Right in front of this structure there exists a hollow reservoir of water, circular in shape, which, it is doubted, might have been excavated in a subsequent age.

Traces of step-like prolongations which have been described as large staircases on the north face of the main mound (in the report on Paharpur communicated by Sir John Marshall to the "Illustrated London News," 29th January, 1927) do not, however, exactly look like staircases but may rather be recessed structures set up to lend strength to the building. The absence of any frieze adorned with terra-cotta plaques on this side of the structure and the temple having a large gateway in the north may justly indicate a staircase on its north—but as long as there is no trace of steps or anything indicative of a flight of steps the idea of taking those structures to be large staircases seems to be a little hazardous.



II. North face of the Main Mound.

Above this recessed structure there is the remnant of a hall with corridors running round it. There are bases of four pillars still found deposited in the hall, the side walls of which are still standing to a considerable height. The two paleographic

inscriptions and an image of Kuvera now taken to the Indian Museum are said to have been found here.

The unusual height of the central mound represents not merely a heap of local debris but it also indicates the existence of masonry structures of considerable height which lay long concealed therein. The whole structure in all likelihood was a terraced one. The ground plan of the structure as disclosed by the excavation has also been taken by Sir John Marshall as one resembling a huge Maltese-cross in design. But it is doubtful whether this theory can hold water. The mounds along the boundaries may in all likelihood be mounds over the boundary walls with rooms, cells on the inner sides. One cannot, however, be certain unless independent structures at different places in the enclosed compound are traced out.



III. Borders of the Main Structure decorated
with terra-cotta plaques

In the main Shrine along the borders of the main structure there are dados decorated with terra-cotta plaques portraying animals almost of all principal descriptions, snakes, peacocks, antelopes, buffaloes, elephants, fish, human figures in various poses, musicians and other conventional designs. The modelling is mostly "realistic and vigorous" and speaks of "a high artistic standard" of sculpture in Bengal in ancient times.

The arrangement of these plaques clearly indicates a shuffling of the position of such plaques in later times. Some of them are turned upside down and have been laid on the Panel pell-mell without considering the natural or the original position of the plaques. Some of the flower designs have been stuck up in such a pendant headlong fashion that one is led to take them for a fruit design rather than a flower or flower buds.



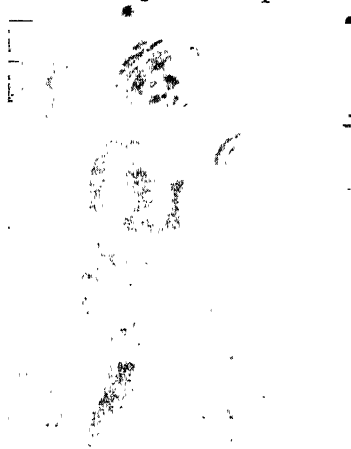
IV. A Conventional Flower Design.

A realistic artist would not allow a fruit to be depicted in such a way as to militate against the ordinary principles of the law of gravitation.

A terra-cotta musician has been described as one striking a gong in the account communicated by Sir John Marshall to the "Illustrated London News" of 29th January, 1927, last, but on inspection I found the so-called gong looked more like a leather covered drum than a metallic gong attached to the body which could hardly give proper sound. Moreover, the short and the kilt worn by this terra-cotta figure do not correspond to the dress of a North Bengal peasant of the modern age. (*vide figure*, next page).

The characteristic features I could observe in these terra-cotta figures are that some of them look like Buddha in 'Bhumis-parsa mudra' and in other attitudes too, but they are not many yet. The antelopes and some conventional lion heads with their

forearms placed cross-wise are abundantly seen. The elephant motifs in the terra-cotta are splendid specimens of art.



V. A Terra-cotta Musician.

The excavation has led to significant discoveries. On the south, at a short distance from the main mound, the base of a chaitya-like circular area on a quadrangular platform has been discovered. Again below the present ground level the excavation has exposed some fine specimens of sculptures in stones mostly preserved in tact in their respective niches. They offer a study of a more speculative interest than before. Definite identification of some of these images could not be effected as yet. Most of these images seem to be Brahmanical images depicting scenes from Hindu mythology. Besides there are a number of standing amorous couples, dancing figures and Dwarapalas. In the amorous couples the male figure has been represented touching the bosom of the female figure as it is generally found in the representations of Uma-Maheswara.

In another niche there is a scene of some female figures and a child embracing the hip of one of them. By its side again there are two male figures and one of them is found to be carried on the back of a third one. On the other end is a figure of Siva with a couple of dwarfish figures by his side. Evidently the group represents a Saiva episode.

On the south there is an undoubted specimen of a four-armed Ganesa in a sitting posture.

Next there is a male figure with a garland-like object stretched between his hands.

The foot-wear of the same figure is an interesting study. The foot-wear is a near approach to a highboot but not exactly of a type similar to one usually worn by the Sun-God, and his attendant figures. One may be tempted to call it Aruna, the charioteer of Surya, on account of the foot-wear suggesting a possible connection with the Sun. A figure with the limbs fully represented can hardly be identified with 'Aruna' because mythologically he is 'Anuru' or one without the leg.

There is another highly interesting figure having four arms—two of which hold two small images on either side, the other two arms holding a hillock-like object.

There are seen figures of Kimpurusas having the face of a horse and a human body in some of the niches.

A fine specimen of sculpture is a female figure on a tortoise, a male attendant is found holding an umbrella over her head and a female attendant on the other side is seen holding a flower basket. Both of them are standing on crabs. This may very likely be a representation of Yamuna.

There is a figure of Balaram. The crown of the image has serpent hoods behind, the distinctive emblem of plough has been clearly represented.

A fine sculpture in stone probably depicting Indra with his elephant 'Airavat' has been found well-preserved in one of the niches on the east side of the main shrine.

There is an excellent specimen of a scene of a wrestling bout.

On the eastern and western side of the main temple there are some scenes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. On the east are represented a figure, holding aloft three pieces of hillocks over the two arms and the head, and another figure kneeling down beside it. On the west again out of a number of figures, one male figure is found to

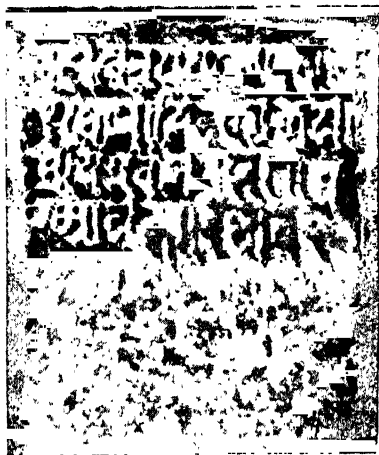
be embracing a female one clasping round her buttock, and another figure is found to be in an archer's pose driving in a chariot. In the intervening space between the two, there is a figure in a devotional attitude.

In the niches facing north there are some interesting images. One has been found to be represented with a head-dress showing the top-knot bound in the middle with a cord—having 'akshamala' and 'puthi' or book-like thing held perpendicularly by the right hand. The body is rather corpulent.

Another figure having a crescent moon (Chandramauli) surmounting the head and Akshamala held by the right hand and the representation of two trees akin to plantain trees on either side of the image, may be taken to be a Siva.

Besides these, a number of such images have been discovered and are being exposed during the process of excavation. Correct identification and the explanation of all these images cannot however be definitely made now.

The 'Tri-Ratna' pillar inscription now in the Varendra Research Society's Museum which first of all gave a clue to the



VI. The Inscribed *Tri-Ratna* Pillar—Varendra Research Society Museum.

importance of the Paharpur mound, was discovered almost at the top of the low mound over the boundary near the South-west corner and it definitely speaks of the existence of a

Buddhistic establishment in Paharpur on or about the 11th Century A.D. For the Paleography of this ancient record indicates an age not far ahead of the time of Mahomedan occupation.

The inscription runs as follows :—

*“Om Ratna-Traya Promodena
Satvānām hitakāṅkshayā
Sri Dasabalagarbheṇa
Stambhoyam Karito varah.”*

“This excellent pillar was caused to be made by Sri Dasabalagarbha to please the three jewels, viz. (Dharma, Buddha and Samgha) for the good of all created being.”

Now since the significant discovery of some of the distinctive Brahmanical images of Indra, Yamuna, Ganesa and Siva it has become exceedingly difficult to indulge in any speculation regarding the original nature of the worship for which the building was erected.

The topographical feature of the Paharpur mound and the existence of old historic places of interest, viz. :—Jagaddal Mahavihara—the seat of an old University, Amaree, probably a corrupted form of Ramavati, the capital city of Ram Pala of the Pala dynasty, and the inscribed Garuda pillar of Bhatta Gurava Misra, minister of king Narayana Pala—all lying strewn about almost in its vicinity, suggest that it was not an isolated structure but one intimately connected with habitations of a dense population, if not also with a great city. The gigantic proportion suggested by the enormous height of the central mound naturally indicates celebrity, repeated repairs in the past fairly indicate that the place was associated with holiness which long enjoyed veneration of generations. The institution must have grown up gradually round a sacred relic from an initial humble beginning, which may lie encased in the now available remnants of the structures of a later age.

The terra-cotta plaques may be purely decorative or indica-

tive of a particular cult. They however offer interesting and instructive materials for the study not only of Bengal Art before Mussalman conquest but also of Bengali life of the epoch in question. They should, therefore, demand a careful study. The brick plaques disclose unusual dimensions, some of them again bear a close resemblance to those plaques discovered at Biharail in the district of Rajshahi where an image of Buddha of the Saranath type belonging to the Gupta age has also been found. In it, the Varendra Research Society may justly claim to possess probably the oldest Buddha statue hitherto discovered in Bengal. Hence a close study should be made of the postures and features which though conventional are of great interest. Dress, ornaments and other signs of advanced affluent circumstances of the people are visible on all hands. In them one may find a clue to the state of civilization under which they were executed. Stone was no doubt rare in the land of Varendra as it had to be brought from a great distance with labour and cost, yet stone appears to have been used where it was necessary to give stability to the structure. Massive pillars to support heavy roofs and a large number of gargoyles to serve as passages of drainage. Sir John Marshall calls the structure as one which is unknown to Indian Archæology. In this alone Varendra deserves to be studied with greater attention.

As the excavation goes on, it is hoped that the efforts of the Archæological Department will bring to light many new materials which will greatly facilitate the study of the life and art of ancient Bengal.

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KSHITISHCHANDRA SARKAR

More Interesting Relics.¹

The excavation in the last cold weather of 1927-28 has laid bare many more interesting relics. The most important

¹ It includes additional information on some interesting features of the ruins brought to light in the present year for which another pilgrimage had to be made to the site.

relic unearthed this year is a copper plate inscription inscribed on both sides, dated according to Mr. K. N. Dikshit in 159 Gupta Era (*i.e.*, 478-79 A.D.). The inscription has a reference to Jainism and this find has probably made the monumental site at Paharpur more perplexing to scholars. "The inscription records the donation of land by a Brahmin couple for the maintenance of worship at the Vihara or religious establishment of the Nigrantha (Jaina) ascetics presided over by Guha Nandi at the Village of Vata-Gohali."¹

Numerous figures in terra-cotta and stone show Hindu and Buddhist connection and the present discovery of the copper plate suggests a trace of Jainism, too, in Paharpur. The existence of the Paundravardhanika branch of the Jaina sect and the discovery of the image of the 16th Tirthankara Śantināth at Mandoil in Rajshahi, now deposited in the Varendra Research Society's Museum, lend additional proof of an existence of traces of Jainism in the land of Varendra.

The spacious quadrangle appears to have an entrance on the north where gate-structures have been brought to light indicating an association with them of numerous cells. In some of these cells have been found small antiquities connected with the monastic life and some burnt clay seals with the name of the second Buddhist Pala King Sri Dharmapala Deva.

As this unique monument of the past exists in the heart of Varendra and as it appears to have been connected with all forms of religion once in vogue the place will take a long painstaking study and research work.²

K. C. S.

¹ A brief account of the excavation at Paharpur by Mr. K. N. Dikshit.

² Figures from *The Illustrated London News*.

THE NEW CONTENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY, DEMOCRACY AND NATIONHOOD

An analysis of ideas in the background of events, 1905-1927.

I.

Ideology : (1) Conquests of the bourgeois democracy in Asia, (2) Nationalities and minorities in Central and Eastern Europe, (3) Labour triumphant as a political force, (4) Criticism of democracy and socialism, (5) Progressive taxation, sur-taxes, capital levy, (6) Asia's revolt against Eur-America, (7) Intensive analysis of internal sovereignty, (8) Problems of representation, local, class, geographical (regional), occupational etc., (9) Centralization *vs.* decentralization of authority, (10) Local habitation of sovereignty, (11) Revival of autocracy and dictatorship, (12) Currency, credit and "central (reserve) banking" as influences in political thought.

SECTION 1.

*From the Birth of Young Asia to the End of the Great War
(1905-1918).*

1905. Russo-Japanese War : A self-conscious Asia is born. The First Russian Revolution embodies itself in the establishment of the Duma.

1905. **Dufay** : *L'Impôt progressif en France* (Progressive Tax in France). It is not only an economic role but a moralizing role as well that taxation has to play. It has to emancipate labour by removing excessive power from capitalists and rendering unto labour a social and economic power that it possesses very inadequately at the present moment. Taxation has the function of maintaining within a just limit

the particular appropriation of the wealth produced at least indirectly by the labour of all.

1905-1915. **Giolitti** Ministry in Italy is a system of "dictatorial parliamentarism"; 30 million men are governed by 30 persons for the benefit of 300 thousand families. The Senate is a non-entity, the Chamber apathetic. Germany is taken to be the model and State-socialism the goal. Universal suffrage becomes law (cf. England, 1885).

1905-07. Indian National Congress : Sessions at Benares, Calcutta, and Surat. Presidents : **Gokhale**, **Naoroji**, **Rasbehari Ghose**. The New Party (Extremist) is founded by **Bal Gangadhar Tilak**, **Bipin Chandra Pal**, **Lajpat Rai** and others. **Aurobindo Ghosh's** *Bande Mataram* (daily) is the chief organ. Planks of the new movement :—(1) Swaraj (Self-government on colonial lines), (2) Boycott of British goods, (3) Swadeshi (promotion of indigenous industries according to modern methods), (4) National education (emancipation of schools and colleges from Government control and establishment of general culture and technical institutions along national lines).—The period marks the beginnings of the revolutionary movement among the intelligentsia. *N. B. Minto-Morley Reforms, 1909.**

1906. Constitution is wrested from the Shah by Young Persia : The First Mejlis (Parliament.)

Persian Revolution.

Aug. 5, 1906 : Constitution wrested from Muzaffaruddin Shah : The First Mejlis, June, 1908 : Destruction of Mejlis by Muhammad Ali, July 18, 1900 : Capture of Teheran : Expulsion of Muhammad Ali, (July 16) : The Second Mejlis, July 1911 : Ex-Shah's invasion, Dec., 1911. Abolition of Mejlis (Second) by the Cabinet for rejecting Russia's ultimatum *re* Shuster.

* Sarkar : *The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (London 1912). The nature and form of sovereignty, nationality and democracy are dependent to a very great extent on the conjuncture of international circumstances. The problems of applied nationalism in every country, consist in the utilisation of the world-forces in its own interest. Foreign policy is an important and essential basis of freedom movements.

1906. The British Labour Party is established.

1907. **Figgis** (1866—): *From Gerson to Grotius, Churches in the Modern State* (1913). Corporate personalities of churches and other associations, *e.g.*, family, club, union, college are inviolable. The state can recognize and guarantee the life of such societies, but it no more creates that life than it creates the individual although it orders his birth to be registered. He initiates an appreciation of the medieval authority of the church and of its anti-statal position.

1908. **Seligman**, American: *Progressive Taxation in Theory and Practice* (First edition 1884).

The general sentiment in many places is in favour of proportional taxation. But in almost every country the principle of progressive taxation has been introduced to some extent.

This is true not only in monarchies like those of continental Europe (1908) and Japan, but in democracies like those of America, Australia and Switzerland. One finds progressive income taxes in Germany, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Belgium as well as in Switzerland; progressive rental taxes in France and Australia; progressive property taxes in Switzerland, Holland and Australia; and progressive inheritance taxes in France, Germany, England, Switzerland, Australia, Canada and elsewhere. Even in the United States, which is supposed to be *par excellence* the home of proportional taxation, there have been developed a progressive property tax, like the federalist house tax, and some decidedly progressive income taxes, both national and local; besides progressive income taxes, progressive inheritance taxes and progressive land taxes. According to Seligman the opponents of the progressive principle, like **Leroy-Beaulieu**, forget that it is the function of progressive taxation "not so much to obtain increased revenues as to apportion the burden more equably among the taxpayers." If the progressive tax is more just than the proportional tax, the fact that it would not yield a penny more revenue would itself

constitute no valid objection. "It is erroneous to assume that progressive taxation necessarily implies socialism and confiscation. It is possible to repudiate the socialistic theory of taxation and yet at the same time to advocate progressive taxation—on purely economic grounds."

The simple fact of the gradual decrease of marginal utility does not necessarily lead to progressive taxation, nor on the other hand necessarily to proportional. From the equality of sacrifice doctrine it is not possible to deduce any mathematically exact scale of taxation.

A purely economic theory of taxation is as impossible as a purely economic theory of value. Equality of taxation counts an ethical problem in the same sense that the general law of value and price does, says Seligman. And he concludes as follows:—While it is highly probable that the ends of justice would be more nearly subserved by some approximation to a progressive scale, considerations of expediency as well as the uncertainty of the interrelations between various parts of the entire tax system should tend to render us cautious in advocating any general application of the principle.

1908. **Duguit** (1859—) : *Le Droit social, le droit individuel et la transformation de l'Etat* (Social right, individual right and the transformation of the state) ; *L'Etat, le droit objectif, la loi positive* (The state, objective right, and positive law), 1901; *L'Etat, les Gouvernements et les agents* (The state, governors and agents) 1903, *Les transformations generales du droit prive* (General transformation of private law), 1912, *Les Transformations du droit public* (The transformations of public law, i.e., the constitution), 1913. Social interdependence is a verified fact. It is based psychologically on the identity of interest as human beings. It is inevitable also because of division of labour. The weighing or valuation of our claims, rights, interests, duties and obligations must have reference to the extent to which they promote social interdependence. The goal in every instance is the "productive efficiency" of the social group. "It is the

function of law to further this efficiency. There is no such thing as absolute rights. If there be such a thing as *sovereignty* it must be limited by *law*. The groups and associations possess real authority or sovereignty each in its sphere.

1908. Nationalist activities of Young Egypt.

Egyptian nationalism : born 1871 to check the Khedive's autocracy and foreign intervention; Revolt of **Arabi Pasha**, 1882 ; British Occupation, 1882.

Egypt (1882-1914).

1892. Khedive Abbas Hilmi is discontented under the British regime but is compelled to oppose Turkey in Sinai.

1899. **Lawe*, Arabic newspaper, is started by Mustapha Kemal, the Egyptian nationalist.

1906-08. Nationalist unrest.

1906-11. Egyptians resent Britain's prevention of Turkey's soldiers passing through Egypt against Italian invasion of Tripoli.

1914. Hilmi is deposed while in Turkey during the Great War.

Egypt during the War.

1914. Deportation of patriotic agitators to Malta by Maxwell who replaces Kitchener. Nov., 2 : War with Turkey; Dec., 17 : Egypt a British Protectorate : Hussain Sultan.

Feb., 1915. Turks at the Canal, British failures in Gallipoli, Mesopotamia and Salonika hearten the Egyptians.

1916. Australasian and Indian troops defeat Turkey at the Isthmus.

1908. Constitution is "restored" in Turkey (*cf.*, "granted," 1876).

Turkish Revolution.

1. The origin is to be sought in the Reval journey of King Edward VII (May, 1908), and his advice *re.* the appointment of a Governor for Macedonia with the approval of the Powers. 2. The Constitution is proclaimed at Salonika, July 24, 1908 by **Enver Bey**. Abdul Hamid submits. 3. Counter-Revolution (Royalist) is subverted by **Shefket Pasha**, Abdul deposed.

Young Turk Leaders.

1. Major Niazi Bey leads the revolt at Resna (July, 1908). 2. Enver Bey proclaims the Constitution (July, 1908) at Salonika. 3. Ahmad Riza Bey, founder of "Union and Progress" with the slogan : "All in the Koran." 4. Shefket Pasha, Commander.

The New Turkey.

1. Abdul deposed, 1908.
2. Union and Progress Congress at Salonika, 1910 : (i) "autonomy" is separation : "United Turkey" is the goal. (ii) Abolition of "capitulation." (iii) Bulgaria, the "fomentor of Macedonian discord," must be crushed.
3. Discontent in Syria, punitive wars in Albania (1910-1911).
4. Tripoli is surrendered to Italy, 1911.
5. The First Balkan War, October 18, 1912, under the leadership of Ferdinand of Bulgaria. Peace of London, December 16, 1912.
6. The Second Balkan War, 1913.

1909. Principles of taxation adopted by the British Labour Party : (1) Taxation should be in proportion to ability to pay and to the protection and benefit conferred on the individual by the state. (2) No taxation should be imposed which encroaches on the individual's means to satisfy his physical and primary needs. (3) Taxation should aim at securing the unearned increment of wealth for communal use. (4) Therefore taxation be levied on earned incomes and should aim deliberately at preventing the retention of great fortunes in private hands.

1911. **Hobhouse** (1864—) : *Social Evolution and Political Theory* opposes extremist eugenic propaganda directed against "social" (humanitarian) legislation, anthropologically indicates the progress achieved by states in passing from the kinship through the authoritarian to the citizenship stage, and discusses the imperfections of the citizenship-state of to-day : viz., (1) economic inequalities, (2) dependencies, e.g., India, (3) "nationalities" and minorities. He argues in favour of the

socialistic control and state-intervention as embodied in life and thought since 1885 and believes that "liberty" is not an anti-thesis to "social control" but like it *one* of the conditions of "harmonious development."

Hobhouse's political philosophy is akin in a general manner to the philosophies of **Keynes** and **Pigou**, although they function in altogether different fields. It has its German allies in all state-socialists from Wagner to Spann, French allies in **Bourgeois**, **Bougle** and **Fouillee**, the "solidarists," and American allies in **Ward**, **Ross** and other champions of social control or "sociocracy." Naturally, it possesses no affiliations with the individualism of Spencer, Leroy-Beaulieu and Sumner. This socialism or social-progressivism or socialized liberalism has advanced very far from the halting state-interventionism of Mill and Green and is almost the exact antipodes of the positions maintained by Adam Smith, Kant, Bentham and Say. And although on official war-footing with the "metaphysical theories" of Bosanquet and Hegel, Hobhouse is absolutely at one with them in the faith in the dignity of the state and the importance of its functions. The system can be challenged in contemporary thought by all those who do not believe in mutual aid and co-operation, in short, by the proletarianists and advocates of class-struggle (*cf.* **Russell**, 1918).

1911-12. Revolution and republic in China : **Sun Yat-sen**, General **Li Yuan-hung**, and **Liang Chi-Chiaou** the scholar are the leaders of the movement against the Manchus.

1913. The Federal Reserve Bank System is inaugurated in the U. S. A., the theory being in the main that of the German *Reichsbank* (1875).

1913. **Woodrow Wilson** (1856-1923) : *New Freedom*. One of the most alarming phenomena of the time is the degree to which government has become associated with business. By tyranny, as we now fight it, we mean control of the law, of legislation and adjudication by organisations which do not represent the people by means which are private and selfish. "Freemen need

no guardian." But the government of the U. S. at present is a foster-child of the special interests. Legislation, as we now-a-days conduct it, is not conducted in the open. The protective tariff has been taken advantage of by some men to destroy domestic competition, to combine all existing rivals within our free trade area. "What I am interested in is having the government more concerned about human rights than about property rights." Without the watchful interference, the resolute interference of the government there can be no fair play between individuals and such powerful institutions as the trusts. "Freedom to-day is something more than being let alone." Business we have got to untrammel, abolishing tariff favours and railroad discrimination and credit denials and all forms of unjust handicaps against the "little man." Industry we have got to humanize—not through the trusts—but through the direct action of law guaranteeing protection against dangers and compensation for injuries, guaranteeing sanitary conditions, proper hours, the right to organize.

1914. **Faguet** (1847-1916): "*.....et e'horreur des responsabilites*" (And the Horror of Responsibilities), sequel to *Le Culte de l'incompetence* (The Cult of Incompetence), 1911, *Le Socialisme en France* (Socialism in France), 1907. According to him the principle of democracy is the worship and cultivation of incompetence or inefficiency. The ideal advocated by him is an "aristocratic people and a people-loving aristocracy." His *En lisant Nietzsche* (Reading Nietzsche) and *Pour qu'on lise Platon* (Why Plato is read) indicate his anti-democratic affiliations. The philosophy of this disparagement of democracy is perhaps best to be seen in his *Le Liberalisme* which presents a criticism, item by item, of the two "declarations" of the "rights of man" issued by the French people in 1789 and 1793. He begins his thesis by casting ridicule on Rousseau's dictum that "man is born free but is everywhere in chains" and replacing it by his own postulate, namely, that "man is born in society, and, as such, is

born slave." To him, therefore, "despotism is the natural form of human societies." There are no rights of man, says he, but there is a society, and this society has all the rights. The state is an evil but a necessary evil, a smaller evil designed by man as a remedy against larger evils, namely, the dangers of human combativeness. But an evil it is by all means. It is a fetter to the individual. The state should try to function in the most circumscribed sphere in order that it may perpetrate the least injury upon the individual. Its proper functions are police, justice and defence. Everything else is considered by him to be but the pretension not the function of the state.

1914-18. The Great War: (1) **Woodrow Wilson's** 14 points, (2) Self-determination, (3) Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, (4) Republics in Germany, Austria etc., (5) "Minorities" in the newly created so-called "nationality-states," (6) German *irredentas*, (7) League of Nations.

1915. **Barker**: lecture at Oxford on "*The Discredited State*" (an article in the *Political Quarterly*, London), *Political Thought in England from Spencer to the Present Day*: The state is not more important than other "associations," "groups" etc., in which individuals participate. But whatever rights such groups may claim or gain, the state will still remain a necessary adjusting force; and it is even possible that if groups are destined to gain new ground, the state will also gain perhaps even more than it loses, because it will be forced to deal with even graver and even weightier problems of adjustment. When the strict theorist urges that the state ought not to do so and so or ought even to stop doing so and so he is doing exactly what the conservative and the reactionary desire. Voluntary co-operation is only made possible by the state. The more there is of voluntary co-operation the more need there is of the state. Internationalism must pursue a legal development, not based on (though it may be aided by) economic facts, but based (as all legal development is based) on a sense of right

inherent in a common conscience—the common conscience of the civilized world.

1915. **Michels** (1876—) Italian-Swiss: *Political Parties*. Modern democracy tends sociologically to be oligarchic. The masses are as a rule unthinking. The crowd-psychology tends towards domination and hypnotic influence by “supermen.” The very need for organisation tends also to hierarchy, discipline, leadership etc., which are anything but democratic (*cf.* **Lecky**, **Le Bon** etc.).

1916. **Lenin** (1870-1924): *Imperialism*. He offers a Marxian interpretation of the European developments since 1870. In his analysis imperialism = the politics of finance-capital, the latest form of capitalism. The exposition is based chiefly on German economic literature and not marked by aggressive radicalism or Bolshevik propaganda. Sharp criticism of **Kautsky's** “moderatism” is, however, an indication of the parting of ways that is coming.

1917. Two Revolutions in Russia in the course of one year—the second (November) known as the Bolshevik or Communist Revolution.

1917. On the eve of the November *i.e.*, Bolshevik Revolution **Lenin** publishes *The State and Revolution: Marxist Teaching on the State and the Task of the Proletariat in the Revolution*. He begins by condemning “Plekhanoff Rubanovitch, Tehernoff and Co., in Russia; Scheidemann, David and others in Germany; Renaudel, Guesde, Vandervelde in France and Belgium; Hyndman and the Fabians in England and so on and so on,” the so-called “leaders of socialism” as “socialist in words, chauvinist in deeds,” “opportunists” and perverters of the genuine socialist gospel. Then he analyzes the teachings of the founder-prophets of socialism, namely, Marx and Engels, item by item, thus:—The State as the product of the irreconcilability of class-antagonisms, as an instrument of the exploitation of the oppressed classes—The Withering away of the state and revolution by force—The Experience of 1848-51—The

Experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 (Marx's analysis)—What is to replace the machinery of the state? The destruction of parliamentarism; Supplementary Explanations by Engels—The Housing question—The Dispute with the Anarchists—The Letter to Bebel, 1875—Criticism of the Draft of the Erfurt Programme, 1891—The Preface of 1891 to Marx's *Civil War in France*, Engels on the suppression of democracy.

The economic foundation of the withering away of the state is also elucidated, as manifest in the following topical analysis :

Marx's *Criticism of the Gotha Programme*, 1875, published 1891—formulation of the question by Marx, transition from capitalism to communism through the "transitional" period of revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, first phase of Communist society; highest phase of communist society ("from each according to ability, to each according to needs"); while the state exists there can be no freedom, while there is freedom, there will be no state.

The heretical fallacies of the "opportunists," corruptors of Marxism such as dominated the Second International (1889-1914) are examined. Plekhanoff the Russian's *Anarchism and Socialism* (1894) which tried to coerce anarchism but not in the spirit of Marx and Engels is condemned. The brunt of the attack falls on specially **Kautsky**, a German, who although a *pucca* Marxist is alleged to have "distorted" and betrayed Marxism in the controversies with the moderates or opportunists, e.g., in the attack on **Bernstein's** *Socialist Fundamentals* in Kautsky's *Bernstein and the Social Democratic Programme* (1899) and in his "more mature work," the pamphlet *Social Revolution* (1902). Although K. admitted the "possibility of the conquest of the power of the state" he did not speak of the "destruction of the state machine." This is a "concession to opportunism," says Lenin, indicating a "superstitious reverence" for the state. And again in his best work against the opportunists, the pamphlet *The Road to Power* (1909), Kautsky is said to have failed to rise to the height of the occasion.

The essential distinction between Marxism (Bolshevism, communism or scientific socialism) and anarchism was misunderstood by Kautsky in the controversy with Ponnekock (1912), and is made clear by Lenin as follows: (a) Marxists, like anarchists, aim at the destruction of the state but believe that a social revolution is *first* to destroy the classes. Anarchists want the destruction *over-night* and do not understand the process involved in it. (b) Marxists recognise a transitional stage in which the proletariat is dictator and establishes a new machinery of "armed workers" on the model of the Paris Commune. Anarchists have no idea as to what the revolutionary proletariat is to do and deny that it will have to undo the state and establish a dictatorship. (c) Marxists insist upon using the modern state as a means of preparing the workers for revolution. Anarchists reject this.

1917. **Freund** (1864—): *Standards of American Legislation*. These are to be found in the following seven items: (i) abrogation of personal slavery and serfdom; (ii) disappearance of legal class-distinctions; (iii) recognition of the legal rights of aliens; (iv) emancipation from domestic subjection; (v) freedom of thought; (vi) protection of public health and safety; (vii) growth of social legislation.

1918. **Joseph-Barthelemy**: *Le probleme de la competence dans la democratie* (The problem of efficiency in a democracy). Democracy is by nature inefficient, compared to monarchy. Hence France's weakness contrasted with Germany's strength (*cf.* Athenian democracy *vs.* Spartan royalty). Altogether he presents a conservative estimate of republics (*Cf. Le role du pouvoir executif dans les republiques modernes*, 1906). He is conservative also *re.* woman suffrage and feminism (*Le vote des femmes*, 1924).

1918. **Russell**: *Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism*. "Whatever bitterness and hate may be found in the movements which we are to examine, it is not bitterness or hate but love that is their main spring," says he. It is difficult

not to hate those who torture the objects of our love. If ultimate wisdom has not always been preserved by socialists and anarchists, they have not differed in this from their opponents. In the source of their inspiration they have shown themselves superior to those who acquiesce ignorantly or supinely in the injustices and oppression by which the existing system is preserved. Marxian socialism gives too much power to the state; syndicalism would be forced to reconstruct a central authority in order to put an end to the rivalries of the different groups of proceedings; the best practical system is that of guild socialism, which combines syndicalism with socialism by a system of federalism among trades.

In his *German Social Democracy* (1896) he offers a whole-hearted appreciation, in general, of Marx's "social democracy" as "not a mere political party nor even a mere economic theory" but as a "complete self-contained philosophy of the world and of human development," in a word, "as a religion and an ethic." Russell's condemnation of Bismarck's "state-socialism" as military and bureaucratic despotism tempered by almsgiving is equally emphatic.

1918. •**Mallock** (1849-1923): *Limits of Pure Democracy, Critical Examination of Socialism* (1907), *Aristocracy and Evolution* (1898). He opposes equality and democracy and champions authority and obedience, representing the anti-democratic tradition in political philosophy since Tocqueville. Cf. **Faguet** : *Le Culte de l' Incompetence*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

YOUTH MOVEMENT AND STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

Verily doth History repeat itself—with necessary differences due to the operation of forces and laws ever changing and progressive as much as to circumstances and conditions chiefly social and political that must vary with different ages, countries and nationalities to suit the growing and changing needs of developing humanity. The dispassionate student of History as distinguished from the impassioned actors in the drama of human activities watches from a somewhat detached height this seething ferment pregnant with far-reaching results that shape the destiny of the whole human race. He is not, however, therefore a mere idle spectator like the gods of Epicurus who lie beside their nectar careless of the affairs of mankind, for who, that is not dead in soul, can forget the Latin dramatist's never forgettable "homo sum"?

We have thus been watching with a keen and living interest, which virtually makes one, in one's own way, to actually participate in the movement, the momentous Youth Movement in Bengal and its corollary the Students' Conferences and Associations which, we are sure, are destined to play a very important rôle in the academic life of the Province in the near future, and, as we hope they ultimately will, if rightly guided by cultured and well informed leaders who know how to properly control such a complex, if not dangerous, thing as a huge mass movement in these very trying times, bring about salutary changes in all stages of education—from the elementary to the post-graduate—necessary for placing on a sound national basis the problem, than which nothing is more important or essential for national regeneration and emancipation, of the right sort of training, for men and women alike, with which is closely allied the administrative problem of setting up in the country exactly

that *machinery* which alone can give to seminal ideas a local habitation, where they may germinate and fructify.

In watching with keen and living interest, perhaps now and then with a little misgiving too, these two newly started kindred movements so radically inter-related, the historic parallelism of a highly suggestive nature with Germany in the first four decades of the 19th century has, of course, appeared to us to be extraordinarily striking. We aim to-day to present that important parallelism as briefly as we can which may serve as a comparative study of a valuable socio-political phenomenon and also as a beacon light.

The Napoleonic wars after having exhausted the nations and Governments competing for political or commercial supremacy left to Europe a legacy of highly complex difficulties to be solved. The outstanding dominant idea which guided the choicer spirits of the new age was that of the formation of a federation (or confederation) "by unity of codes, principles, opinions, feelings, and interests" to bind together the much-divided Europe of the previous century. But the Congress of Vienna practically failed to realise the dream of an authoritative centralised constitution for the whole of Europe. "Concerts," Conferences, Grand Alliance, Coalitions followed in succession as futile fragmentary embodiments of the fundamental idea of unity into the details of which we cannot here propose to enter. The political theories of "doctrinaires" and philosophers, the practical measures tried by Constitutionalists, Reformers, "Ultras" and Liberals resulting in reactions, loyalist or religious, and paving the way of as great a revolution as that of the 18th century minus its loathsome blood-shed—all these are matters of common history to-day. One momentous aspect of the far-reaching consequences of this disconcerting turmoil arrests our attention. We mean the literature of revolt and reconstruction and the part played by it among the youth of Germany. In a word, it is the German National Movement of the first half of the 19th century. Apparently this looks

like a side-issue and nothing more. Yet it will, we think, throw a good deal of light on what is happening in this country at the present moment.

It may not be known to all our readers how important was the rôle of literature in effecting national independence, solidarity, and regeneration—specially after Jena in Germany and since 1810 in Switzerland. We shall dismiss for want of space the Swiss literary movement with simply pointing out the part played by culture centres like Zurich and Geneva, the latter of which two places became adorned by Rousseau, Madame de Staël, Sismondi, A. W. Schlegel, B. Constant, Bonstetten and mentioning Pestalozzi's educational reforms, the popular tales of Usteri and Hegner, the histories and novels of Zschokke (who was like our Bankimchandra), and finally, Pictet's famous *Bibliothèque Britannique*.

Who does not know how literature played its part in making the Germans united as one nation even though Napoleon's fascinating blandishments had succeeded somewhat with Goethe in his old age, with Wieland and Johann von Müller? The young generation of authors managed inspite of this to awaken in all hearts a passionate ardour and an insatiable longing for national freedom and national unity which worked wonders between 1806 and 1813 when popular reaction against Napoleon became *un fait accompli*.

Omitting all details one may say that roughly speaking the years 1800 to 1815 constituted the great era of German national reconstruction and of the democratic unification of Germany, for after 1815 came a period of terrible reaction in German political life—that of the Holy Alliance and the Metternich system—till a furious struggle of another half a century and Bismarck's policy restored the Fatherland to glory by 1870. It is not fanciful to suggest that the sudden supremacy gained after 1814 by extravagantly 'romantic' tales of marvels recording a large variety of supernatural means of achieving by magic power anything intensely desired, such as that of the romantic

waldhorn, the seven-league boot, *springwurz* (open sesame), *alraunwurz* (something like Alladin's lamp), *wechselpennige* (change-penny), *raubtaler* (coin that returns with other coins it can once touch), Roland's *Kuappen* (napkin which only being spread provides a rich meal), the wishing cap, *glucks-seckel* (lucky purse), *zauber-ring* (magic ring) and, last but not least, the *wunderhorn* (magic horn), reflects in a wonderfully suggestive manner how the imagination is requisitioned by man baffled in actual realisation to give solace to the despairing heart. We know that *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* appeared in the autumn of 1805 from Heidelberg, then a very important centre of the German Romantic Movement, edited by Arnim and Brentano, as a remarkable collection of popular songs (of "The Youth's Magic Horn") which inspired such patriotic writers as Uhland, Eichendorff, W. Müller (father of Max Müller) and even Heine. The 2nd and 3rd volumes of the "Youth's Magic Horn" came out in 1808. In this connection it may also be noted that a Scott-like (Jacobite) feeling for the fascinating glory of the Past creating the fervent hope of its possible revival occurs in Arnim's historical novel "Die Kronenwächter" (1817), i.e., mysterious guardians of the crown of the ancient Hohenstaufen Emperors (1138-1204), of which the line became extinct with Konradin by 1268, under the fostering care of some descendant of Barbarossa (1152-90) who was supposed to be bidding his time to appear again in Germany to revive her buried glories. One becomes lost in strange surprise and limitless admiration caused by Wagner's idea of music as the soul of the universe and Schopenhauer's sanctuary of art fostering illusive beauty and insatiable impulse, which became strengthened by the whole host of German Romantics like Arndt, Arnim, Brentano, Chamisso, Eichendorff, Fichte, Fouqué, Hoffmann, Kerner, Kleist, Körner, Lenau, Novalis, Rückert, the Schlegels, Scheukendorf, Tieck and Uhland.

In metaphysical politics Fichte and later on in history.

Treitschke upheld the supremacy of the indomitable **Will** followed in psychology by Wundt's "voluntarism" (i.e., practically the subtle operation of infinite **desire**).

Even Leibnitz was modernised later on by Nietzsche the apostle of **passion for personality** which was considered as something so mysterious as to be unfathomable, nay, unique and irreducible to code, rule, law or formula—ending in the idea of **Urbarmensch** (Superman). Fichte inspired the Germans with fresh vitality exactly when Napoleon and his lieutenants were mercilessly concentrating their efforts on the destruction of the German mind through the ruin of Prussia. Influenced by Kant's ideal of Duty, the stern voice of the Daughter of God, he delivered his famous course of 14 lectures at Berlin at the end of 1807 surrounded by the French troops garrisoning the capital. In these *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* he first of all emphasised the imperative need of an *enlightened* system of national education, so that the student world might rise above the petty temptations of selfish interests to a guiding vision of the common welfare of the German nation and of humanity at large. In one address he proclaimed that the nation must take precedence of the State and in others he fired the youthful imagination of his audience by fervently appealing to the vanished glories of the Fatherland and beseeching all to emulate the glorious achievements of their illustrious forefathers under the stimulating influence of enlightened patriotism which will make it easy for every one to sink his personal predilections in the weal of the nation or the race. Fichte purified the national freedom movement of its dross of vulgar passion stirred up by ignorant sentimentalism or the impulsiveness of demagogues by at once founding it on the solid basis of intellectual and ethical endeavours. Zeller's Normal School in Königsberg adopting Pestalozzi's method bears testimony to this very important feature of Fichte's solid work proving, by contrast with the fuming fret and fury of unregulated instinctive passion which passed over Spain, the wisdom of Plato's far-sighted provision

of government by philosophers. Improvement of the higher Schools (*gymnasias*) followed too immediately, under the guidance of Humboldt appointed to the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1809. What is more significant is the addition to the three older Universities of Königsberg, Frankfort (on the Oder) and the recently suppressed Halle of two more higher centres of education at Breslau and Berlin. Stein was afraid at first, very rightly as we realise to-day in our country, of the moral temptations of a big city like Berlin and even Humboldt feared the strangling powers of the governing classes backed by the military !! But the process of national regeneration once given an impetus cares little for cautious misgivings and it was soon discovered that contact with learned men and an intellectual atmosphere prevailing at Berlin must prove in the long run "intellectually refreshing, thought-awakening, and naturally elevating" to the student community.

And lo ! in August 1809 on the strength of Humboldt's recommendations a Cabinet Order allotted the very palace of Prince Henry for the new University's local habitation and a state grant of £27,500 per annum. . Fortunate land with a noble Minister of Education !—for, as Fichte observed, "this highest example of practical respect for science and thought afforded by a State was shown at a time of the direst oppression and under *the greatest financial difficulties*. It was not an occasion of display or elegance that was sought for, but an instrument for giving new health and vigour to the nation." Thus in 1810-11 was sown at Berlin the seed of a patriotic spirit regulated by cultural ideas which bore fruit in 1813 when professors and students as one body rushed to arms to give effect to Stein's Reforms of 1807 which aimed at the expulsion of the foreigner (the French under Napoleon) from Prussia whom he had declared as equally the enemy of France and the Rhine Confederation.

Fichte's somewhat over-rationalistic appeal to Intellect, Reason and Ethics (the well-regulated Will) as that of a passio-

nately patriotic yet hard-thinking philosopher was backed by a more popular and powerful *emotional* appeal to the youthful heart of the whole country from the Romantic School of writers, particularly lyrical poets.

Fichte's 14 addresses to (the embryonic) German nation yet in the making were delivered in 1807-8 in the Great Hall of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin, on liberty and justice with a view to successfully oppose foreign despotism and domination by awakening in Young Prussia a keen and living desire for self-sacrifice, for national sense and national spirit, for moral regeneration. They "called upon his countrymen to emancipate themselves in the name not of the abstract rights of men but of the genius of the German people and they uttered the first poignant recognition of national life as a glorious vesture arraying the naked body of the individual member, not an aggregate of other units competing with or controlling him." These stirring addresses did yeoman's service in the regeneration of a fallen and prostrate people benumbed by the defeat at Jena. And political regeneration was in a way achieved by the War of Liberation (1813-15). The history of this tremendous upheaval is not, however, without its warning. For even philosophical addresses with a clear bias towards ethical emphasis can inflame passions and Kleist (1777-1811) actually suggested that some true liberator of anguished Germany "should put a bullet through the head of the Satan of his age (meaning Napoleon)!" It must here be noted that political Germany, as she was in 1808, is indeed represented in Kleist's "Hermann's Battle" in which the hero is the symbol of beaten Prussia and the dramatic action concentrates on the idea of political unity at any price. Similarly in the Robin Hood type novel "Michael Kohlhaas" the honest and upright citizen is shown as driven to sheer desperation because no legal redress is possible to obtain for any wrong or outrage.

The Younger Romanticists next followed with their extraordinarily rich harvest of popular literature consisting of (Arnim,

and Brentano's and Uhland's) Volkslieder, (Görres' and Schwab's) Volksbücher, (the Grimm brothers') Volkssagen. Chamisso presented the poetry and romance of the life of the much-oppressed peasantry (for Germany as yet was mainly an agricultural country) but his satiric songs, like those of Burns attacking the *kirk*, openly advocated freedom and were modelled on Beranger's political lyrics (*Les Missionnaires*, 1819). Goethe in his *Conversation with Eckermann* (1830) made the following observations :—

“You know that I am, upon the whole, no friend to what is called political poems, but such as Beranger has composed I can tolerate.” Then the great Goethe points out the fundamental difference between France (or rather Paris) and Berlin saying that the Germans had “no country of which they could decidedly say—*Here is Germany!*” But, he adds, “Only 16 years ago (*i.e.*, about 1814) when we tried to get rid of the French, was Germany everywhere. Then a political poet could have had a universal effect, the universal necessity, the universal feeling of disgrace, had seized upon the nation like something dæmonic; the inspiring fire which the poet might have kindled was already burning everywhere of its own accord. Still, I will not deny that Arndt, Körner, and Rückert have had some effect.” And when it was mentioned that Goethe was reproached for not co-operating with the political poets his reply was—“How could I take up arms without hatred, and how could I hate *without youth?*” (*Italics mine*). That is the crux of the whole matter regarding the connection between intense nationalism and the youth movement. So far as the economic side of the evil effects of foreign supremacy goes, we have only to remember that when between 1809 and 1814 the Continental System was given a free scope till its break-down especially in Russia, Sweden and Germany about 1812-13, its terrible rigour destroyed in Switzerland (between 1810 and 1812) quite a large number of local industries on which the masses depended for prosperity reducing the country to the verge of famine until relief came unexpectedly

to the hard-pressed people in the shape of Napoleon's disastrous Russian campaign.

To return to the work accomplished by the Romanticists. Arndt gave currency to the pregnant expression *Hermannsschlacht* which was adopted in 1808 by Kleist too signifying "freedom's battle to throw off foreign yoke." To-day some of our youthful leaders have, we know, made the expression their slogan against the alleged despotic authority of College Heads. Arndt was also the author of "Vaterlands Lied" (1812)—a prophetic song of freedom foreshadowing Prussia's revolt against Napoleon. In 1813 Rückert mercilessly attacked Napoleon, the tyrant, in a series of poems—the *Sonnets in Harness*. The first phase of German Romanticism (1796-1804) headed by the Schlegels, Novalis (who was a representative of the rising generation whose aspirations had been shaped by the ideas and ideals of Fichte) and Tieck who had their centres at Jena and Berlin, was followed by the ideals of the Heidelberg group who from 1805 to 1808 roused through folk-songs the very dormant soul of the masses in Germany and after 1812 made use of "Children's and Household Stories" disseminating their ideas through the organ known as *Journal for Hermits*.

The war of Liberation (1813) undertaken to destroy foreign tyranny while achieving that purpose favoured also the cause of reactionary German potentates and old dynasties somewhat in the manner in which the Non-co-operation Movement in India in 1921 by supporting the Khilafatists eventually helped the disruptive element of communalism. Fichte's philosophy like that of Gandhī sought to exploit that concentrated but narrow patriotism which held everything foreign in contempt and as a result admired everything German most enthusiastically. That is practically the *Swadeshi* spirit in a nutshell. It is a powerful lever to work with, no doubt, but it played in Germany on the Teutonic National arrogance which in the long run proved baneful. But the lyrical genius of the Romanticist Körner fostered a purer love of freedom in the name of humanity more than of

the German Nation considered as the chosen people of God, borrowing its inspiring ardour from the spirit of the French Revolution. Enthusiasm for the glorious Middle Ages—for the Past—was the source of strength to a number of Romantic writers and Schenkendorf sang with intense yearning for the days—

“When men of noble, knightly mien
trode the banks of the Rhine.”

Even Jahn (the founder of the gymnastic school at Hasenhaide, near Berlin, in 1811) bent on making all German youth warlike, able-bodied, active in habit and full of health and vigour, wrote patriotic pieces to inflame passions and create an intense love of the country's great Past, followed by the Grimms. German morality and the German form of Christianity began to be set over against scientific thought and soon the pietist Görres became the champion of Christian mysticism. This suggests to us some resemblance with the activities of the Hindu Shavas or Moslem Ulemas. This fanatical demagogue, Görres, brought out the “Red Journal” (a significant name) as the mouthpiece of the German Revolutionary party and continued to exercise sway over the youth till 1824.

The Heidelberg coterie became noted for intense patriotism who disseminated the Revolutionary ideas of liberty and democracy and of vigorous opposition to foreign domination. The last *motif* inspired the soldier-poet Körner (1791-1873) who threw himself heart and soul into the struggle for national liberation and his lyrics “Lyre and Sword” are full of patriotic thrills and his drama “Zeriny” of the grim joy of dying for the fatherland. Arndt (1769-1860) has combined religious devotion to the god of battles with his patriotic ardour and he in a somewhat narrow-minded way inspired all with the spirit of his hymns of hate for Frenchmen and denunciation of Napoleon in the “Spirit of the Time.” He vehemently condemned (1) the apathetic and inert mass of the people (2) the intelligentsia for wasting time and energy over discussion of abstract

political principles and (3) the short-sighted aristocracy and the princes for playing into Napoleon's hands and fighting for supremacy among themselves. He based his fiery appeals for nationalism and unity on the identity of language and ethnic traditions.

The German National Revival of the years 1806 to 1813 gave birth to Students' Associations simultaneously with the famous War of Liberation (1813-1815) which mainly aimed at freedom from foreign oppression and foreign domination. But as yet nobody thought of freedom for individuals in the State nor of political national unity. These were also days of stirring national songs, the pride of place being that of Arndt's *Bundeslied* (1815)—the German **वन्देमातरम्**—lustily sung in chorus by the University students and set to music by George Friedrich Hamtsch for the first meeting of the epoch-making German Burschenschaften at Jena on the memorable 12th June, 1815.

This Arndt's "Spirit of the Age" (1806) is the counterpart of Fichte's "Fundamental Principles of the Present Age" (1804-5). What Fichte sought to secure by philosophical speculation Arndt did by appealing to the nation's sense of honour, sense of self-respect, and the sense of its glorious heritage. Arndt dwelt on the formerly respected German name all over Europe, on Germany's cathedrals, merchant fleets, Hanse towns, works of art, on the deeds of Luther, and was acclaimed as the Blücher of German lyricism. Followed in quick succession a flood of romantic patriotic songs such as, to name only a few,

(1) Königin Louise etc. (1807).

(2) König Friedrich William III von Preusze (1813) and Kleist's poem of 1810 on the same theme.

(3) Vaterland's Lied (1812).

(4) Des Deutschen Vaterland (1813).

(5) Körner's Brief an den Vater etc. (1813), preceded by Vor Rauchs Buste etc. (1811).

(6) *Frühlings gruz an das Vaterland* (1814).

(7) Körner's stirring verses on *Männer und Buben* (1813).

(8) Rückert's soul-stirring song-like Sonnets [as many as 67 sonnets in armour challenging the French oppressor, published at Heidelberg, in 1814, in which he refers to those stormy times of national travail and life and death grapple with Napoleon as *Wetternacht* (i.e., tempestuous night)].

(9) Binzer's "Stoszt An ! Jena soll Leben !" (1817).

Most of these "Fatherland" pieces were quickly set to music like our own *আমার দেশ* or *জন্মভূমি* and became honoured as national anthems and some of the other pieces were full of appeals and warnings to "gentle and simple" alike that all separatist class interests should cease to interfere with national unity which alone can ensure national freedom. The German *বন্দেমাতরম্* was in due course proscribed by the police in 1819.

We have to refer just for a moment to the period of reaction, disruption, pessimism, personal and selfish motives of so-called patriots and leaders, operating against patriotic, national and democratic tendencies of 1805 to 1815. This period extended upto 1835. The forces at work were the nefarious press censorship of the day which strangled free expression of thought and criticism of administrative measures, rigid system of espionage filling good men's hearts with suspicions and despair, brutal police enactments and rigorous enforcement of lawless laws, illegal arrests and detentions, as if the War of Liberation came only to strengthen the grip of irresponsible authority and arbitrary power on the throats of the patriotic few to throttle the growing spirit of nationalism.

Poetry was hailed in the terrible gloom of such a benumbing despondency as the sole comforter of wounded and anguished humanity, at any rate in so far as poetry looked back to a past golden age of happiness and peace. Dreamy mysticism began to seek inspiration from the Oriental treasures of philosophy

and poetry—for, verily, men believed in *ex oriente lux*. Goethe gave Germany West-Easterly Divan (of Hafiz) in 1819 and even Rückert “**Ghazls**” (1821) followed by Platen which infuriated Heine who could ill endure the sight of men “eating too much of the fruit of the Garden of Shiraz to vomit up **Ghazls** !”. All this followed from the Holy Alliance and Metternich’s ruthless proscription of all ideas of political unity as sedition. Its aim was to kill the spirit of romanticism in literature and then to give a setback to all progress by condemning aspirations and idealisms, *i.e.*, in a word by destroying the spirit and privilege of **Youth**. But as is always the case, the net result was that Students’ Unions, known as *Burschenschaften*, apparently ceased to exist only to change their name and outer form to become secret societies, till things changed after 1848 when the powers that be realised their blunders and shortsightedness. Briefly the history of the Students’ Movement in Germany is as follows :

The *Burschenschaften* is a student member of the Students’ Union (whence his name) started at the Jena University on the 12th of June, 1815, for promoting the growth of national feeling, effecting unity among students and fostering a corporate life to elevate it in accordance with the special circumstances and needs of particular areas representing conditions prevalent in different parts of Germany (*Landsmannschaften*). Arndt’s famous *Bundeslied* was composed for the occasion of the celebration of this national event.

From Jena this new spirit strengthened by the impulses produced by the recent War of Liberation extended to other Universities. On the 18th of October, 1817, there was a great national celebration (known as the Wartburg festival of 1817) organised by the Jena students in commemoration of the Reformation and of the battle of Leipzig which created alarm in the Court Cabinets (except at Saxe-Weimar of which the Liberal Duke was a patron of the movement). It perturbed Richelieu in Paris, Hardenberg in Fr. William’s court and

even Metternich who winked at the *Landsmannschaften* confined to provincial and particularist interests but detected sedition in a national union. As is usual in such matters, the Government "dammed a river and made a flood." Students are nothing unless they are indiscreet and impulsive. Great loving vigilance over their movements prompted by genuine eagerness for their well-being is always necessary but a certain amount of concession to temporary effervescence is of the very essence of a sound ideal of academic discipline. At the Wartburg festival, for example, the young hopefuls of Germany, destined to be staid citizens through the salutary steadying influence of experience and personal responsibility, indulged in nasty pranks—they reconciled irreconcilable things by finishing off the days' prayers and sermons in a right youthful fashion with,—well, not only dinners and toasts of the most uproarious type but a blazing bonfire to which they piously consigned what they considered to be symbols of reaction and repression, of militarism and police rule and of foreign (French) fashions. The flames were fed with Kotzebue's History side by side with a corporal's cane, a sergeant's baton, a courtier's pig-tail and a corset! The rituals of the ceremony are indeed worthy of the "*future hope*" of the country. All this is, after all, comparatively harmless by the side of worse exhibitions of the revolutionary temper and there is the real danger of giving too long a rope to youthful indiscretion, specially when it is poisoned by the unrestrained harangue of irresponsible demagogues whose only skill lies in inflaming passions which they know they will never care to allay when things come to a dangerous pass. The Wartburg festival was responsible for such serious incidents as riotous tumult at Breslau, bloody affray among the Göttingen students, religious disturbances in Saxony followed by what to-day is called civil disobedience (refusal to pay taxes). in Swabia. Even for the most liberalminded man of go-ahead ideas and large-hearted sympathies there is no denying of the solid fact

that if you sow the wind you must reap the whirl-wind. The Revolutionary leader of the young may, perhaps, even say that is quite a good harvest for a country or a people cherishing the ideal of national independence, a *summum bonum* for which no price is too high. Even if we cannot sympathise with this outlook on life we can understand it at any rate. We shall as dispassionately as possible discuss this aspect of the vexed question presently without either taking sides or importing into the study of a very difficult and complex problem—passion, prejudice or bias.

The next stage in the history of these Students' Unions is that of the conversion of this celebration into Allgemeine Deutsche Burschenschaft flying its tricolour flag (of black, red and gold) connected with the **War** volunteers of the Lützow corps till the Government felt it to be its imperative duty to suppress it after the assassination of Kotzebue, whom the revolutionists condemned as "a poisoner of souls" and a Russian spy, on 23rd March, 1819, at Mannheim, by a Jena student, Karl Sand, till then known as "a youth of most exemplary conduct and of extremely pious sentiments." But we must remember—of such is made the kingdom of anarchism! When Görres and others sought to defend such a deed Gentz was led to declare that "the Universities must be purified of men like Fries, Luden, Oken and Kiesser"—men who all the time had most vehemently and vigorously attacked Metternich's repressive policy in the press through the help of the *Isis*, the *Nemesis*, the *Friend of the People* and the *New Rhenish Mercury*. Something of the nature of the present-day Zenovieff letter created a great sensation by the alleged discovery by the enterprising London *Times* of Stourdza's pamphlet full of violent attacks on the Universities. Unfortunately this Jena student Sand was also a lecturer to the Burschenschaft. A double dose of vigilant police surveillance and of repression was the necessary consequence—due to some extent to panic. The Goddess of Discord did not miss her

opportunity and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar's refusal to suspend from professorial chairs the Government "suspects" won him the nick-name of *Oberbursch*. The Fates too were not slow and by a curious irony there was next an attempt to assassinate the Nassau Minister, Ibell. Press-censorship, visitation of the Universities, removal of Professors from their Chairs, formation of special tribunals to investigate conspiracy cases, restriction of liberty, of franchise, of popular representation, resignation of popular ministers like Humboldt and Hardenberg—all immediately followed by 1821-22.

Though politically Prussia committed a temporary *felo de se* her end was indirectly secured by Customs' Unions (*Zollverein*) and Press-unions (with a common purse to indemnify editors, contributors and printers who suffered under the Press-laws), the latter of which actively distributed revolutionary sheets and pamphlets inspite of the censor and the police. When in 1827 the Burschenschaft revived at Erlangen there at once was an alliance between it and the Press-union. Nay, secret societies sprang up at Heidelberg which received the sympathetic and active support of Börne and Heine. "Southern Germany now seethed with revolutionary ferment" no more confined to Universities, academic circles and the student population. In May, 1832, at Hambach the mob toasted Lafayette and resolved on armed revolt! Thus the notorious Carlsbad Decree (of 1819) defeated its own end.

As Thuringia was the centre of the Students' Unions, so Berlin came to be the centre of the kindred **Gymnastic movement** (corresponding to our *Akharas* and *Byayamsamitis*) with Massmann as the foremost leader whom the Jena Professor Fries (already mentioned) ardently supported as an earnest advocate of unity and liberty among the youth of the Universities. Names of ardent lovers of freedom in Bengal to-day with tremendous sacrifice to their credit will easily occur to our readers' minds in this connection to indicate the nature of the parallelism we are engaged in studying.

To sum up the brief story of the Burschenschaften, we refer to their origin in the Wartburg celebration to which representative delegates from all student societies to the number of 500, headed by some Professors, marched with soul-stirring demonstrations from Eisenach which served as a signal for a life and death conflict between new ideals and the old in which two factors appear to us to have become prominent. These are, first, determined, well-organised state persecution of Liberalism of all types, press-censorship, the most rigorous prosecution of demagogues, arrests of suspects (including teachers), special legislation to curb the independence of too free or too nationalised Universities attempting to restrict official interference, and even espionage carried to the extent of employing spies and Government agents to keep a sharp eye on the conduct of students, over class-work of lecturers noted for advanced ideas, police surveillance and imprisonment merely on police report. The second factor is open rebellion, secret societies, revolutionary organisations, incitement to assassination, revolt against authority, against discipline, seditious meetings, circulation of seditious literature, and colourable evasion of the law, in a word, anarchism, and license in the name of liberty, fostering the unruly spirit of ferociously anti-social individualism. In the twenties of the 19th century these Students' Unions were temporarily checked and even here and there totally broken up to be resuscitated after 1827 with Germania as an inspirer. If on the side of Liberalism became enlisted passionate writers like Arndt, Brentano, Chamisso, Platen, Börne, Körner and even Heine; and after 1835 Karl Gutzkow became the proto-type of the young generation of Germans till the July Revolution in France and the Polish Revolt electrified not only the fiery youth but even Goethe's admirer Rahel, that gifted woman then verging on sixty, it is indeed sad to recollect that the great Hegel sided with the reactionary State in support of Metternich's programme and policy as the most conservative upholder of authority in his

famous Philosophy of Right. Equally sad is the memory of the changed Wordsworth, the lost leader, who opposed Catholic Emancipation in his zeal for the church, which was celebrated in his Ecclesiastical Sonnets.

In its last phase the youth (and student) movement of Germany is associated with Burschenschaftsdenkmal (the Students' Memorial) erected on a hill near Eisenach in memory of those German students who sacrificed their lives in the War of 1870—where an annual gathering of the German Students' Association takes place to fitly celebrate an anniversary and where is sung lustily in a deafening chorus August Binzer's well-known song beginning with "Clink glasses! Jena shall live! Hurrah"—as a national toast to offer thanks to the Eisenach citizens of 1817 who were generously hospitable to the students at the first Wartburg celebration in which the epithet "*Philistine*" was smartly hurled against all who were not with the students. Metternich's motto of order and peace was directly opposed to that of the youthful revolutionary party, *viz.*, Freedom and Honour or The Nation. For our purpose the dominant factor in the great movement of national regeneration and national unity was the heroic part played by the united endeavours of Professors and students to make political emancipation a realised actuality. The most ardent idealism of Shelley as a passionate socio-political reformer and a true child of the inner spirit of the French Revolution judged as a revolution in men's *ideas* and in their outlook on life curiously enough found a more congenial and fruitful soil in modern Germany than in his own country groaning under the reactionary policy of her Castlereaghs whose hands were strengthened by the unholy aims of a Holy Alliance which in Voltaire's style may be most aptly characterised as neither holy nor an alliance of good men for the good of humanity. Germany had not yet produced statesmen or literature of politics as great as her philosophers, scientists, theologians and musical composers. Political and

administrative capacity of a high order in the middle classes and adequate education of the neglected masses did not develop side by side with the, growing consciousness of the German's intellectual supremacy. That much needful development in all nations is more a question of opportunity than of inherent ability. Even ability has to depend on free scope for its exercise in actual political administration which is the only school where this discipline can be acquired. Through failure political responsibility and wisdom grow. Metternich's system deplorably failed in this political education of the German *intelligentsia*. After 1815 his artificial Settlement of that year not only left many problems unsolved but created new problems and what is more important raised Germany's political problem to the level of an international problem. Politicians suffering from an irrational horror for revolutionary ideas (born of the unfortunate memory of 1789) forgot that even that devoutly wished for thing called peace and order, which surely is a *sine qua non* of good government and uninterrupted progress, may at times be purchased by a struggling nation too dearly. They forgot that States, nations and individuals do suffer occasionally from evils worse than disturbance of peace and order. They forgot the supreme lesson taught by history that the sufferings of thousands and thousands of human beings may assume a form or proportion that dictate to humanity to hazard the terrible risks of a revolution (certainly more welcome when it is bloodless). They forgot that all this has to be done in the highest interests of self-realisation which is the goal of all human endeavours. This *human function* is sometimes better served by culture than diplomacy or policy or even so-called statesmanship. "The foundation of Universities" (at Breslau, Berlin, Bonn) in addition to the existing ones of Heidelberg, Göttingen, Jena, Leipzig, Munich and Tübingen "as a memorial of victory in the field and as indispensable organs of national strength and unification," says a thoughtful writer, "remains a remarkable element in Prussian statecraft."

In India in the course of the present century quite a number of such centres of learning sprang quickly into existence.

The darkest period of hopeless struggle for nationalism and fiscal autonomy for Indians is not yet over but for the Germans it extended from 1805 to 1810. After all, Germany was not subjected to the same kind of political bondage as that of India. The great German administrator Stein had plenty of free scope for his extraordinary abilities which began to make themselves felt in the changes in the land system practically abolishing serfdom, in municipal administration which gave the initiative in real self-government, in the formation of national defence based on a national military programme, and, last but not least, in educational reform which placed both elementary and higher, cultural and vocational, education on a sound but popular basis. By 1813 national unity and mass prosperity passed from the stage of idealistic dream into that of practical politics. True, the *Bund* (after 1814) gave Germany a Confederacy and not a real popular constitution except in Weimar (1816) which possessed in Karl Augustus the pioneer of political freedom. As in this country, so in Prussia (in 1810) a Representative Government was promised and proclaimed with great noise only to be diplomatically held back as soon as the danger of the Napoleonic War was over by 1815-16 and the people's champion Görres received from the Chancellor the Lord Birkenhead type of reply to his representation to the King reminding him of his unfulfilled pledge that in making such a promise the King had surely reserved the right to judge of the proper time for its fulfilment. As a result of such representations, ruthless repression of popular demonstrations and rigorous enforcement of penal laws followed till the young Germans were crushed under the iron heel of oppression and espionage. Two popular movements particularly received careful attention from the reactionary Government of the day, viz., (1) The Gymnastic Movement among the German Youth inaugurated by Fichte's disciple Jahn enjoining strict temperance in food and drink and perfect simpli-

city in dress and an open air life full of physical activity and (2) The Student Movement (Burschenschaft-wesen).

Up to 1815 Germany was the Germany of institutions and machinery. Then came the influence of a bewildering variety of free minds and thinking intellects which produced a clash and conflict of ideas and a fierce collision of trained wills with trained wills engaged in a contest of political theories, constitutional principles and ideals of nationalism. India is passing through a similar stage to-day. This continued in Germany till 1848. Then she passed through a prolonged intellectual travail of the **Idealogues** up to 1870. The battle of ideas darkened counsel making confusion worse confounded. Much dust was raised by metaphysicians, University Professors, pamphleteers, journalists and constitution-mongers clouding the common man's vision. Yet, on the whole, Germany was re-shaped by the academic theories of intellectual aristocrats, political programmes of erudite University Chair-holders, and even by the contributions made by the class-rooms, College Societies and students' unions as much as by veteran administrators and masters of *realpolitik*. If India is just now divided into many political camps German statesmanship, too, had to reckon with Jacobins, Particularists, Liberals, Conservatives, Federalists, dynastic Loyalists, Social Democrats and Pan-German Nationalists.

The chief practical problem, before the 39 States to which the Germany of 1789 divided into 360 principalities became reduced in 1815, was well-nigh the same problem with which India is confronted. It is the question of a satisfactory political settlement and a corresponding system of government with its adequate and appropriate Imperial and Provincial machinery which will provide a much-distracted country with its numerous clashing interests and varied needs with that organisation which will preserve autonomy and independence, within due bounds, of all the constituent elements of a very complex State without endangering internal order and external peace while at the same

time guaranteeing securities against all dangers of internal disruption and foreign aggression. Germany's most trying difficulty was the vexed question of reconciling the integrity of the State *as a whole* with sectional demands and aspirations of constituent members hardly working in harmony. The Napoleonic Confederation of the Rhine had placed the country's military and economic problems at the disposal of an alien dictator reserving the power of determining policy without caring at all for the popular voice or the decisions solemnly recorded by the unanimous opinion of the nominal representatives of the people. As in this country, so in Germany, the people were in the grip of the Metternich reactionary policy largely because of the antagonism of separatist interests of parties and groups disunited in ideas and ideals, in political principles, in administrative ends by keen jealousies, hopeless fears and nervous suspicions.

The self-interested opponents of Indian nationalism repeat *ad nauseam* that India is nothing better than a mere geographical name. Had not Germany too her semi-independent states of Bavaria, Würtemberg, the Hesses, Nassau, Hanover, Westphalia, Saxony in which, to quote a great authority, "dynastic particularism was the outcome and expression of deep-laid racial, cultural and economic differences"? "Prussian, Hanoverian, Westphalian, Saxon, Rhinelander, Franconian, Swabian, represented German types, the differentiation of whose original features had been heightened and deepened by the physical configuration of the German lands they lived in, internecine struggles, prolonged political rivalry and opposed economic needs and claims." The Germans too preferred on principle the divine right of a native German petty state to misgovern to the foreigner's illegitimate claim to govern well. If these opponents trot out the pretext of religious animosities in India, may not a thoughtful and well-informed Indian point out that when in 1818 Germany had to face the difficulty of devising a national *constitution*, one single

petty state of Nassau with its 85 square miles of German territory was actually governed by no fewer than 27 *independent* sovereigns, two of whom—one a Catholic and the other a Protestant (!)—ruled over the two halves of the **one** town of Siegen?

And it is the failure of particularist and separatist individual governments to solve the urgent national problem of achieving unity that largely contributed to the formation in June, 1815, of the famous *Bürschenschaft* system in order to inspire the German Youths of the day with a nobler and purer ideal of life than what the *Landsmannschaften* could furnish. In effecting this momentous change Fichte's *Liberal* disciples played an important rôle. The fundamental simple law is that in all progressive countries when the adventitious leaders enjoying undeserved power and prestige decline for whatever reason to march with the disconcertingly rapid movement of events keeping pace with ever-expansive public opinion, leadership is transferred to men of ideas, of letters, to able journalists, to Professors who are not professional politicians but to whom **natural** leadership should rightfully belong. So, in Germany when professional politicians were weighed in the balance and found wanting, the Universities and *Gymnasias* became the storm centres of political agitation—"professional chairs being," says Professor Pollard, "turned into platforms, lectures into harangues, and classes into public meetings." "The Revolutionists," complained Metternich, "conscious that the adult generation would not serve their nefarious project of German unity, turned their attention to those who are to be educated, a plan which commends itself even to the most impatient, for the student generation includes at most a period of four years.....A whole class of future state officials, professors, and incipient literary men, is here ripened for revolution." "The virtue of the *Landsmannschaften* in Metternich's eyes consisted in their provincial and particularist organisation whereas the vice of the *Burschens-*

chaft was in its neglect of these distinctions ; German students might be allowed to organise in Saxon, Swabian, Bavarian, and Franconian societies ; but to create a national union savoured of revolution."

The lesson taught by history is that culture centres have often achieved what politicians and administrators have failed to accomplish by regulating men by the idea of *cultural* unity and of intellectual brotherhood of teachers and learners. Such intellectual bonds possess the advantage of standing above the fluctuation of the changing policy of kings and diplomats, ministries and even treaties. To the young mind ideas are powers the most efficacious because the most pervasive. In Germany the liberalising movement of intellectual renaissance joined hands with the Nationalistic creed. In the face of such a grand unifying ideal and machinery it is sheer shortsightedness or mere hypocrisy to trot out the plea of a country being merely a geographical expression and it is resorted to by the intellectual bankruptcy of those who fail to realise that a dead level of dull uniformity without the saving grace of variety is rather inimical to manifold and harmoniously complex cultural development. Natural differences or differentiating social and religious particularism need not necessarily militate against the fundamental idea of obedience to the laws of **one** organic whole. Besides, Culture-States can achieve a synthesis of apparently opposed elements as much as Nation-States (like England and France) can secure unity. The consciousness of a high and ancient culture heritage may, of course, make the youth of a country hyper-sensitive to real or fancied slight on the part of an alien but more virile nation of only yesterday's creation proud, if not arrogant, of its racial superiority and lend a sort of ferociousness of temper to their exasperated feelings of political slavery or industrial degradation. In Germany national salvation was furthered next by the fiscal unity mainly effected by the *Zollverein* (or Customs' Union of the thirties of the 19th century) and India's economic conditions have a close resem-

blance with Germany's economic history, Germany having continued up to late decades of the past century to be an Agrarian State. That country up to the middle of the 19th century was comparatively industrially backward, poor, with her land infinitely parcelled and her labour unorganised, scattered and immobile. Trade was undeveloped and hampered by political troubles and general unrest. Capital was shy and not yet pooled. The handloom flourished long side by side with machine power and factory organisation was in its infancy up to 1846, and even in 1843 about 60 per cent. of wage-earners were employed in rural pursuits. Foreign trade was almost nominal, and meant the exporting of raw materials and importing of manufactured goods and for her iron goods and cotton yarns Germany had to depend on foreign supplies. Things changed rapidly as in a revolution with the Constitutional Reforms and Settlement that followed the storm and stress of 1848. Joint-stock companies, Banks, Insurance and Shipping companies, appeared in quick succession in the wake of political advance in 1850-70. The masses at once became not only politically-minded but democratic and even socialistic. The year 1849 gave the German people a constitution making it possible for Bismarck to undo Metternich's work and replace the loosely-articulated *Bund* with its farcical representative Diet reminding us of the Indian Legislatures under the Reforms Act. Then came socialism with its potent leaven.

We have tried to work out, as comprehensively as practicable, within our limits, the parallelism between Germany and India so that the lesson of history and human experience may not be lost upon us.

We may next offer a few observations as dispassionately as possible without taking sides.

Educational reforms and developments, which cannot be logically dissociated from the student communities and their movements oftener than not follow the lead of a nation's social and political outlook and aspirations. A favourable and healthy

atmosphere capable of fostering the growth of high educational ideals and helping their practical realisation can be created only by sincerely patriotic surrender of private, sectional, communal interest to collective welfare by means of personal and class sacrifices.

While intensely desiring and nobly fighting for true freedom a *cultured* nation cannot afford to ignore that (as Fichte in his Berlin Addresses reminded his audience) "true freedom can be obtained only by means of the highest obedience to law." To this noble sentiment we propose only to add that this law as a regulative principle of life is not a mandate from the outside—no, not even the Judaic stern voice of the Daughter of God which after all, is a thing external—mechanically imposed on a people against their will, their temperament, their tradition, their culture, by an alien authority, however wise. This law is an evolution from within, and if at all imposed, self-imposed by the divine right of man's free choice of the highest and best, by his deliberate election, and obeyed willingly by minds and wills thoroughly and systematically drilled and disciplined. Liberty we must never cry when license we mean.

Man as Aristotle's rational animal never truly **feels** that he is free when his passions, impulses, prejudices, self-interest are his masters or when he allows himself, however temporarily, to be carried away, if not led astray, by herd-instinct. Every free man's inalienable right it is to think, judge, decide, act for himself even though the end of all his mental and volitional activities is the common good of the entire nation, or, better still, of humanity, or even the highest good of the largest number. At every step he has to severely subject himself to analysis and to ask himself by way of a reliable test how far he is *obeying the true law of his being* by honestly, sincerely, whole-heartedly subjecting himself **consciously** to the discipline of a progressive individual and national life. The Breslau Professor Steffens rightly held—"If Prussia is to rise from her prostration, it must be accomplished not by physical but

by moral force," and Wordsworth reminds us that by such a force alone can a nation be free and great repeating in effect the wise utterance of England's greatest champion of freedom, who also uttered nothing base, John Milton.

It is an old saying that always bears repetition that he alone possesses the right to command others (*i.e.*, be a leader) who knows how to obey.

An out-and-out modernist with a vengeance will rebel, we know, against such ideas and cheaply dispose of an eternal verity with the gay nonchalance of an irresponsible demagogue and he will enjoy his temporary hold on the easily impressionable heart of the idealistic youth so ready in their innocence to fall victims to the call of the blatant. Noisy patriotism is not necessarily the most self-less patriotism and indiscretion is no virtue. Obedience has come to stay with man lest he should be a prey to every chance desire and it stays as the bond of rule, and even misrule cannot prosper unless those requisitioned in its service can be held together, be it for the time being, by such a bond. Even anarchy organises anarchists into an association of men and that presupposes obedience. Let not the "*new morality*" of the newest brand forget that fundamental truth. Can *bol-sheviks* achieve much by unco-ordinated, disjointed, scattered, aimless, merely destructive activities of men where each man is a leader and nobody is to follow? And to have a following is to fall back upon that stale, antiquated, now much-hated thing—obedience, discipline! Even a gang of robbers must have cohesion of its members and the tie of comradeship or co-operation and unity of purpose. The spirit of disobedience means disruption for it is essentially anti-social. Obedience worth the name is surely not blind, traditional, conventional or mechanical. It is vitalising—a law by itself growing spontaneously from within and offered voluntarily to the ideal object of one's moral choice. Then and only then it is constructive. It is never subjection to a cast-iron, heartless system or institution. Surely we are no advocates of slavery

masquerading as obedience. True discipline, we believe, is healthy and health-giving in its flexibility capable of embracing manifold differences in tone and temper and of adjusting itself to changing phases of national life and the progressive march of humanity suited to the expansive needs, varying with circumstances, of all its constituent elements and component parts. Thus obedience becomes the same as collective control. If modern Germany is to-day so well-organised and great by the help of its "*Kultur*" idea, the foundation was laid, well and truly, by the imperious demand for unquestioning obedience to the State (which, of course, was not a foreign domination any longer) made by Bismarck the Statesman, by Moltke the Strategist and Roon the Army Organiser. Mr. J. Holland Rose is not wrong in observing that "boys like little States sometimes rely on their littleness to move some ill-informed and sentimental bystander to side with them on the assumption, quite as disputable as that in a street quarrel, that the little boy must be the champion of justice and the big boy must be a bully."

The disciplinarian in his turn must also be on his guard that he does not degenerate into a discipline-monger. Mere framing of too rigid rules to be as rigidly enforced at all costs is surely not the last word regarding an academic ethical code by which the highest type of character can be evolved in the youth of a country, who have every right to expect from those who elect to shoulder the serious responsibility of claiming to be the friend and guide of students, large-hearted sympathy with their growing aspirations and a spirit of forgiveness when through youthful impulsiveness they occasionally overstep the bounds of correct behaviour. Moreover, like other ideas, the idea of discipline is subject to change. When a country moves forward economically, politically, socially and intellectually it cannot remain at a standstill in the one sphere alone of academic discipline. We of the older generation must be able to adjust ourselves to modern conditions of life or wisely retire from positions of res-

possibility and trust to make room for men at least more suitable to the new needs of the day. Herbert Spencer holds that the test of culture in a man is his capacity for adjustment to environment. We who take our stand on the value of experience and the wisdom of age cannot claim to be immune in this respect. Professor Alexander Gray in a thoroughly Georgian piece of poetry humourously writes on an aging cat —

“ Life will go on for ever,
 With all that cat can wish;
 Warmth and the glad procession
 Of fish and milk and fish.
 Only —the thought disturbs him—
 He's noticed once or twice,
 The times are somehow breeding
 A nimbler race of mice! ”

LOVE AND DEATH

Who loves not love when lover's far
 Shall crave for love in vain.
 My lover's far, O my friend,
 'Tis not my loss but gain.
 The end of night was near life's end
 When lover was not near ;
 Now night may go and day may die
 To heart mine lover's ev'r there.
 O Love, be Thou alone my life
 To end, of life and death, the strife !

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

Reviews

Antiquities of Indian Tibet, by A. H. Francke, Ph.D., Part II. *The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles, Texts and Translations, with Notes and Maps*, Edited with Foreword by F. W. Thomas, M.A., Hon. Ph.D. (Munich), Calcutta. (Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. L). Price Rs. 30 or 45s.

All serious students of South Asiatic history, and particularly those who are interested in the annals and antiquities of the northern borderland of India, will welcome the publication of this valuable work which seeks "to present in a connected text all the historical facts contained in the various MSS. of the West Tibetan Chronicles." The country to the north of the Himālayas has been the scene of the activities of many Indian worthies from the days of Kumara and Sila-mañju, Padma-sambhava and Śānti-rakshita to those of Saratchandra Dās; and ever since the days of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh and his able lieutenant Zorāwar Singh the fortunes of Western Tibet have been indissolubly linked up with those of the fair Indian province drained by the headwaters of the Indus and the Jhelum. No history of the great sub-continent of which Buddhism is one of the noblest products, and Kashmir one of the fairest lands, is complete without a knowledge of the antiquities of the northern realm which the missionary zeal of Buddhist Paṇḍits had civilized, and the valour of Zorāwar had conquered for the Dogra Sardars of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Among the *pūrva sūris* who made the path smooth for Dr. Francke the names of Csoma de Kőrös, Cunningham,* Schlagintweit and Marx stand pre-eminent. Dr. Francke has taken great pains to supplement the information collected by his predecessors, and bring out a complete edition of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (the History of the Kings of Ladakh), together with the chronicles and genealogical trees of several vassal chiefs of West Tibet and three short accounts of important events in the history of that little realm.

The Indian student will note with special interest the Tibetan account of the origin of caste (pp. 65, 69), of the divisions of Hdzam-bu gliñ (Jambu-dvīpa) (p. 65), of the genealogy of the Śākya (p. 71f), and other Ikshvākus, and their alleged connection with the early Kings of Leh and Lhasa (76f), of the spread of Indian culture (art of writing, religion, etc.) to Tibet, (pp. 82f, 86f, 89f), of the conquest of Kulu (p. 96) by King Utpala, and that of Ladakh by Zorāwar Singh (pp. 127, 257f). The usefulness of the volume has been considerably enhanced by the inclusion of five maps which will doubtless be of great help in mastering the details of West Tibetan topography.

HISTORICUS

Ourselves

THE LATE MR. SASANKAMOHAN SEN.

We are deeply touched by the sudden death of Mr. Sasankamohan Sen, Lecturer in the Department of Indian Vernaculars, Calcutta University, which tragic event took place on Monday, the 16th April, 1928, at his Calcutta residence. Mr. Sen, who hailed from Chittagong, had a brilliant academic career. He graduated in the year 1896 and stood first in Sanskrit. Next year he passed the Final Law Examination and began practice as a lawyer at Chittagong. In 1919 Mr. Sen presided at the Dacca Literary Conference and delivered a thoughtful address which drew the attention of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who invited him to the University of Calcutta and offered him the Gopaldas Chaudhuri Chair for Bengali. His vast erudition and his uncommon power of exposition built for him an enviable reputation as a teacher. Himself a poet of no mean order he struck out a new line of interpretation in his study of the poets of Bengal. His critical study of the Bengali poet Michael Madhusudan, several volumes of poetical works and *Banimandir*, recently published, bear testimony to his scholarship and his services to the cause of Bengali literature. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family.

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THE LATE MR. M. N. BASU.

With deep sorrow we announce the death of Mr. M. N. Basu, M.A., LL.B., Bar.-at-law, which melancholy event took place on Wednesday, the 11th April, 1928. Mr. Basu had a brilliant academic career in Calcutta and got a Double First

in History Tripos at Cambridge. He was called to the Bar in 1906 and in the same year he was enrolled as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court. A man of deep scholarship and high character, he was a sound lawyer who maintained the best traditions of the Bar. In private life, he was the best of friends and possessed charming manners. He took an active part in many movements—social, educational and charitable—for the uplift of his countrymen. In his death the Bar has lost a distinguished scholar. Mr. Basu was attached to the Post-graduate Department in Arts (History and Politics) of this University for a number of years till professional success compelled him to sever his connection with the University. He was also a Professor of the University Law College and won everybody's esteem as a kind, amiable and popular teacher. He served the University as a Paper-Setter and Head Examiner in History. We fully share the grief of the aged mother and the numerous friends and relations of Mr. Basu for the irreparable loss that the bereavement has caused to them.

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THE NAGARJUNA PRIZE FOR 1927.

The Nagarjuna Prize for 1927 has been equally divided between Mr. Subodhgovinda Chaudhury and Mr. Manmohan Sen. Mr. Chaudhury submitted a thesis on "The Effect of non-Electrolytes on the Coagulation of Colloids" and Mr. Sen's theses were (1) Studies in the Chromone Series, (2) Pyrylium Compounds, and (3) Syntheses in the Triazine Series. Our readers may be interested to know that the prize is awarded every year out of the interest of a sum of Rs. 10,000 that was placed at the disposal of the University by Sir P. C. Ray, in 1922, for the best piece of research work in Chemistry (Pure or Applied), by any student working in the College of Science.

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THE UNIVERSITY MOSLEM STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION.

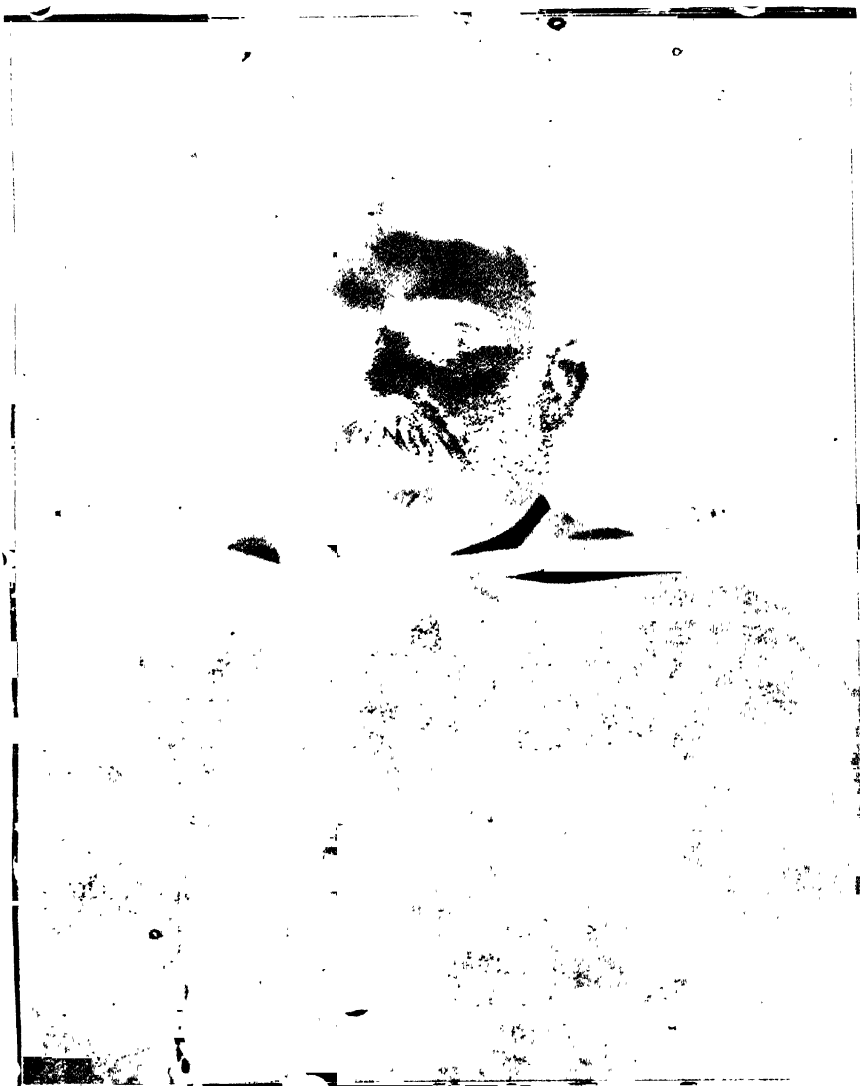
We are glad to announce that a preliminary meeting was held by the Organisers of the Calcutta University Moslem Students' Association on the 1st of April, 1928, in the Lecture Hall of the Asutosh Building, Calcutta University, with the Hon'ble Nawáb Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., in the Chair. The aims and objects of the Association were defined, rules for conducting its business framed and office bearers selected. The Chairman very wisely gave a hint that the newly established institution should not prove a rival of the Calcutta University Institute nor enter into politics but should confine itself to social service and the fostering of a *esprit de corps* among the Moslem students. If these aims are carefully kept in view we are sure the institution will add to the amenities of student life in Calcutta and it has our hearty support and good wishes.

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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CALCUTTA MEMORIES

One of the few privileges of old age lies in the fact that a man who has reached life's evening can find relief from its inevitable miseries by looking down a long vista of past events. My recollections of Calcutta's external aspect in 1870 are extremely vivid, and I am fain to believe that many readers of this Review will be interested in the impressions which it left on the mind of a British lad. Prior to the Mutiny of 1857 India was a close preserve for nominees of the H.E.I.C. and a limited mercantile class. That cataclysm lifted a corner of the veil, and the market was flooded with books describing life in the East : but thirteen years later India was still unknown to the English public. The voyage thither was expensive, and tourist-agencies confined their activity to Europe. Thanks to railways, turbine steamers, motor-cars and aeroplanes the world has shrunk to comparatively small dimensions ; but these devices have robbed foreign travel of the glamour which clung to it in the Victorian era.

The Call of the East was keenly felt by eight young covenanted civilians who left Southampton for Alexandria on August 4th, 1870 in a P. & O. paddle-steamer of 1800 tons. The Bay of Biscay did not belie its reputation, and we were all prostrated by sickness until our storm-tossed vessel anchored in the Tagus, to deliver mails for Portugal ; railway communications having been interrupted by the Franco-Prussian war. On regaining our sea-legs, we gazed with awe on the frowning

Rock of Gibraltar, honeycombed with batteries which were even then obsolete. Malta was our next port of call : and there for the first time passengers were allowed to set foot on shore. So my companions and I chartered carriages for a trip across the island to the Governor's summer retreat, which seemed an oasis of verdure set in a wilderness of stones and stunted olive-trees. We were glad to leave our crowded ship at Alexandria, which contained nothing of interest except an Egyptian obelisk known as "Cleopatra's Needle." It now adorns the Thames Embankment, but then lay on the Mediterranean shore, half buried in sand. The Suez Canal had recently been inaugurated by the Empress of the French but was not ready to receive traffic. It behoved us, therefore, to cross the Desert by rail ; and my only recollection of the journey relates to an infamous meal of goat's flesh and tepid beer which was served at the junction for Cairo.

At Suez the P. & O. steamer *Candia* lay ready to convey us to Calcutta. I must describe that vessel in some detail, if only to illustrate the revolution in naval architecture that has taken place. She was an iron screw-steamer of 2000 tons, and had been launched in 1845. Her plates were enormously thick ; and I was not surprised to learn in after years that the *Candia* was sailing between England and Australia after the removal of her engines. The change was not so radical as it would seem ; for the stout old *Candia* was schooner-rigged, and hoisted sail in a fair wind. Her build did not differ materially from that of Elizabethan craft. The stern was topped by a lofty poop, with a range of hen-coops on either side. Beneath this superstructure lay the saloon. Being situated at an extremity of the ship, it was very lively in bad weather ; and our meals were often interrupted by sounds of woe issuing from the adjacent cabins. Forward of the saloon there revolved a huge wooden wheel armed with steel cogs, which operated others on the screw-shaft. The "Multiplying Wheel," as it was termed, prevented the screw from "racing" when the vessel pitched, but

the loss of power involved led to its supersession by a more effectual device. A dread of fire, inherited from the days of wooden ships, relegated smokers to a tent rigged upon deck. Here they were supplied with live charcoal by a Bengali lad who came in answer to shouts of "Chokra!" The commissariat on board the *Candia* was lavish if somewhat coarse. One "saw one's dinner" in the days of Queen Victoria; *i.e.*, every course appeared on the table at the same time. A conspicuous feature was great joints of beef and mutton which the ship's butcher produced from animals awaiting their destiny in pens. Port, sherry and strong beer were included in the bill of fare, and passengers could procure a "peg" (always of brandy) by merely signing a chit. Although the *Candia* was anything but a floating hotel we accepted the discomforts of life at sea as inevitable. The rigid discipline of to-day was unknown, and officers mingled freely with passengers. Concerts and amateur theatricals kept people busy, and the younger folk indulged in bolster-fights after dark. The *Candia* swarmed with cockroaches, and rats sometimes visited the saloon, though they generally kept to the second class quarters—an inferno in the ship's bowels, inhabited by poor Europeans and Eurasians. As far as I recollect no Indians were included in the passenger-list. .

Apropos of rats, our friendly purser told me a story illustrating their communal habits. During a previous voyage he was awakened in the dead of night by a quartermaster, who told him that the rats were having high jinks below. The pair crept barefooted into the hold, where they heard a warbling as of the song of many small birds. The space that lay between the cargo and the bulkhead above was lit by a swinging lantern. When the intruders' eyesight had accommodated itself to its feeble light, they saw several hundred rats ranged in a ring. In the central space a huge specimen sat up, casting agonised glances on every side. Suddenly, the chatter ceased; the whole crowd fell upon the culprit and devoured him.

Galle was in those days the port of call for Ceylon. Our ship deftly threaded its tortuous harbour, and passengers were allowed to land for a drive. I shall never forget the gorgeous

tropical vegetation which delighted our eyes after a month's confinement. Madras was our next halting-place. The pier which now renders it accessible in most weathers had no existence, and communications with the shore were maintained by a fleet of clumsy Masula boats. The prospect of being drenched in the surf kept most of us on board. Here we parted with the brightest member of our band. He was a Londoner of infinite humour who subsequently blew his brains out in the despair engendered by life in a remote station.

We arrived at the Sandheads on the thirty-fourth day from Southampton, and the *Candia* hove to for a pilot. He came on board from the Lightship,—a haughty personage wearing white kid gloves, who superseded our Captain during the perilous voyage up the Hughli ; that famous river disappointed us greatly. Its low banks, fringed with jungle, seemed but a sorry approach to the gorgeous East ; nor did the yarns told by seasoned passengers of tiger-haunted Sagar Island, and the danger of capsizing on the treacherous "James and Mary" Sands, tend to raise our drooping spirits. They revived when the *Candia* steamed slowly past a line of mansions embowered in lofty trees. Garden Reach had once been the choicest residential suburb of Calcutta ; but grandees deserted it when four of the largest houses were allotted to the ex-King of Oudh and his retainers. Here the dethroned sovereign used to employ his ample leisure in composing Urdu verses, and watching the graceful flight of a flock of pigeons. Here, too, the P. & O.'s depot was situated, and our long journey ended when the *Candia* made fast to the wharf. We shook hands warmly with her officers, none of whom did I ever see again. Our fellow-passengers were too busy to think of bidding us farewell. Such as had relatives or friends in waiting were whisked away in carriages to enjoy Calcutta's boundless hospitality ; the less fortunate, myself included, drove to the Great Eastern Hotel, which was then dubbed "Wilson's" after its enterprising founder.

On the morrow my colleagues and I gathered at a dilapidated house in northern Chauringhi which did duty for a Home Office, in order to learn the stations to which we were posted as Assistant Magistrate-Collectors. Then we trooped to Belvedere, with a view of paying our respects to the Lieutenant-Governor. Sir William Grey who held that office, gave us a formal reception and seemed to have an adequate sense of his position as Ruler of Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Assam. His pride had a severe fall a year or so later. On retiring from India he became Governor of Jamaica, and soon after his arrival at Kingston he busied himself in superintending the arrangement of the family portrait which he had brought from England. This was being done by an unusually stupid Negro. "A little more to the left," said Sir William, whereon the picture was pushed a foot the opposite direction. "No, more to the right!" roared the new Governor; and the picture was slued round to an angle of forty degrees. Then he was provoked to fury. Forgetting that Government House, Kingston, was not Belvedere, he gave the peccant carpenter a smart cut with his riding-crop. The Negro at once descended from the step ladder and gathered up his tools. Grinning from ear to ear he snarled, "You tink you're a mighty big Buccra (white man), but I'll run you in. Good marning!" Sure enough there arrived next day a missive inviting His Excellency to answer a charge of assault and battery. It cost him a matter of twenty pounds to escape the ignominy of a public appearance in the Police Court.

The present generation must find some difficulty in imagining Calcutta without pure water or scientific drainage; without motor-cars, autobuses, tramlines, electricity and the other conveniences which render life in the tropics more than tolerable. Bishop Heber declared in his delightful *Diary of a Residence in India*: "People talk of the luxuries of the East, but the only luxuries I am aware of are cold air and cold water—when one can get them." Half a century later things were but little better in this respect. The ministrations of a sleepy

punkah-coolie were far less efficient than an electric fan, and the supply of ice was precarious. In the good Bishop's time wealthy Europeans cooled their claret with ice skimmed from shallow pans set out at night during the cold weather. In the 'twenties, however, an enterprising American made his fortune by cutting huge blocks from the frozen surface of a lake near Boston and exporting them to Calcutta, where they were stored in a massive edifice at Howrah. As the precious commodity arrived per sailing ship, stocks were apt to run short at the hottest season. In such cases every subscriber received a notice that ice would be supplied only to hospitals. In the 'sixties of last century a method was discovered of manufacturing ice cheaply by machinery, and several plants for that purpose arrived in Calcutta. Each was bought up and sent back by the powerful Tudor Ice Company: but its monopoly could not be sustained, and the Howrah donjon was demolished.

My last morning in Calcutta was spent in a tour of inspection, for which purpose I had to choose between a "*palki*" and a "*ticca gari*." The former, each with its quartette of Uriya bearers, abounded in the purlieus of Government House; they were cheap but slow. *Ticca gari*s, *alias* licensed cabs, were ranged in three categories. Those of the first class were conspicuous by their absence; and rumour had it that the term was applied to funeral carriages. The second class *ticca* was less stoutly constructed but cleaner than the London four-wheeled cab of that epoch. *Ticcas* belonging to the third class were ramshackle contraptions drawn by half-starved ponies whose eyes betrayed their unutterable anguish. Hailing a second class *ticca* I managed to make the "*Coachwan*" understand that I wished to be driven about the streets for a couple of hours.

Calcutta was called the "*City of Palaces*" owing to the long line of stuccoed mansions which face the Maidan. Bishop Heber said that the general effect reminded him of St. Petersburg, but I saw a closer likeness between Chauringhi and London's Park Lane. Many a house in that famous thorough-

fare has associations which should be snatched from oblivion. Take the United Service Club, for instance. It was occupied in the 'thirties by Thomas Babington Macaulay, who accepted the appointment of Legal Member of Council with the avowed object of saving money. An old Anglo-Indian with whom I foregathered in the *Candia* remembered him perfectly, and told me that the great man was noted for his parsimony. He narrated other happenings in Macaulay's brief Indian career which led me to doubt the justice of the virulent attack on Bengalis which I had read in his essay on Warren Hastings. Long after my retirement from the Indian Civil Service I met an elderly Colonel named Macaulay, whose days were spent in playing golf. After telling me that he was the historian's nephew he said :

“ A couple of years before Uncle Tom's death he summoned me to his chambers in Piccadilly, and addressed me as follows : ‘ I have asked you to come here, my boy, in order to tell you some facts bearing on your future career. I am soon to become a Peer of the Realm, and Her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to give me permission to insert the name of a blood-relative in the remainder. You are my brother's only son, and have *primâ facie* a right to carry on my title. But my Indian savings have been sunk in an annuity, and I shall not leave you anything to speak of. As far as I can judge you are not likely to earn an income sufficient to support a Peerage. So instead of being a prospective Member of the House of Lords, you shall have a cadetship in the Indian army.’ ”

Ten years after Lord Macaulay's departure another house in Chauringhi was tenanted by the Pattle family. Its head, the senior member of the Board of Revenue, was a rather morose person who lay under the imputation of having killed his man in a duel. Mrs. Pattle, however, was brilliantly clever, and her bevy of beautiful daughters brought every gilded youth to her house. There must have been many a sore heart in Calcutta when news arrived that three of the sirens had

become Peeresses. The ladies of this family must have been exceptionally endowed, for the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, used to say, that "mankind consisted of men, women and Pattles." A tragedy attended their departure from India. Old Mr. Pattle—he had come out as a writer during the 18th century—was gathered to his fathers. In pursuance of his death-bed injunctions, Mrs. Pattle had his body embalmed, and sailed for England with the coffin safely stored in the ship's hold. On the third day from the Sandheads a dead calm was encountered, and a poisonous odour pervaded the decks. It soon became evident that the embalmer had scamped his ghastly work, and the offending coffin was committed to the deep with hurried funeral rites. Next morning, however, the Indiaman still lay "like a painted ship upon a painted ocean," and old Mr. Pattle's coffin was seen floating serenely close to the stern windows! His widow never recovered from the shock caused by his reappearance.

Although I had been taught to consider London as the finest city in the world, I was forced to admit that Hyde Park could show nothing comparable with Fort William, Government House, the tropical foliage of the Eden Gardens, or the forest of masts which fringed the majestic Hughli. Indeed no other port could boast of such splendid specimens of nautical architecture; the display was unique and will never recur. There they lay, tier upon tier, ranging from the Liverpool three-master of as many thousand tons down to the graceful opium clipper gauging a third of that burden. The "country ships" which traded with the Persian Gulf and Burma, were even more interesting. That many of them had ploughed the main as Indiamen was evidenced by their lofty sides and their spacious portholes from which cannon had once protruded. They carried Lascar crews, and were often commanded by an Arab, who was styled "Nacoda." One of these ancient craft renamed *Futteh Islam*, was wrecked at the head of the Bay of Bengal. Her crew, however, came ashore in their boats, and

as soon as weather admitted they set to work salving the timber with which the *Futteh Islam* has been laden, operations being directed by the Nacoda. Teak is heavier than sea-water, and the pile on which he stood was set in motion by the rising tide. He lost his balance, and both legs were pinned between two enormous beams. The crew launched boats in the hope of extricating their captain, but all their efforts were vain. Despite the agony caused by his crushed limbs, the plucky old man shouted instructions regarding the disposal of his property. Inch by inch rose the remorseless tide ; wave after wave swept over his head and set his long white beard afloat. When they emerged, he continued gasping out injunctions until his voice was stilled for ever.

In the mid-Victorian era, a procession of perfectly appointed carriages used to parade in Hyde Park every fine afternoon between May and July. The Calcutta Maidan offered a similar spectacle, but herein the resemblance between the two cities was superficial. The Viceroy's carriage with its escort of red-coated lancers, and those of three or four Indian millionaires might possibly have passed muster in Hyde Park, but few indeed of the other vehicles which thronged the Red Road would bear a close inspection. In fact every Calcutta *mem-sahib* of 1870 made a point of lolling in a carriage and pair between 4 and 6 P.M. Her vanity often meant short commons at home, and its tangible results were decidedly unimpressive.

After exhausting the European quarter, I drove through Northern Calcutta, where half a million Indians lived and moved and had their being. There my nostrils were assailed by the smell of tobacco smoke, burnt cow-dung, rancid *ghi*, fish being cooked with oil, and outlandish spices. Many years later I encountered the self-same odour in the bazars of Bokhara. At once a vision arose of crowded streets sweltering under a tropical sun, of flimsy shops exhibiting piles of sticky sweetmeats and Manchester piece-goods, of women poising earthen pots on their graceful heads, of half-naked coolies staggering under

their burdens of creaking bullock-carts and *ticca garis* crammed with *Babus* clad in spotless white. I cannot but think the close connection between the olfactory nerves and the memory-cells might be utilized in educating children.

Calcutta left a deep and lasting impression on my mind. Young people seldom look beyond external things; I gave no thought to the tragedies that must have been enacted in its sumptuous mansions, or to the vice, misery and disease which cling to every great city. But, remembering Macaulay's New Zealander, who would perchance survey the ruins of St. Paul's Cathedral from a broken arch of London Bridge, I closed my eyes and fancied Calcutta sinking back into the swamps of the Gangetic Delta, and the Ochterlony Column emerging from a wide expanse of jungle. Verily

Earth buildeth on earth castles and towers,
Earth saith unto earth, "All shall be ours."

FRANCIS H. SKRINE

WHAT IS TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The work of the teacher becomes effective long after it is done, and has passed beyond his control. Much of it must inevitably be lost; much of what is not lost, become useless or positively harmful in the years that lie between the sowing and the reaping. If his work is to have any beneficial fruition at all (and unless it is very carefully planned and carried out it will probably not) it is essential that his mind should be pre-eminently a forward looking one. He will habitually look for the future, where alone it is to be found, in the tendencies of the past, and he will regard the momentary present as merely providing the standing point from which he assists as it is his duty to do, the operation of age-long movements, quite beyond his power permanently to deflect or to arrest. To misunderstand and fight against these movements is to waste his life. So much of apology for, or rather explanation of, the following discussion.

Man is distinguished from the other forms of life that are evolving with him by two characteristics which tend to mask his progress and make it seem much slower than it really is. They are his habit of forming large stable associations and his use of tools.

It requires no argument at this epoch to prove that the use of tools is a progressing feature of human life. There are men still living who have seen the coming of the electric telegraph, the electric generator and motor, the motor car, wireless telegraphy, and mechanical flight, to mention only a few of the most striking developments of the last hundred years.

It is, however, customary to conclude such a survey of material progress with a remark that all these things are external. The man himself, it is said, is in no essential different from the Cro-Magnon man of 60,000 years ago. But

this is a pure delusion. Progress in knowledge is not commensurate with psychic and intellectual development, but it is easy to show that there has been a considerable change in the mentality of mankind within so short a period as the last 2,000 years. Knowledge accumulates through the mere lapse of time, and depends for its preservation on the existence of only a few studious men. It is far otherwise with political development. That depends absolutely on an intrinsic and parallel development in the minds of mankind at large; in the minds of men who have little knowledge of history, or indeed, knowledge of any kind.

How far that development has proceeded can easily be gathered from a glance at any historical atlas. The progress in the size of the free political unit is even more striking than appears from the map, because a given area in these days represents an enormously more numerous aggregation than it did in those.

Now, one of the necessary conditions of a large free association is a considerable degree of uniformity in the units. It is perhaps quite true that this age can exhibit no minds more powerful than those of certain of the Greeks. But it is a matter not of supposition but of historical fact that the Greeks in spite of every encouragement were quite unable to form and maintain a political unit of more than a few thousand individuals. The nations of to-day comprise millions for their thousands. Nor can it be contended that this is in any way due to better communications. These are of yesterday and have still to affect the changes in the nature of man that must follow from them as intrinsic change always does follow on change of environment. The great spiritual advance of the past sixty generations has been an advance in toleration and mutual understanding. The uniformity which is a necessary condition of stable grouping, makes it very difficult to appreciate any change that is occurring at the present time, for much the same reason that no one afloat in mid-ocean notices the rising tide.

Any one can see from the ancient writings that there were minds in ancient times very much superior to the average mind of to-day. But we are considering not the potentiality of man as exhibited by those exceptional individuals in every age, but the actual state of mankind in general. And with regard to that there is no ground for pessimism and every reason to rejoice in a continuous and even accelerated progress.

It is not, as we know, accompanied by any physical change, for the simple reason that the use of tools has made such change quite unnecessary and quite futile. Much is being said in these days of sudden and great favourable mutations. But what mutation could endow man with the power of flight within a generation? What development of claws and teeth could arm a people as the Japanese have armed themselves within the last fifty years?

We have past the stage of physical evolution, as we have past the stage of the enormous growths of size which distinguished the antediluvian reptiles. Growth of the individual soon reached the limits fixed by the ordinary laws of mechanics, and was replaced by group association. In its turn physical expertness has given way to the use of tools, because it is quicker to make and use a tool than it is to alter one's own body, and because a tool can be designed and made exclusively to serve its purpose, whereas a hand must necessarily be made out of a foot, and if wings are required they must be made out of the same unsuitable member. The result is that the hand thus made is very inefficient at everything it does. You *can* comb your hair with your fingers or screw on a nut, or write a letter, but the comb, the spanner, and the typewriter specially designed for their purposes serve them far better.

Physical mutations do emerge in these days but they are always sternly suppressed as a nuisance. The body left to itself would get rid of its vermiform appendix (at the cost of a few million painful deaths, the usual method of physical evolution) but it is not allowed to do so. The body which we

actuate has long since solved the problems of its physical existence. A man has less need of physical efficiency than a tiger has, and has, in fact never attained to such excellence, either before or since his emergence as the King of Life.

We have already remarked that the evolution of the hand or the wing from the foot is a change of function in a pre-existing organ. It is a first attempt in specialization of some one part of a body at first undifferentiated. A jelly fish is *all* stomach, and also all brain in as much as it has any brain. Many people would deny that it has but they would be wrong. It cannot be said that the creature is brainless that shrinks from what is harmful, and embraces what is beneficial. Most of a man's knowledge of what is beneficial to him or the reverse is quite as instinctive as that of the jelly fish. Large tracts, possibly most of our brains, are concerned with activities so instinctive as to be quite unconscious. We do not see, hear or feel by any conscious process.

On the other hand consider some of the phenomena of metabolism; for example, the control of breathing. An increase of the partial pressure of Carbon dioxide of 0.2 per cent. will cause an immediate doubling of the respiration. There is no evidence that the brain has anything to do with this action, but it is a far more intelligent act than most seeing, feeling and hearing. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely all pointing to the conclusion that the association of mind exclusively with the brain is a superstition of the same character as the association of emotions with the heart. The brain is not noticeably changing in size, but that is no evidence whatever that no intellectual development is taking place. The relation between mind and body is a complete mystery, and it is merely ridiculous to suppose that thought can be measured with callipers and a foot rule. A man's true religion is known not from what he professes, but from what he does, and the nature of his mind is known from his behaviour, and in no other way.

In these days the great majority of men are engaged in

peaceful pursuits. A hundred generations ago they were endeavouring (with few exceptions) either to kill or to avoid being killed. This is a change, and a growth, which we cannot help but conclude is an advance since it is a movement away from cruelty, pain, and death. It is good, it is an undeniable fact ; and arguments about the size of the skull are irrelevant.

What (if anything) has all this got to do with technical education? In India, it has everything to do with it, because it is there a deeply rooted idea dating from time immemorial that all Arts and Crafts are purely mechanical, and as such contemptible, and conversely that abstract thought is essentially spiritual and to be revered. It is, and always has been, a wrong, and dangerous idea. Rigid classification is a fallacy to which the Indian mind, in spite of its remarkable penetration in most directions, is particularly liable. Classification is, like number, a rough expedient. No physical quantity can be exactly expressed as a number, and no exact thinking can be based on a system of classification. No manifestation of man's personality can be either purely intellectual or purely physical. The two aspects must be considered jointly if any useful result is to be deduced. The two activities, physical and mental, must both be exercised if the man is to be healthy ; to have, as the old saying puts it, " A sound mind in a sound body."

We have seen that such an act as closing the eye against a grain of dust is the result of a subconscious act in the brain, is in fact a skilful act. The same is true of the movements of a trained fencer. Both are in the ultimate analysis mental. Now : the eyes can be protected and reinforced by spectacles, and the swordsman however skilful would be lucky if he escaped with his life from a quite unskilled opponent armed with a revolver or a bomb. These more effectual expedients are also due to a mental process, but they differ from the earlier ones in being conscious, and in that no long process of evolution is required to train the eye to use spectacles or the hand to use the revolver or the bomb. Again, consider the art of

firemaking. Most people know that the earlier method was by means of friction, the usual formula being "rubbing two sticks together." This is one of the careless things teachers and parents tell their innocent children and, naturally, the poor kids immediately try it. (We all have.) What can they conclude except that their parents and teachers are shameless liars? The thing is impossible!—to this generation. The production of fire in that way was an act of great skill, requiring long training. The fire-maker of a paleolithic tribe enjoyed as much reverence as the Pope now does. Flint and steel requires much less skill than the two sticks, the lucifer match less still, and the electric lighter none at all, even in a gale of wind.

It would be wearisome to detail other examples. All, if examined over a sufficiently long period, would show that a well-established and invariable feature of human industry is a progressive decline of skill accompanied by an emergence of continuous consciousness of what is popularly called "brain work." This has taken some time, and perhaps a little tedium to establish, but this article would be justified by that alone if it convinced *all concerned with it that Technical Education in these days tends to be more and more exclusively a training in the art of logical thought, and less and less a training in skill.*

It is of great importance in this period of rapid progress that teacher and organizer should always be considerate of the fact that most of the students' training will have to be applied not now, but during the next thirty or forty years. A guildsman of Europe or the member of a working caste in India in past times might safely devote all his youth to the acquirement of manual skill and a large stock of empirical formulæ, with confidence that they would last his time.

It was even not too late to train a boy in coach-building in 1828, on strictly skilful and empirical lines. He could be trained to recognize a correct shape without calculation of strength, and trained to make it as an art. But that method could not be applied to the motor car in 1928. New models,

and new engines come out every year. Few, if any of them, are made by skilled workers, and their shapes throughout, beautiful as some of them are, are the results of scientific calculation and only to a very minor degree due to aesthetic instinct.

It has been well said by a modern writer that we should "remember that we are mortal and seize our opportunity here and now of filling our lives with the things that are eternal." This is a maxim of very wide application and, transcendent as it may appear at first sight, it is in fact one of the basic principles from which have sprung the immense achievements of Applied Science. It is perhaps true that no theory, and no formula of science, is everlasting. But it is true that science proceeds on the basis of generalisations such as those of Galileo, Newton, and Carnot that last for centuries. These are the things that should constitute the back-bone of a modern technical education. It is right and proper that the principles should be constantly exercised on the engines, machines, and structures of the present moment; it is all wrong to make these the beginning and end of the instruction, or to force the lasting principles out of the student's mind by means of a plethora of evanescent details. He is being trained not for to-day, but for the years to come, when every one of these machines and structures will be out of date, but when it will still be true, as Carnot proved over a century ago, that no engine can be more efficient than a reversible engine; that impulse is equal to change of momentum, as Newton showed two centuries ago; and that heat is a form of energy. These great generalizations are for this generation and probably for a good many in the future "the things that are eternal" and therefore the things with which their education should be principally concerned. There was a time when mere manual skill was worth acquiring, and would provide a living for as long as its possessor lived but these days are no more. During the late War against Germany all the skill required to work modern machines producing work of an accuracy our forefathers never dreamed of

was acquired by the women of the warring nations in a few weeks. All merely skilful men were easily dispensed with. The ones who could *not* be spared were those with technical knowledge.

There are many people who resolutely close their minds to the inevitable replacement of skill by thought. The tendency is disliked, and its very existence either denied or deplored as a symptom of decadence. It is not realized as a displacement of one form of self-expression by another more efficient. It is often said for instance, that the machine-made article turned out in tens of thousands reduces all men to a dead level of monotony which is a great change for the worse from the days when men made their own clothes and utensils. But it is simply not true. The diversity of clothes, of vehicles, of every accessory of life, is far greater in the streets of Calcutta, where everything is machine made, than it is in any tract of the mofussil containing millions of inhabitants, who make everything for themselves with their hands.

What is a work of Art ? Is it not the translation into visible and tangible form of some dream of the artist ? It cannot be a work of Art if its form, be it a picture, a sculpture, a building, or a garment, is not the form the artist intended to produce. It is only by dint of long practice that a skilled draftsman can divide a line an inch long into 200 parts. But almost anyone (including the artist) can divide it with the aid of a machine, into five thousand parts. Any form of line or surface may be produced with similar accuracy. In the pre-machine days the artist could only partly materialize his dream. He was strictly limited by the imperfection of his own hand, which was continually doing by pure accident things he never intended it to do. It is a false and contemptible idea of art that there is beauty in these pathetic failures. No man can see the difference between an inch and an inch plus one thousandth of an inch, and therefore it is possible by machinery to place a line *exactly* where the artist desires to place it. There

is no necessity for approximation. Moreover these exact reproductions of the artist's (craftsman's) conception can be produced not only singly, but in thousands, to the immense enrichment of mankind in general. There are those who object to that, who think it desirable and right that they should be unique possessors of whatever they do possess. Of that desire it is only necessary to say that it is evil, anti-social, and undeserving of sympathy.

There was a time when books were reproduced by copying them out in handwriting. They were of course very costly. It was quite possible for one person to be the proud possessor of an unique copy. Examples were not wanting of such people refusing to allow a copy to be made. No doubt they were the ancestors of those men of to-day who so strongly dislike the idea of everyone having what they have. No honourable compromise can be made with tendencies of this character. They must be resolutely opposed wherever they appear, no matter how plausibly they may be disguised. Culture to the full extent of his innate capacity is the right of every man. Any endeavour to make it the monopoly of a class or of an individual is opposed to the natural direction of the development of mankind. Such endeavour must always fail in the ordinary course of events. Every healthy-minded man must wish it to fail. If and when it becomes possible for one class, or for one individual to rise more than a very little above or fall more than a very little below the level of his fellow men, the death of humanity as a whole will be at hand. The difference between one man and another may have immense effects on their personal destinies but it never is, never can be, and ought not to be, in itself more than a tiny difference. Those communities in which such differences are smallest are the most healthy. It is right and proper for a man to take pride in his difference from other animals. It is silly and wicked to take pride in any difference from other men. It is such a very minute difference if it exists at all.

A pound of coal which costs one-fourteenth of an anna can be applied to do the mechanical work of 6 men for one hour. These six men could not be maintained alive for less than three annas for every hour they work. The measure of man's effectiveness in mere brute labour when he uses modern machinery as compared to his effectiveness when he works mechanically with his hands is therefore as three is to one-fourteenth, or as forty-two is to one. This final consideration clinches the argument against the view, upheld by many people in India, that discussions on technical education are unnecessary because the extension of the use of machinery is undesirable.

It is very desirable, and might under certain circumstances be right, that large numbers of the people of a nation should devote themselves to purely spiritual contemplation "the world forgetting by the world forgot." But it could not be right if it meant that their hungry brethren should go still more hungry in order to support them, or that the already overburdened should be still more cruelly laden.

What and where are the people of India? They are not, I think, those few that inhabit her great cities. They are those who go forth to their labours, men, women and children from a million villages while the stars are still bright in the sky to return only when they are bright again. And what is their reward for this endless, monotonous, unintelligent labour? A home like a pig-sty, a poor cloth to cover their nakedness, and no more than enough food to keep them alive. How can any culture however refined be honourably supported on the backs of such as these?

Every now and then there is born in these villages a divine child ; one who, if he ever came to know the world into which he is born, could be a lamp to light the world for generations. But he never emerges. The far horizons of space and time are not for him. He perishes like the rest. He has his dreams for a few years no doubt, and is happy in them. The loss is more ours, than his.

They say that India is an overcrowded land ; poverty-stricken because its area is not sufficient to support the multitudes that inhabit it. It is very strange. The Census of 1921 showed that the population of India is 177 per square mile, rather less than a third as dense as the population of England and other European countries. I do not think that India is less rich in natural resources than England or the United States. On the contrary, it is probably richer than either. The number of people that can be supported on a given area depends on the use they make of it. A vegetarian population can be much denser than a meat-eating one of course. It is a very wasteful way of using the products of the earth to consume them at secondhand. The animal preyed on is a very small proportion of the food that was required to bring it to maturity.

The misery of India's " teeming millions " has nothing to do with their number. Ample material for a scale of living quite as luxurious as obtains in the West is lying at their feet. Provided they eat what they grow, directly, instead of feeding it to animals; a thousand people can be amply fed, clothed and housed from a square mile of average land. Of course the land must be fertilized and cultivated by modern methods, which require the co-operation of the engineer and the chemist. Given that, it can be done, and is being done over considerable tracts of the world. The principal barriers to a similar achievement throughout India are conservatism and lack of education. She has a great initial advantage in the fact that the majority of her inhabitants are already vegetarian. A vegetarian diet gets a maximum of nourishment out of the soil, is healthier, and supports laborious days far better than meat does. It was on a vegetarian diet that the Roman people conquered the world, and on a meat diet that they lost it. A meat diet is proper for an animal whose life is a long lethargy punctuated by brief intervals of fierce and murderous violence. It is the worst possible for hard and continuous labour either physical or mental (there is no distinction between these as regards the food that sustains them).

As the arguments of this chapter are dispersed over a wide field, in which their logical sequence may not have been very obvious we will conclude with a brief summary of the principal conclusions. In the first few pages it was shown :—

(1) *That the maturing of an educational effort is slower, and human evolution faster, than most people suppose them to be.*

(2) *That, therefore, the educational plan should take account of the fact that it will be effective in a changed world.*

(3) *That it is possible to foretell in some degree the nature of the future from a study of the past.*

(4) *That as regards technology the main tendency is to less skill and empiricism, and towards more brain work, and more application of scientific method.*

Social results were then considered for the benefit of those who shrink from mechanisation as materialistic in tendency, and it was shown :—

(a) *That no curtailment of spiritual activity, and no mechanisation of the mind of man is involved but that the tendency is in the opposite direction.*

(b) *That the extended use of power-driven machinery means (in accordance with the desire of its users) either more leisure for general culture, or more wealth, or both.*

Finally it was suggested :—

(1) *That there is nothing in the Indian land or the Indian social system to prevent mechanisation except conservatism and lack of the right kind of education.*

(2) *That the possibilities were on the contrary greater than in typical European countries already mechanized to the fullest extent.*

BRAHMANISM AND SCIENCE

It may not be wholly unprofitable to examine the present conflict between Science and Christianity in the light of Brahmanism. The rule of faith and conduct of Brahmanism is contained in the ten Upanishads, traditionally known as the Mahā or great Upanishads, namely, Isa, Kena, Katha, Mundaka, Mandukya, Aitareya, Taittiriya, Chhandogya and Brihadāranyaka as also in the Brahma Sutras and the Bhagavad Gita. These three sets of Scriptures are similarly known as the "Prasthanatrayam" or the "three-fold path." It is noteworthy that the ten Upanishads, between them, represent the four Vedas, Isa being merely a selection of mantras or stanzas of the Yajurveda. The Brahma Sutras are a collection of aphorisms or sutras, classifying Upanishadic doctrines for convenience of the student. The Bhagavad Gita, which is widely translated, is an exposition of the same doctrines in a more popular form and language. All other scriptures, recognised in Brahmanism, are for edification and not authoritative, except in so far as they echo the teachings of the "three-fold path." In case of the slightest disagreement they are to be put aside, as wholly devoid of authority.

Savara Swami, the exegetist of Vedic Ritualism, technically called Purva Mimamsa, gives a very clear exposition of the rational basis of Scriptural teaching which is obviously super-rational. His exposition is founded on technical logic and psychology, not easy for general grasp in the present day. An attempt to modernise his thought may not be inexcusable. The normal sources of right knowledge are sense-perception and the logical faculty. The sphere of sense-perception is confined to sound, touch, visible form, taste and smell responding to ear, skin, eye, tongue and nose. The work of the logical faculty is either deductive or inductive. Induction leads only to probability

and not to certainty which, along this line, can only be attained by omniscience, unclaimed by all users of the inductive method of acquiring knowledge. In deductive logic the major premise must be more extensive than the conclusion. Obviously, therefore, the all-comprehending cannot be the conclusion of any process of deductive reasoning. And yet the Scriptures declare that the ultimate Reality—the Being *per se* is none of the objects of the senses or their aggregate. Nor can that Reality or Being be spoken by speech or minded by the mind. So the Scriptures teach. Whence these teachings? Their source is designated Revelation in English, in which the substance of Scriptural teaching indicated can be stated thus :

God can be apprehended and nót comprehended. That God is can be conceived but what and how He is is inconceivable. This truth is received by faith and not by knowledge with the full assent of reason which points out that if the words, giving birth to faith, did not indicate truth their very existence is inexplicable. Exegetists teach that the Scriptural teachings are correctly understood only when they are seen to point to something, untouched by sense and the logical faculty. “*Apurvata*,” that is, dissociation from sense and reason is the essential characteristic of the truth, declared by the Scriptures. All scriptural statements whose meaning lies within the sphere of sense-perception or of the logical faculty, must be taken as “*Arthavāda*” or figurative and not literal or *Yathārthavāda*. There are other tests of true spiritual interpretation, though not of great use in the present connection. They have to be stated only for the sake of completeness. Harmonious relation between the beginning and the end (“*Upakrama*,” “*Upasāhāra*”) repetition in different forms (“*Abhyāsa*”) and usefulness (“*Falasruti*”).

In these observations relating to Brahmanic faith an attempt has been made to avoid all theological technicalities, not necessary as a disclaimer of originality of the present effort,

They are intended to serve as preparatory to the consideration of the present-day conflict between Science and Religion. The apparently rational basis of the conflict will disappear on consideration of the respective spheres of Science and Religion—Science lies within the sphere of sense and logic while Religion is admittedly super-sensuous and super-rational as distinguished from irrational. Reason, though not the generator of Religion, cannot be discordant with it. The relation with sense is similar. Religion is hospitable to sense which, however, cannot touch Religion.

To descend to particulars. The main conflict is between narratives of creation, contained in some writings, regarded as holy, and the scientific doctrine of organic evolution.

In the most authoritative scriptures of Brahmanism different descriptions are given of creation. For instance compare Chāndogyopanishad (III, 19) and Aitareyopanishad (IV). Sankara in his commentary on the text, last referred to, clearly states :—

“नहि सृष्ट्या व्यायादिपरिज्ञानात् फलं किं दिश्यते ।”

(No benefit can, in truth, be expected from knowledge of narratives of creation and others of that kind.)

The only object of such narratives seems to be to teach the value of super-temporal peace against unresting change and the contingent character of all our existence.

Some Brahmanic scriptures give the foetal history of the human individual which is practically identical with what Haeckel calls the doctrine of recapitulation. One wonders how Science will explain the existence of types. Specks of waggling matter, called protoplasm, which Science cannot distinguish from one another, develop very differently—one into a vegetable, another into an animal and the third into a human being. Imagine the absence of pre-existing individuals of these types and then search for explanation of the difference in typical development, estimating the chances of success in the search.

Then comes the question of speech, the vehicle of Revelation. At the outset one is met with the distinction between sound (in Sanskrit *Dhvani*) and word (in Sanskrit *Sabda*). The sound of a loud explosion startles, frightens and may result in the hearer's running away. But it generates no idea for intellectual apprehension, capable of being connected with other ideas and communicated to others. While a word, for instance, "love" or "fear," gives rise in the mind to a definite and abiding impulse, operative in action, feeling and thought, long after it is for the first time heard and it capable of communication to others independently of gesture. The most noticeable peculiarity of word is its pervasiveness in regard to the whole of conscious life and freedom from the restraint of individual life and its conditions. In short, word generates mental modification, dissociated from the body and its functions and is pervasive, permanent and communicable.

In an authoritative Sanskrit treatise on the subject, though not of the highest spiritual value, the genesis of Word is traced through four stages. A ray of thought impinges on the individual consciousness from a source to that consciousness unknown. This immediately generates the impulse to find for it an expression in word which, when found, excites the effort for its utterance with which the cycle is completed. The thought impulse, undefined, is known as "para," the supreme, in the next stage it is named "pasyanti" or watching (literally, the seeing one). In the stage immediately following it is "madhyamā" or the middle one, when the word, though unuttered, is known to the would-be utterer and when uttered it is "vaikhari" or the sharp one.

In the universal aspect word is known as the Word-God (*Sabda Brahma*). Lakshmanacharya of Kanauj in his "Sarada tilak" sums up the Tantric teaching on the subject.

The first, in thought, but not in time, is *Nāda* (literally, sound) but in this connection unconditioned consciousness—**नादा-
मानदति स्वयम्** (literally, the sound spirit sounds of itself). Thence

is determination or the determining point, Vindu. From Vindu are the three powers, namely, cognition, impulsion and inhibition. Consciousness or sentience, thus viewed, is Sabda Brahma or Word-God. He says: "It is my conviction that Sabda Brahma is the consciousness of all individuals—चैतन्यं सर्वभूतानां शब्दब्रह्म इति मे मतिः."

The enquirer may be usefully referred to the opening chapter of the Gospel of St. John.

The above summary may be guilty of prolixity. But some reference to the subject seems necessary for an examination of the relation of speech to organic evolution.

The subject for consideration is the absence in the animal world of word, as distinct from sound. In brief, words have a meaning independent of the sound, as is evidenced by the existence of synonyms in the same language, apart from figurative expressions. In the animal world are found bark, grunt, twitter, chirp and other forms of acoustic expressions. They are useful in maintaining individual and associated life. Impulses of fear and other preservative and associative instincts are expressible by the animal call. The sphere of word is far more comprehensive. Word can express the ideas of cause and effect, substance and form, certainty, contingency and so forth. A shout may be helpful in avoiding danger to life and limb but can it, independently of word, express the emotion of fear, apart from its bodily effect? This peculiarity of word is called "sphota" by the school of Panini. Take, for example, the word "go" (गो) meaning cow. On its utterance images of cows, different in colour and form, present themselves to different hearers. *Sphota* is the potency of a word to evoke in individuals thought-images of different forms but all belonging to the same class. Sankar accepts the existence of "sphota" but rejects its eternal character as maintained by the Panini school.¹

¹ Sankara's commentary on the "Brahma Sutra." Thibaut's translation (S. B. E., Vol. I, pp. 204-209).

Thus viewed, word appears to be *sui generis*. Will it be unpardonable to invite the attention of Science to the peculiar characteristic of word? In conclusion Religion may well say to Science—"Now let us shake hands and part, each to his business."

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

THE NEW CONTENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY, DEMOCRACY AND NATIONHOOD

II.

1918-20. **Pethick Lawrence:** *A Levy on Capital*. He believes that the hardship inflicted on the very rich by a severe levy on capital at the end of the war will be a less evil to the country as a whole than any other measure that might be adopted to meet the situation. "Rich men have increased their wealth during the war without special exertion and as a result of the necessities of the nation; they can hardly complain if they are called upon to give the whole or part of this increase." The levy is to be extracted *once and for all* for the "specific purpose of expunging or reducing the National Debt (£m. 6,000). The rate will be "graduated" on all the wealth in the hands of individuals but "fixed" on *part of the wealth* in the hands of clubs and institutions. The "general capital levy" thus raised can not only sweep away the entire national debt but render unnecessary the corporation tax, profits taxes and taxes on food as well as remove the floating debt and reduce normal income tax from 6s. to 4s. and the other rates of income tax and supertax to two-thirds of their present level. Cf. **Snowden**, *Labour and National Finance* (1920). Proposals of capital levy have been made in Germany in 1919 as well as by the Giolitti Ministry in Italy. Snowden does not want the capital levy to be a permanent feature in the public finance. It is not, to be periodical. "The possibility of a periodic levy on capital would discourage saving, it would keep the commercial world in a continual state of uncertainty and it would arrest trade enterprise." The words "capital levy" convey to the popular mind the idea that it is proposed to tax only capital invested in industry. The scheme would be "more accurately described as a tax upon accumulated wealth in all its forms, *e.g.*, land, minerals, houses, Government and municipal bonds, shares, mortgages, stock-in-trade, furniture, pictures, jewellery, etc.

SECTION 2.

Some Post-War Political Philosophies (1919-1927).

1918-22. New constitutions are established in Soviet Russia, the German Republic (1919), the Tchechoslovakian Republic (1920), the Austrian Republic (1920), the Polish Republic (1921), the Jugoslavian Kingdom (1921), and the Irish Free State (1922).

1919. Elections to Italian Parliament: 150 "communists" (Leninists) and 100 "popolari" (democratic, Catholic, popular party) are returned. There is a genuinely democratic parliament for the first time in Italy. Russian influence is preponderant. The **Nitti** Ministry fails in one year and is succeeded by the **Giolitti** Ministry which attempts legislating against the war-profiteers—"a sort of sugared Bolshevism." Workingmen on strike take possession of factories (1920).

1919-27. **Zaghlul Pasha** (1861-1927): *Autobiography* and *Letters* (in Arabic manuscript, in part summarized in German by an Egyptian friend Dr. Sabit). He begins to take interest in politics in 1911 with the commencement of the Kitchener regime, establishes the National Party in 1918 and is interned by the British in Malta while proceeding to Paris to take part in and otherwise influence the Peace deliberations (1919).

According to him no political party should consider the interests of the party superior to those of the country. Every party should always attempt to unite all the political groups. Party fanaticism is to be thoroughly condemned. The best statesmen are those that keep close to the joys and sorrows of their people and avoid mysterious and secret cabinet politics.

He attaches no importance to the "political education of the youth" of which so much is talked of everywhere to-day. The greatest statesmen have had hardly any political schooling in their younger days. The politician is different from the poet. The latter has to give expression to emotions, and needs the

faculty of speech, but the politician has to express himself through deeds and needs character.

Zaghlul imparts a "nationalistic" bent to Egyptian politics and earns the opposition and hatred of the religious coteries that are the staunch upholders of extra-national tendencies in Islam. Against the attacks of the religionists, from the Pan-Islamist camp he defends his nationalism on the ground of requirements suited to the modern age. In regard to the universalistic, international tradition of Islam his nationalistic attitude is clearly embodied in the following slogan: "March separate but strike united." It is not possible to achieve anything to-day as in the Middle Ages through fanaticism and religious wars, says he. The construction of strong states is the first desideratum of modern times.

Japan, according to him, should be the object of imitation to all Asian races on the question of relations with Western civilization. Zaghlul spurns the idea of boycotting or standing aloof from European culture and advises all Oriental nations to assimilate as much as possible the advantages afforded by it. In his judgment the countries and peoples of Asia have derived more benefit than loss, both economic and political, from the influence of Europe. He believes also that the economic and financial development of Egypt through English co-operation since Lord Cromer's time is remarkable.

Zaghlul's nationalism is positively against pan-Islam, as indicated above. But it is quite pan-Asian. The presenting of a united front by all the Asian peoples, when it should come to be a reality, would mean not an aggressive war upon Europe, says he, but only an act of self-defence against all imperialistic attacks.

One reason why the Asian is behind the culture of the West lies in his unreasonable repression of women. Zaghlul endorses with sympathy Kemal Pasha's efforts to emancipate the Turkish woman and would like to see the same attempted among the other Moslem nations.

Zaghlul knows that politics is only the art of what is possible. He is a *Realpolitiker* even in his orientations to the British Government. In other words, he is not an "extremist."¹

1919. J. A. **Hobson** (1858-) : *Taxation in the New State*. He thinks that though modern state finance has been moving empirically towards a recognition of the fundamental truth that only surplus income, i.e., economically unnecessary payment to owners of some factor of production, possesses a true ability to bear, economists and statesmen alike still cling to the looser and defective statement of this principle conveyed in the first of Adam Smith's four maxims of taxation. In his judgment, all economic rents of land, whether scarcity or differential rents, all interest, profits and other payments for the use of capital, brains or labour, which are due to superior economic opportunities and are not necessary incentives to secure such use, will rank as surplus, and accordingly have a full ability to bear taxation. He would make the state the "residual owner of all income which exceeds the requirements of maintenance and normal growth." It need be observed that Hobson endorses the capital levy.

1919. *Fasci italiani di combattimento* (Italian Fasci of Soldiers), established at Milan, amalgamates all the different groups of *fasci* in Italy. The extremists are known as *futuristi* and *arditi*. The programme is determined by **Mussolini** in consultation with **Marinetti**, **Bianchi**, **Rocca** and others as follows: (1) Political: proportional representation, woman suffrage, lowering of age-limit of deputies from thirty-three to twenty-five, abolition of Senate, a three-year National Assembly to draw up a new constitution for Italy, national council for

¹ Dr. Essad Sabit's article on "Zaghlul Paschas Memoiren" in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Berlin, January, 1928. Zaghlul is known to have been an inspirer of Sarwat Pasha's negotiations with Sir Austen Chamberlain in regard to an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. In March, 1928, the provisions of the proposed treaty are found to be too moderate for Young Egypt since Great Britain is not prepared to renounce the control over Egypt's foreign relations, communications with the world as well as intercourse with the Sudan.

labour, industry, transport, etc. (2) Social: eight-hour day for working men and peasants, participation of workers' representatives in the technical and organisational management of factories, administration of railways by railway men's union. (3) Military: formation of a national militia, nationalization of munition and equipment factories. (4) Financial: heavy supertax upon capital, sequestrations of a percentage of the wealth of religious bodies, appropriation of 85 per cent. of war profits. Fascism "in power and office" (since 1922) has, however, almost completely repudiated the whole of this radical programme.

1919-21. Indian National Congress: Sessions at Amritsar, Calcutta and Ahmedabad. Presidents: **Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, Chitta Ranjan Das** (in gaol, replaced by **Ajmal Khan**). The ideology is embodied in the following items: (1) protest against the Government of India Act, 1919 (Montagu-Chelmsford Act), (2) preparedness for individual and mass "civil disobedience," (3) non-co-operation with the existing Government, implying (i) the giving up of official titles, (ii) the boycott of official Durbars, (iii) the boycott of Government schools and colleges, and (iv) renunciation of candidature and voting for councils as constituted by the Act, (4) revival of hand-spinning,—*charkha*—to combat imports of British cloth.

India protests against the Treaty of Sevres in behalf of Turkey and starts a vigorous Khilafat agitation, thus taking an active part, for the first time perhaps in modern history, in international diplomacy. Altogether, the activities, inspired as they are by both internal and external stimuli, assume the character of a more or less "mass" movement in which the popular elements in both Hindu and Moslem communities function as self-conscious and politically minded items. The Indian nationalism of these days is no longer an aspiration of the mere middle-class and English-educated circles but is to some extent, and this also for the first time since 1905, a genuinely popular (peasant and workingmen) ideology. This

mass upheaval in India is in no inconsiderable degree to be interpreted as an after-math of the feelings and ambitions awakened by the Great War and by the Russian Revolutions throughout the world and has its Eur-American counterparts in the ultra-radical, socialistic and labour achievements of the period.

This is the epoch of Mohandas Karamchand **Gandhi**, who, in spite of external and circumstantial differences, plays the role of a half-Lenin and a half-Mussolini in the utilization, to a certain extent, unconscious although, of the mass-forces. In his social philosophy, his ostensible anti-Westernism notwithstanding, Gandhi is, besides, a disciple of Ruskin as regards condemnation of industrialism and an almost literal paraphraser of Tolstoy as regards denunciation of the state and advocacy of non-violence. Stripped of all metaphysics, his non-cooperation = away from the state = anarchism (cf. Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tolstoy). One remembers likewise the anti-statal, Spencerian indifferentism of **Tagore's** *Swadeshi Samaj* (1904).

It need be observed, however, that Lenin, the *avatar* of proletarianism, is the exact antipodes of Mussolini, the destroyer of Bolshevism and embodiment of aggressive neo-nationalism. Likewise is Ruskin, the 'anti-democratist' and upholder of the authoritarian state as well as champion of social control, paternal interference and "state-socialism" (?), the farthest removed from Tolstoy and the other democrats, individualists and anarchists. But the eclectic alchemy of Gandhi's political philosophy has evolved an amalgam out of heterogeneous world-forces, not excluding the traditional *ahimsa* (non-killing) of his ancestral Jainism. And paradoxically enough, his idealism of love and soul-force finds the most realistic expression in his unmythical and perfectly positive cult of enmity to the textile industry of Lancashire.

1919-22. **D'Annunzio** captures Fiume. The *Fasci di combattimento* (association of soldiers) begins to get support from the "war-profiteers" and other sections of the financial

aristocracy in order to work against (i) the rising tide of socialism (Leninism) and (ii) the Giolittian legislation of semi-expropriation. Propertied classes destroy the socialist organisations in Southern Italy (1920). An epoch of Fascism *vs.* Socialism (1921) and growing Fascist opposition to Parliament, universal suffrage and democracy begins. **Mussolini** marches on Rome (October 1922).

1920. **Webb**. *Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*. The commonwealth would levy "revenue on the citizens in proportion to their relative ability to pay. It would offer compensation for the industries expropriated. In regard to the burden of compensation the idea is that the taxes are to fall almost entirely on the property-owners as a class. The same principles are advocated by **Kautsky** in *Labour Revolution*.

1921-22. The "New Economic Policy" re-establishes capitalism and private property in Soviet Russia. At this stage **Lenin** declares that "capitalism is an evil in comparison with socialism but capitalism is a blessing in comparison with medievalism, with small industry, with fettered small producers thrown to the mercy of bureaucracy." He would not prevent the development of capitalism but "direct it in the path of state capitalism."

The N.E.P. comprises, among other things, the abolition of "nationalization," the replacement of confiscation by a regular system of taxation, the grant of concessions to private businessmen and organization of trusts.

1921. **Bryce** (1838-1922), *Modern Democracies*, presents a conservative and cautious estimate of the achievements of the republics.

1921. **Laski** (1893-): *Foundations of Sovereignty. Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* (1917), *Authority in the Modern State* (1917), *Grammar of Politics* (1925). Justice is more important than government,—hence anarchy preferable to injustice. Justice is a question of "inherent" natural rights of the

“ individual.” Some of the “ natural rights ” of to-day are freedom of speech, living wage, proper amount of leisure, power to combine for social effort, and economic minimum for all. Decentralization of authority or diffusion of freedom among individuals or groups is one of his slogans. Administration is to be subject to law. Sovereignty of the state is negatived. He makes extensive use of French thought bearing on the sovereignty of law (*cf.* translation of Duguit's *Les Transformations du droit public* as *Law in the Modern State*, 1917) and popularizes DeMaistre, Bonald, Lamennais, etc.

1921. **Spann:** *Der wahre Staat* (The Real State), *Gesellschaftslehre* (Theory of Society). He condemns Darwinism because of its absence of metaphysics, and materialism because of its antipathy to “ moral worth.” The three types of individualism, namely anarchism (*e. g.*, Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, 1844, The only one and his property), Machiavellism and Natural Right, are theoretically untenable in his judgment. The prevailing types of universalism *e. g.*, (1) the environmentalism of Buckle, Taine, Gumplowicz and Karl Marx, (2) the “ social instincts or impulses ” theory of the psychologists who begin with Aristotle's definition of man as a “ political animal, ” and (3) the “ ideal ” philosophy of Plato, the Scholastics, Hegel and the Romanticists, are likewise inadequate to explain the value of the individual, says he.

“ Kinetic ” universalism is established by him as a theory that does justice as much to the independence of the individual as to the vitality and genuineness of the whole. He believes that the spirit of an individual realizes itself and begins to function only when it is enkindled and excited by another spirit. A pure, *i. e.*, exclusive individualism, is psychologically inconceivable. No spirit without the contact of other spirits, *i. e.*, a “ two-ness ” (*Gezweiung*) or community. The child and the mother create each other's individuality so also do the pupil and the teacher. He analyzes the categories of justice, liberty, equality, fraternity, functions of the state, and law from the

standpoint of his kinetic universalism and advocates the *Kultur-staat* as opposed to the minimum-functioned police-state of individualists but objects to the all-interfering, "to-death-governing" state of Plato. Free play is allowed to "revolution" in order that the society-forming processes in individuals may be reorganised, reformed and re-knit.

He complains that the leading German economists, *e. g.*, **Sombart**, **Buecher**, **Brentano**, **Philippovich**, **Schaeffle**, **Wagner** and others have failed to expose the theoretical fallacies of **Karl Marx** and have virtually surrendered themselves to him, and although to a certain extent critics of Marxism are spiritually half-Marxists or Marxists in disguise. A front-attack is attempted by Spann on the Marxian theories in economics, sociology and politics.

His own political philosophy is based on two postulates: (1) equality among the equals, (2) the spiritually (mentally and culturally) higher to discipline and rule the spiritually lower. Internal equality is the characteristic of all communities. This leads automatically to the formation of "small groups" or associations. In opposition to individualism which encourages "atomistic equality" as well as "direct and centralized" state-organisation, the philosophy of kinetic universalism believes in the dictum "to each one his own."

Characteristics of this system of politics: (1) Organic inequality although equal importance of the parts, (2) hierarchical differentiation in values, *i. e.*, inequality of the different parts according to their worth, (3) the members of the state are not individuals but "communities" in and through which the individuals have their existence. These communities function as wholes, although partial wholes, in a larger whole. Hence the constitution (a) is not to promote centralisation but must respect the independence of these partial wholes, (b) is to help forward "indirect" instead of direct participation, and (c) is to further the organic interdependence of the partial wholes and discourage their atomistic separatisms. Instead

of one people the theory recognises "many communities," "groups," societies, circles or classes (*Staende*). Hence instead of "one government" there are to be "many partial governments" or group-administrations.

He analyses these "partial wholes," "communities," "groups," or "classes" psychologically as well as anthropologico-historically with reference even to ancient Iran and India, criticises Plato's class-state or group-state as defective because it makes no distinction in economic class between the leader and the others and because it gives the philosophers the right to lead in political matters. Spann's decentralized *Staende-staat*, community-state or group-state will render a complex bureaucracy unnecessary. The primitive peoples did not possess an alleged "communism" as taught by **Laveley, Buecher, Morgan, Engels-Marx, Kautsky, Bebel**, etc., but possessed group-hierarchical community-states. In the place of the old "communities" new communities have arisen in the epoch of capitalism. These are (1) cartels and monopoly-organisations among employers, (2) trade unions among workingmen. He discusses the future potentialities in the organisation of groups or communities from the standpoints of the existing classes including the latest *Arbeiter-rat*, i. e., "works-council." According to Spann this institution, although "Sovietic" in external form, can in reality be to a certain extent traced back to **Bismarck** who wanted to get some substitute for "boring parliamentarianism."

The *Staende-staat* (class-state, community-state, or group-state) will give so much of the economic and administrative functions to the groups that the central state itself will be left in charge mainly of the "idealistic" functions (higher politics and culture), e. g., religion, education (not technical, however, which belongs to the group, but general), law (not economic legislation however), army, etc. Political parties of contemporary types will cease to exist. This community-state possesses only an external affinity with the gild-socialist

state but is essentially different from it. He considers gild-socialism to be defective because it tends to create equality among the unequals by establishing national productive societies, abolishing the distinctions between proprietors and property-less and allowing every individual the right to consume out of the public wealth. Gild-socialist state is in the last analysis very centralized and therefore as utopian as communism. In his judgment the tendency of political reconstruction in recent times has been in the direction of establishing the groups or communities as political factors; *e.g.*, the *Reichswirtschaftsrat* (Imperial Economic Council) of Germany is an anticipation of an Economic Parliament, a House of *Staende*, *i.e.*, groups, communities or classes.

1923. **Pound** (1870—), American : *Interpretations of Legal History, Introduction to the Philosophy of Law* (1922), *The Spirit of the Common Law* (1921). He develops **Jhering's** theory of the satisfaction of human interests, claims or demands as the chief item in law. Compromise between the group interests is an objective reality. Social engineering as achieved in legal history is not all "conscious," law-making but includes tradition and custom as well. He lays stress on "social purposes" rather than on "sanctions."

1923. **Ferrero**. *Tragedia della Pace* (Tragedy of Peace), *Da Fiume a Roma* (From Fiume to Rome), 1919-23. For a century the peoples of Europe have recognised only two principles of authority, the dynastic and the democratic principles. They do not yet recognize as a principle of authority the dictatorship of any organized minority, either of the proletariat, or the trade unions or the saviours of the country. Now that the world-war has virtually destroyed the dynastic principle there remains only one principle, the democratic. Everything outside is sheer force or terrorism, Red or White. Fascist Government is "illegitimate." The constitution was violated : an act of revolution. But it was not overthrown; the revolution was thus not complete. The constitution remained but tolerated a

reduplication of the principal organs of the state; parliament and Fascist Grand Council, army and Fascist National Militia, prefects and Fascist delegates. A parliamentary democracy with a small private army in its midst, at the disposition of one party is an absurdity which cannot have a long life. Liberty, understood as the right of opposition, is a vital organ of the modern state. 'There are too many people in the world, there is too much diversity and confusion of passions, ideas and interests. Every country will be split up into at least three or four great parties, some even more. The two-party system is no longer a possibility. The Mussolini regime is a system of personal government reproducing that of Giolitti and his predecessors.

1923-27. Post-war currency-reform, consisting in "deflation" and in the march "back to gold" begins with Soviet Russia (1922-23), is then consummated in Germany (1923-24) and finally reaches Great Britain (1926) and Italy (1927).¹

1924. Deposition of the Caliph and abolition of the Caliphate by the National Assembly of Angora. The humiliating Treaty of Sevres (1920) is set at naught by **Kemal Pasha's** triumph over Greece and the Treaty of Lausanne (1922). Abolition of the Sultanate is consummated (1922). The New Turk becomes democratic and secular.

1924. **Mussolini** speaking at Costanzi Theatre (Rome) before 4,000 Fascist mayors says in part: "The postulates of democracy were good enough for the nineteenth century. They must now be replaced by the principles of the *national state*. I am antidemocratic because the evils which have befallen Italy and which would have brought the country to the verge of ruin are to be ascribed to democracy and democratic scepticism."

1924. **Mellon**, Secretary to the Treasury (American): *Taxation—The People's Business*.

He takes his stand against the surtaxes, the inheritance from the Great War. During that time normal tax rates were

¹ For the theories and experiments, see the chapters on currency in Sarkar's *Economic Development* (1926).

increased, and a system of surtaxes was evolved in order to make the man of large income pay more proportionately than the small taxpayers. He wants people to understand that high rates of taxation do not necessarily mean large revenue to the government and that more revenue may often be obtained by lower rates.

Most of the European countries, except Great Britain, attempted to finance the war largely on borrowing. America, on the other hand, attempted to raise one-third of the current war expenses by taxation. New taxes such as income and excess profits taxes were developed. But there is a limit to the amount of taxes that can be levied without absorbing the profits which should be put back into business for increased production. Altogether his argument is directed against the "levy on wealth" (cf. the "capital levy" policy of British Labour). Taxation, says he, is "not a means of confiscating wealth but of raising necessary revenues for the Government." "Our civilization, after all, is based on accumulated capital." "Any policy that deliberately destroys that accumulated capital *under the spur of no necessity* is striking directly at the soundness of our financial structure."

Just as labour cannot be forced to work against its will so it can be taken for granted that capital will not work unless the return is worth while. It will continue to retire into the shelter of tax-exempt bonds, which offer both security and immunity from the tax collectors.

The Treasury has accordingly recommended that a maximum surtax of 25% plus 6% normal tax be imposed in lieu of the 50% tax now levied on the largest incomes. Such a reduction is necessary in order to attract the large fortunes back into productive enterprise.

1924-27. On April 12, 1924, **Sun Yat-sen** enunciates at a conference his three principles for the reconstruction of the "national government" (Southern China with capital at Canton). In the first place, the government is to attempt everything in the line of ministering to the "livelihood of the

people," for example, by developing agriculture and textile industry, constructing houses, and building up the means of communication. In the second place, the "authority of the people" is to be promoted by the government. In other words, the government is to take upon itself the task of educating the people in the exercise of suffrage, recall and referendum. And thirdly, the government is to assist the people in the efforts at achieving "autonomy," oppose all external aggressions and render itself independent of foreign control.

Sun Yat-sen believes that these principles can be realized in three successive periods or stages. The first stage is to be characterised by the "rule of force" as embodied in a military government. The "education of the masses" is to be the feature of the second period while a "real constitutional government" can be established during the third. It is in the first period that China finds herself to-day, in his judgment.

The *Kuo Mingtang* (nationalist, democratic party), accepts the three principles in which is to be read the latest "nationalistic" philosophy of Young China. Sun Yat-sen, however, seems to die (1925) as a confirmed labourite and communist, for in order to realize his nationalism he formulates a three-fold policy. And this is embodied in (1) co-operation with Soviet Russia, (2) assimilation of Chinese communists as an integral limb of the nationalist party, and (3) promotion of the working class and peasant movements.

His mantle falls on **Chang Kaishek**, who for a time combines bolshevism with nationalism and is well supported by Russia. But by the end of 1927, Chang develops a thoroughly anti-bolshevik policy and attempts purging the *Kuo Mingtang* party and Southern China of all communistic and pro-Russian elements. He is in fact alleged to be responsible for the "white terror" which has involved the execution of 5,000 to 28,000 communists.

There are, then, three leading currents in Chinese politics to-day (end of 1927). First, there is the thoroughly anti-bolshevik and perhaps "anti-democratic" nationalism of the

northerner **Chang Tsolin**, head of the government at Peking. This current is condemned as militaristic and unconstitutional by Sun Yat-sen's party. The second current is that represented by the moderate Southerner Chang Kaishek, who is perhaps democratic and constitutional as far as Sun Yat-sen might have wished to go, but who is not idealistic enough to carry on the latter's labour-philosophy, communism or pro-Russian sympathies. He is an ally and promoter of "capitalistic" interests, both Chinese and foreign, and is therefore condemned as a "traitor" and "betrayor" of Young China's cause by the radicals or extremists. These latter represent the third force and consider themselves to be the inheritors of Sun Yat-sen's last political testament and will, namely, democratic *plus* communistic nationalism. It may be noted that the widow of Sun Yat-sen is an extremist and an exile in Russia, while the son a "moderate" or "realist" belonging, as he does, to the Chang Kaishek group.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA.

During the Great War, the district of Shantung is won from Germany by Japan (1915). But Japan is compelled by the Washington Conference (1922) to part with it and restore it to China.

In the meantime civil war breaks out in China as several times before since the republican revolution of 1911-12. By 1920 in the struggle against Tuan Si-huam's dictatorship, China becomes the battle-ground of four parties in four more or less well-marked regional jurisdictions. The whole of South China belongs to the "nationalist," "democratic" and anti-foreign party, the *Kuo-Mingtang*, headed by Sun Yat-sen, who establishes the government at Canton. Sun Yat-sen enjoys the friendly support of Soviet Russia. In the North there are three generals contending for supremacy. General Chang Tsolin holds Manchuria in the extreme north. His supporter is Japan. Chihli, Shantung and Kiangse, *i.e.*, the middle-north is occupied by General Sao-kun who enjoys American friendship. The third power in the north is General Wu Peifu, who holds the south-western districts. His patron is Great Britain.

• In 1926-27 "mass activities" in the communistic sense are prominent features in the political life. The main brunt is borne by the Chinese capitalists and landlords. Besides, the *Kuo Ming-tang* party, officially

established in the government at Nanking (as opposed to the government at Peking), cultivates financial and military *rapprochement* with Soviet Russia and succeeds in de-concessionizing Hankow,—virtually through the “direct action” of the mob. And this leads to the rupture of diplomatic relations in Europe between England and Russia. The representative of the Southern China government, Chen, confers with O'Malley *re* the retrocession of the British concession and comes to an agreement (Feb. 1927).

The agreement marks, however, the end of communistic revolutionary activity, and Chang Kaishek, the leader of the Southern government, becomes a “moderate” or “reformist,” in his orientations to Soviet Russia and in regard to foreign political and economic influence, especially that of Great Britain and Japan. In the North, the head of the Peking government, Chang Tsolin, continues during the entire period quite amenable to British and Japanese influence, and thoroughly immune to Bolshevik overtures.

At the end of 1927 Soviet Russia is dislodged from Southern China and the main block of the *Kuo Ming-tang* becomes non-communistic and even aggressively anti-bolshevik and anti-soviet. And both in the North and the South the foreign powers seem to regain their traditional prestige, both economic and political, with slight modifications, if any. The problems of extra-territoriality, concessions, tariff autonomy and political sovereignty as well as North *vs.* South, remain virtually as they ever were.

Young China's history, so far as nationalism and constitutional democracy are concerned, is tending to repeat itself once more. The situation is rendered complicated on account of the existence of the “left wing” of the *Kuo Ming-tang* party as a radical communistic element, although for the time being muzzled and inarticulate, in the political life of the people, both at home and abroad.¹

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

¹ “The Eternal Chinese Question” in Sarkar's *Politics of Boundaries* (Calcutta, 1926) and “The Problems of Young China” in *Greetings to Young India* (Calcutta, 1927); Millard: *Conflict of Policies in Asia*, London and New York, 1924; Dubarbier: *La Chine contemporaine politique et économique* (Contemporary China, Political and Economic), Paris, 1926; Duboseq: *La Chine en face des puissances* (China facing the Powers), Paris, 1926; Mazzaleni: *L'antagonismo anglorusso in Asia nell'ultimo ventennio* (1907-1927), Anglo-Russian Antagonism in Asia during the last two decades, Pavia, 1927.

In spite of the political feuds China has been steadily advancing in industrialism, says Dubarbier. The love of the fatherland that has been awakened in China need not necessarily become anti-alien but its character will depend upon the attitude of the Powers, according to Duboseq, who says, further, that Southern China is not a mere tool in Soviet Russia's hands, as generally suspected, but is nationalist and statesmanlike enough to be able to utilize Russian assistance in her own way.

A GERMAN INVADER OF THE ENGLISH STAGE IN THE EARLY DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

For centuries previous to the era of the Romantic Revival, Germany figured in the balance-sheet of literary historians as a debtor country to England. The latter since the Restoration had been dominated by ideals imported from France. For a whole century or more England lay at the feet of her neo-classical neighbour. But the whirligig of time brought its revenges and the opening years of the nineteenth century saw Gothicism reigning in the world of poetry, fiction and drama. It is true that even before the arrival of the German invaders the neo-classical fortifications had been breached from within by the wave of Celtic Revival, though sometimes, so far as the stage was concerned, the results were most amusing. It is said that in the production of *The Fatal Discovery* (1769) by John Home—the author of *Douglas* (1757)—the hero of the play was decked out “in gold and purple, and a Grecian palace was allotted to the monarch of the rock.”¹ But soon the scene-painters were busy transforming the Grecian palaces into slimy old caverns, mouldering graves and *rococo* castles, till with the advent of Kotzebue Gothicism was fully established on the stage.

For nearly thirty years this “profane Marsayas of the German Parnasus” dominated the English as well as the continental stage, acclaimed as the greatest dramatist of Europe since Shakespeare, while his betters—Schiller and Goethe—enjoyed only a very short spell of success. In 1800 the English stage versions and translations of his plays reached the record number of seventy-one, and his popularity became so immense that it fairly threatened to destroy all indigenous efforts.

¹ Nicoll, *British Drama*, p. 312 (quoted).

Then began a systematic and often not too scrupulous campaign against Kotzebue in particular and the German drama in general by Canning and Frere. Schiller's *Die Räuber* was parodied in the *Rovers*,² the satirists alleging that the author had put robbery in such a fascinating light that "the whole of a German University went upon the high way."³ Goethe's *Stella* was sneered at as "a genteel comedy which ended by placing a man Bodkin between two wives like Thames between his two banks."⁴ But Kotzebue was the strategic point and the main battery was trained upon him. The patriotic party saw in him one who trafficked in the forbidden fruit of revolutionary ideas and their policy became the proverbial one of throwing as much mud as they could, in the hope that some was bound to stick. Their attacks on that account were not always frontal. Their organ *The Anti-Jacobin* set about this business with more zeal than honesty. According to it Kotzebue was a revolutionary—a Godwinian; his Elvira in *Pizarro* was denounced as "a complete Godwinite female, a stark, staring Mary all over."⁵ He was one of the Illuminati—an order founded at Ingoldstadt in 1776, whose general aim was moral enlightenment, but like all secret societies terribly mysterious in its dealings. The English people had their dread of the Jesuits unabated and the attack told particularly well in an age of organised prejudice against freedom of thought. Rationalism, Jesuitism, Jacobinism and all the rest of the flesh-creeping 'isms' of the day were at once associated with him. Even the translators of Kotzebue were threatened. "It is not for me to class Miss Plumtre amongst them (*i.e.*, the Illuminati), nor even Mr. Sheridan—but if I were, who should disprove my assertion" thundered the *Anti-Jacobin*.⁶ Much of this artillery-action calls for nothing

² *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, ed. C. Edmunds, p. 152 ff.

³ *Cf. Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, p. 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *The Anti-Jacobin Review*, Vol. 3, 1, p. 209.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

more than a smile to-day, but it impressed the middle-class playgoers and readers at a time when the memory of "the red fool-fury of the Seine" was still vivid in their minds.

There were others who accused the German dramatist of immorality. An anonymous London gentleman wrote of Kotzebue's plays in the following terms which anticipate in a manner Byron's attack in the *English Bards*.

"There passion lawless, wild and unconfin'd
Usurps its empire o'er the yielding mind ;
Spurns at all rule, and owing to control,
At length to frenzy drives the feeling soul " ' etc.

And Sheridan is condemned for joining "the translating crew" and banishing "Avon's bard for Kotzebue." Another poetic critic arraigns the German author for corrupting the taste of the age with "pangs unfelt before and crimes before unknown" and concludes his rueful ode in the following strain—

"The fair, by vicious love misled
Teach me to cherish, and to wed,
To low-born arrogance to bend,
Established order spurn, and call each outcast friend." *

Snobbery and nothing less is the curt judgment of the present day accustomed to calling a spade a spade.

There is yet another group of critics whose animus against Kotzebue was better grounded. Lord Byron was one of them. He laments that

"Shakespeare, Otway, Massinger forgot,
On stalls must moulder or in closets rot " *

and appeals to Sheridan to give "one classic drama and reform the stage."

* ' On the Prevalence of German Drama on the English Stage (1800). It was noticed for the first time by Koeppel *Englische Studien*, Vol. XIII, p. 530.

* The Annual Register : Ode on the German Drama.

* *English Bards*,

Thomas Datton similarly in the *Dramatic Censor*¹⁰ argues against Kotzebue from the nationalistic point of view. "For," says Dr. Gillet, "the threatened contract between the London managers and Kotzebue for a regular supply of his newest manuscripts might have imperilled the existence of English drama in this age of weakness had it been carried out."¹¹ Thus, during the opening years of the century Kotzebue flourished on the English stage, supremely and exclusively dominating it; but to-day he has apparently faded from memory like Prospero's cloud-capped, gorgeous palaces leaving scarcely a rack behind. It may therefore be of interest to analyse the reasons for the extraordinary popularity as also the equally extraordinary fall of this theatrical Charles X.

Kotzebue arrived on the English stage during the lean years of native talent and consequently had no serious rival in the field. Secondly, he passed current ideas and sentiments already spreading in England through the novels of doctrine and the revolutionary pamphlets. His attacks on positive law and the tyranny of the idle-rich struck in with the vein of advanced thought that had already found its way into the country through the influence of Rousseau and Tom Paine. Besides his prevailing tone is sentimental and therefore in harmony with the temper of the contemporary stage. While this readily gained him an audience it made him at the same time false to reality, to those eternal verities of human nature upon which the greatest dramatists of the world have founded their plays. Often he is charged with immorality, but this is not true; he may be weak but he is never wicked. Nothing can demonstrate his strength and his weakness better than an analysis of some of his plays.

The Stranger is perhaps his most significant contribution

¹⁰ *The Dramatic Censor*, 1890, Vol. I, pp. 62-63.

¹¹ *The Nineteenth Century*, April, 1912: A Forgotten Creditor of the English Stage by Jos. E. Gillet. In 1811 Kotzebue was again ridiculed, and perhaps for the last time as the craze was dying away, in a burletta called *The Quadrupeds of Quadrinburgh*, (1811).

to the English stage of the Romantic Revival. In it we have at once a restatement of the problem of Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1607) and an anticipation of the problem of Ibsen's *The Lady from the Sea* (1888). Adelaide, the young and immature girl-wife heroine is a sort of Ibsenian doll-wife. But Ibsen keeps closer to reality and his play is more thought-provoking. Heywood's tragedy, though giving free scope to sentiment is still truer to life and is of harder grain. The reconciliation in Kotzebue's play between the injured husband and the faithless wife is rather facile, and the hero's invective against Europe—"this cultivated moral lazaret" seems hysterical. But as a new type the value of *The Stranger* is not to be lost sight of.

The tragedy of *Adelaide of Wulfsingen* is violent, unnatural, savage, and much in the nature of the Post-Shakespearian horror-drama of the Ford-Marston-Shirley group. As a matter of fact the whole tragedy is summarily anticipated and may have even been suggested by one of the speeches of Malevole (Altofronto)¹² in the *Malcontent* (1604) the joint work of Marston and Webster. The tragedy is blood-curdling, the theme is altogether unsavoury, yet the question raised may not be altogether unreal. *The Virgin of the Sun*, another of Kotzebue's stage-successes, is all Rousseauism and revolution. It is the dream of the hero of Tennyson's *Locksley Hall* come true, and an early anticipation of the theme of Laurids Brunn's *Van Zanten's Happy Days*. There is in it a note of broad humanitarianism of doubtful sincerity. The theme is not altogether new but the spirit is of the age. The result, more often than not unhappy, of the impact of aggressive Western civilisation on the life of a primitive race had before been touched on by Shakespeare in the *Tempest*. But Kotzebue's point of view is that of the political propagandist and the revolutionary enthusiast enlivened with something of the Immanent Philosophy of Germany.

¹² See *The Malcontent*, I.3.11, 155-162.

“This is but a heathen temple—yet God is everywhere—here, too, where in the image of the Sun, the creature worship his Creator.”

Don Alonzo Molina is a Rousseauesque hero who forsakes his countrymen because of their abhorred cruelties towards the Peruvians, whom the hero offers to defend in the name of God and humanity. But in spite of its tone of liberalism the reader cannot help suspecting that the author is perhaps in sympathy with Valverde's sentiment.¹³ On the whole, however, Kotzebue touches something abiding here. It is his one play that may win the suffrage of a modern audience. The only objectionable feature is his want of artistic reticence in certain parts (notably in the dialogue scene between Cora and Alonzo outside the temple wall when Cora reveals her precarious condition). Here in the effort of being outspoken he is merely vulgarly suggestive in the manner of some modern musical comedies.

His *Pizarro*, which took the contemporary stage by storm, is a sequel to *The Virgin of the Sun* and is drawn from French sources.¹⁴ It is a tragedy with the features of a “*drame*.” The only thing that is tragic in the whole play is the death of Rolla—who is too theatrical to be convincing. The death of Pizarro awakens neither pity nor awe. “Its beauties,” as Gifford correctly sums up, “consist in pathetic sentiment and energetic declamation; an attention to dramatic situation and stage effect.”¹⁵ Its phenomenal stage success was due, as Darley says, “to all the transatlantic bewitchery of leopard-skin petticoats, belts and baldrics of beads, baubles, clinquant tin and shining braziers, etc.,”¹⁶ that is, to its spectacular character, its melodramatic surprises, and its full-gallop of sentiment ridden to froth. It is the lineal ancestor of modern Drury Lane dramas like *Rose Marie* and *Aloma*, wherein we see the persis-

¹³ Valverde (to Elvira). “You are a sweet disciple of the doctrine called humanity. Nothing so easily excites enthusiasm as words which have no meaning: *Pizarro*.”

¹⁴ The Anti-Jacobin Review, Vol. 6.11, p. 454.

¹⁵ London Magazine, Vol. 8, p. 83.

tence of those delights which charmed a British audience a century ago.

In the Elvira-Pizarro relationship, however, there is a truly modern note. Perhaps the author is touching here another social problem which had come into existence with the far-flung colonies and dependencies of the European nations both in the old world and the new.

In the *Lovers' Vows* we pass more definitely into the realistic atmosphere of problem drama—into a study of problems nearer home. The story of the play is that of a simple country girl named Wilhelmina who has been seduced on a promise of marriage by Baron Waldenhaim. Frederick is born of this relation and his mother brings him up with the greatest difficulty. In the meanwhile the Baron marries a rich heiress more suited to his position. Of this marriage a daughter Amelia is born but her mother dies soon after. The play opens with Frederick's return home from the war, poor and destitute. He encounters the Baron on the way, attempts to rob him and is taken captive and thrown into the castle-dungeon. His identity is known and the repentant aristocrat makes amends by marrying the mother and legitimising the offspring. Amelia is wooed by a Frenchified German Count but is in love with the pastor. Ultimately she is happily wedded to the adored pastor with her father's blessings and the Frenchified suitor is dismissed with ridicule for want of patriotism. The Pastor-Amelia sub-plot is a modification of the romantic love-interest of *Romeo and Juliet* and a definite anticipation of John Westland Marston's *The Patrician's Daughter* (1842) as well as that of H. Granville-Barker's *Marrying of Ann Leete* (1899) without any of the latter's biological interpretations of love. The main theme of the play is still more modern in tone. The unmarried-mother problem has been touched on by many a modern writer including Bernard Shaw and the solution that Kotzebue offers is certainly not to be despised. It must, however, be admitted that Kotzebue's treatment of these social themes leaves much to be desired.

For one thing, he is too sentimental and strains situations in order to bring about a heart-easing conclusion. Thus he lacks the severity and uncompromising truthfulness of the modern writers on these problems.

In *Count Benyowski* Kotzebue in manner points the way to Tolstoi, Dostoievsky and Gorky. In this play the scene is laid in the criminal settlements of Siberia, and we are told of the horrors and sufferings of those unfortunates whose only crime is the love of liberty.

“Days and weeks creep slowly after each other, and the victims of despair perish imperceptibly. Putrefaction alone enforces from tyranny the last favour of being buried in the snow.”

But here again Kotzebue misses fire. His rhetoric is unconvincing and his picture does not become real as such pictures do in the pages of Tolstoi or Gorky. His bias towards verbiage and the claptrap leads him off the scent into romance, love-making and sensationalism and a great opportunity is thus lost. The opening scene of the play deserves notice as supplying Tennyson with the model of the opening scene of his *Becket*. The game of chess here as also in Tennyson's play becomes symbolical of the contest in which the interest of the plot centres.

Many were the reasons for Kotzebue's success some of which we have already considered above. The stage at the beginning of the nineteenth century was changing, and the new stage called for a new technique. Kotzebue had grasped this fact as nobody else in his time had done. He, therefore, conformed more strictly to the limitations imposed by the new stage, relying for effect on action, and unfolding his plots in prose dialogues, not however, of irreproachable merit but still easily understood by his audience recruited mostly from the lower orders of society to whose uncultivated taste the intricate beauty of blank verse was caviare. Often his plots, *e.g.*, in the

Lovers' Vows, involved a past drama in the present, which was not revealed in the sleepy narrative-wise of Shakespeare in *The Tempest* but rather in the manner of Ibsen in the *Pillars of Society*. This method of interweaving and involving a drama of the past with a drama of the present gave to some of his plays a depth and richness of texture hitherto unpractised in an age when the Elizabethan method of bringing the whole action within the dramatic framework still passed current.

It is perhaps true that Kotzebue did not follow a high standard in his art; that he followed the taste of his audience instead of leading it. His audience wanted excitement, thrills, sensations and he gave them all that they delighted in. His characters again, are all set-types without subtlety, variety or depth. The young, innocent maiden, the artful villain, the immaculate hero, the philanthropic friend are repeated from play to play. But even in these he showed he knew the possibilities of such characters in the hands of actors who knew their business. Thus, when the rather shadowy sketches of Kotzebue were filled with the life and body that Kemble and Mrs. Siddons gave them, they never failed in becoming effective. This absence of fulness of characterisation in his plays made them all the more welcome to the actors who were always eager to create original parts. Besides, all his plays contain star-roles, the secondary characters being often unimportant. Their successful production therefore did not call for an all-round cast such as, for example, Shakespearian plays do. The high-flown rhetorical speeches in which they abound offered an additional attraction to the players in an age when 'spouting' was still the proper business on the stage and the absence of which poor Telfer in Pinero's play lamented in a later age.¹⁶ Not only did Kotzebue thus enlist the support of the great actors, his plays offered opportunities to the decorator, the scene-painter and the machinist alike—men who had come into considerable import-

¹⁶ Telfer the old-fashioned actor in Pinero's *Trelawny of the Wells* complains of the plays being lacking in speeches such as one could dig one's tooth into. P. 176.

ance in the nineteenth century theatre and were not to be put by, if the audience were to get their money's worth. To all his plays he gave a rich, romantic setting—the mountains and forests of Peru, the temples of the Sun, the fortresses and castles of middle ages, the ice-wastes of Siberia. No playwright offered such a bill of fare; nor were these all. Masses of men and women in rich and striking costumes, artillery that banged and banged again, and perhaps realistic water, too were there to make his hare-brained audience stare and gasp, and applaud him to the echo.

Apart from the above reasons there was yet another and a powerful one, too. The most popular of his plays were pronouncedly of the "*drame*" type, which while retaining some amount of tragic seriousness and passion secure an ending that is comforting. To him perhaps belongs the credit of establishing this type which had a special appeal for the auditor of the age, who, according to Professor Schelling, "had long lost the robustness of constitution necessary to the endurance of the rigours of tragedy; and while willing to be harrowed and thrilled by situations at which good taste in any age must revolt, demanded to be sent home satisfied that no real harm had been done to any human creature, that morals had been upheld, the wicked reformed rather than punished, the good substantially rewarded for being good."¹⁷

Thus, this "profane Marsyas of the German Parnasus" gave to the English stage a turn which continued almost throughout the whole century to influence its course. He has been a most powerful factor in demonstrating that literary or poetic gift is not essential for the success of a playwright. He has shown that the point of view of the theatre and that of the study are far apart; that a play to be successful on the stage does not call for great ideas greatly expressed, but requires a well-knit intriguing plot, situations, incidents and such other absolutely non-literary qualities. It is perhaps on this account

¹⁷ F. E. Schelling, *English Drama*, p. 311.

Dr. Gillet makes him responsible for the severance of the idea of poetry and literature from the drama, "And now," says he, "after more than a century has elapsed if you hear critics complaining about the poverty of the English stage, say Kotzebue. If you wonder at the number of tragedies in verse with or without 'pageant,' announced in the publishers' lists, which have never been, and will never be on the playbill..... say Kotzebue."¹⁸ This statement in spite of its exaggeration has considerable truth in it. Kotzebue by giving exclusive importance to the acting qualities helped in the growth of the erroneous belief which is noticed even at the latter end of the century among some of the popular playwrights, that literature is not only non-essential for dramatic purposes but is positively devastating to the drama.¹⁹

The real fact, however, is that a crisis was shaping itself even from the era of the Restoration—the drama of the old tradition was dying, though dying hard, and Kotzebue hastened the inevitable. But the animus against this German adventurer has been so strong since his own time that his true significance in the development of modern drama is more often than not ignored. His cynical indifference to literary and poetic qualities is now a matter of common complaint against him. His use of outworn devices like the soliloquy and the aside, his indiscriminate mingling of rhetoric and imitation, his rather crude theatricality have all been repeatedly censured by his critics. But his definite contributions to the theatre have nearly always been passed over. It is not to be denied that he established though he did not originate the *drame* type; that he definitely began the modern problem drama; but above all, he emphasised

¹⁸ The Nineteenth Century, April, 1912, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ Cf. Sidney Grundy: "How many a sound and stirring play has held the audience firmly in its grip until—thud! down comes a piece of literature like brickbat..... Away goes the play, away go the players, and we see nothing but a dismal library and an old professor, in blue spectacles, with a wet towel round his head." "In his attack on John Palmer's *The Future of the Theatre*, Grundy indulges in similar invectives. See S. Grundy's *The Play of the Future*, pp. 8-9.

the value of construction, and demonstrated more palpably than anybody else before him the composite character of the dramatic art by acknowledging the intimate relation of the drama with the théâtre, where the playwright, the actor, the scene-painter, the decorator, and the machinist must each have his own place if the highest results are to be obtained.²⁰ Hence it is that Professor Robertson says, "When the worst has been said of Kotzebue, he remains one of the most fertile and ingenious writers for the theatre that ever lived; and he has influenced as no other playwright, the entire development of the drama down to the present day. Indeed, in the evolution of modern dramatic technique his work was even a more important factor than that of Scribe a generation later."²¹

U. C. NAG

²⁰ Not a little of Shakespeare's unequalled popularity in his own day was due to his capacity for utilising to the fullest and best advantage the resources of the stage such as his theatres could command. Judged by this test alone he would still be the foremost dramatist of his age.

²¹ J. G. Robertson, *A History of German Literature*.

N.B.—In the preparation of this essay I have consulted Benjamin Thompson's translations of Kotzebue's plays in his *German Theatre* in six volumes published in 1800.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL¹

I feel overcome by the kindness with which you receive me and it is now incumbent on me to return sincere and respectful thanks for the very high honour you have done me. When a few days ago I was approached by the representatives of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association to preside over your deliberations in the present session, I felt very diffident. I could not at first persuade myself to occupy a chair which had been so worthily filled on previous occasions by educational experts—to mention only two—the first and the last—Acharjya Prapfullachandra Ray and my revered teacher, Principal Herambachandra Maitra; but when I was reminded that I might be of some assistance to you, I thought it my duty not to lose this opportunity of placing my services, however humble or meagre, at the disposal of my brother teachers.

In a country like ours, torn asunder by party factions—religious and communal, political and sectarian—it is really refreshing and encouraging to find thousands of school teachers presenting a united front and acting in concert in all matters of common interest. In every department of life, unity is the greatest source of strength. Sinking all differences of opinion with regard to details may you continue in your noble endeavours.

The objects of your association are twofold—(1) “Advance-ment of the cause of Secondary Education” (2) “Promoting and safeguarding the professional interests of teachers of Secondary schools.” Persons in high position, not too well disposed towards your association, ignore altogether your first object and characterise the body as a mere trade-guild, working only for higher wages and better conditions of service. This uncharitable estimate of you and your aims is falsified by the

¹ Address delivered by Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerji, as President of the eighth session of the All Bengal Teachers Conference at Mymensingh on the 7th April, 1928.

thought bestowed and the proposals made by you for the improvement and reorganisation of Secondary Education in Bengal. We all know how within a comparatively short period, this association has already justified its existence.

The problem of Secondary Education in Bengal has been engaging the attention of the authorities and the public for many years, and, at one time, it was held that the control of all schools, including even "private" schools was the indefeasible right of Government. But in 1906 when the New Regulations were formulated, the Government of India had already abandoned this position and admitted that the University alone was competent to deal with these institutions. The relation, however, between the University and the Recognised Schools was a somewhat peculiar one. The University has no inspecting agency of its own, nor has it funds at its disposal to give grants-in-aid to deserving institutions. On the one hand, the University has to depend entirely on Government Inspectors for reports and on the other it has no voice in the matter of distribution of grants-in-aid to the different schools.

The present condition and the future needs of the Calcutta University were carefully considered by the Sadler Commission. The Commission recommended fundamental changes in all the different stages of education—Secondary, Post-Intermediate and Post-Graduate. It proposed the creation of a Board of Secondary Education, but that proposal depended on other important factors. Under its recommendation, the Matriculation Examination would no longer be regarded as an examination, the passing of which would be a prerequisite for entering the University, the proposal being to replace it by the Intermediate Examination. All the existing Colleges would therefore cease to have any connection with Intermediate Classes, these being either developed as independent Intermediate Colleges or attached to the more important High Schools in the Province. The Board proposed by the Commission would be in charge of the Schools and the Intermediate

Colleges while Post-Intermediate and Post-Graduate education would be left under the control of the University. The suggested redistribution of the classes and the introduction of a new system of education would require very substantial grants from Government and it was further stated by the Commission that these reforms could be taken in hand only when Government was ready to provide the necessary funds. This has not been found possible and it also appears that it would not be feasible in the near future to spend the amounts proposed by the Commission. It is, therefore, necessary to consider modified proposals. It has since then been agreed between Government and the University that control over the Matriculation Examination, the courses of study and the texts prescribed, would continue with the University but the inspection of schools, their recognition and the giving of grants-in-aid would be left to the Board. The principal point of difference between Government and the University now is about the relation between the Board on the one hand and the University and Government on the other. The proposal made by the Senate was that in all executive matters the Board should be an autonomous body. But questions of general policy or rules and regulations (unless they dealt merely with details of administration) should be subject to the approval of the Senate. The regulations would be communicated to Government for approval. The University further proposed that a majority of the members of the Board should consist of elected non-officials, but Government suggested that the majority of the members should be nominated, and that in case of difference of opinion between the Senate and the Board in the matter of any rules or regulations, Government would finally decide the question. Now that the conduct of the Matriculation Examination and the selection of courses of study are to be left to the University, the position is that unless there is harmonious co-operation between the Board and the University, the creation of the Board will be of little, if any, benefit. It may, on the other hand,

lead to complications detrimental to the truest interests of education.

I have already expressed my opinion regarding what I consider to be the best way of meeting the difficulty when there is any difference of opinion between the Board and the Senate. Briefly it is as follows :—In the case of any difference of opinion between the Board and the Senate, the opinion of the Senate ought to prevail, the more so because the Board will be a very much smaller body which is not expected to discharge the functions of a legislative authority. When I mention the Senate, I do not mean by it the Senate as at present constituted. The present Senate, in my opinion, is not a perfect body as it does not contain, among representatives from other interests, any representative of the secondary school teachers under the Calcutta University. Even if it is not found possible to reconstitute the whole University at once, the Senate at least should be modelled anew so that it might contain a decided majority of elected members who would represent all shades of public and educational interests. It is only such a Senate as this which would prove to be an effective ally of the Board.

We cannot but remember in this connection that the problem of secondary education in Bengal is peculiar in many respects being unlike that in other provinces. Of the 1,040 schools recognised by the University, only 40 are Government Schools, 462 aided and the remaining schools do not receive any aid from public funds. The Commission has rightly pointed out that any plan of educational reform based upon a transference to the Department of Public Instruction of the control over the schools, now exercised by the University, would be regarded as a reactionary measure and as a menace to educational reform. The proposal to invest the Department of Public Instruction with larger powers over schools has somehow become associated in the public mind with designs unfavourable to the wider diffusion of educational opportunities. The Sadler Commission was of opinion that, in Bengal at least,

such transference would jeopardise the good understanding between Government and the educated classes, upon which the prospects of an effective reform in the existing system of education mainly depend. No responsible person can gainsay that in a province where the major portion of the expenditure is met either from private benefactions or from fees realised from students, the ultimate control ought to be left in the hands of a body with a decided majority of elected non-officials. It may be stated here that in the year 1925-26, the figures only of which are available at present, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 3,70,94,290 Government spent only Rs. 1,43,63,358, the fee-income during the same period was Rs. 1,55,20,789 and the rest was met from private benefactions. During the last few years, Government no doubt has increased to some extent the amount paid to schools as grants-in-aid ; but the conditions attached to the grants are such as to make a thoughtful person think twice before accepting them. The very wide powers of interference exercisable by the Department, even in the detailed administration of schools, make the position of Managing Committees and Head Masters unenviable. Nobody can legitimately question the right of Government to satisfy itself that the amount paid is properly utilised, but this ought not to be used as a means to invest the department with very wide and arbitrary powers over the local authorities. It must be admitted that unless the experienced local authorities are trusted and given some latitude, the aim for which the grant is made is altogether lost. Some of the existing rules are so manifestly improper that they need only be mentioned. The Inspector is entitled under the rules to interfere with the discretion of the Head Master in the matter of the promotion of students to the next higher class or of the sending up of candidates to the Matriculation Examination ; even when the Head Master thinks a student fit to be promoted or sent up for the University Examination, the local Inspector is entitled to override the

decision of the Head Master. Under the existing rules, the guardians or the teachers are allowed to elect their representatives on the Managing Committee. The election in the case of aided schools is subject to approval by the District Magistrate and a person duly elected may not be permitted by him to sit on the Committee. Instances are on record to show that such interference with the elective powers of parents and guardians are not so rare as outsiders may be prone to think. There are cases where the elected members are sought to be kept out of the Committees mainly on account of their political views. Unless the grant-in-aid rules are thoroughly overhauled, it will not be possible for a very large number of the more independent schools to avail themselves of State help. In Burma, we are told, grants are made to schools on the simple condition of satisfactory audit. It is inexplicable why the same system should not be introduced in Bengal.

Attempts at school reform made in recent years during the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Ewart Greaves, resulted in the passing of the School Code. No doubt, under the University Regulations, every school must have a properly constituted Managing Committee, but as the details were not set out, there were not a few cases where the Committees were not functioning properly and the Head Master had no real power in the management of the school. The Code requires that there should be at least two elected representatives of the teachers, the Head Master to be the Secretary, or at least the Assistant Secretary, *ex-officio*. Teachers have thus been given a voice in the administration of the schools in which they serve. The guardians also are permitted to elect their representatives on the Committee. Another important point settled in the School Code is the clear specification of the position of the Head Master. In all matters of internal administration and discipline, the Head Master is rightly given a pre-eminent position and his action in such matters is not allowed to be interfered with by any authority, not

even by the Committee. The last and the most important provision in the School Code is about the creation of what is termed "Arbitration Boards." This is really the pivot of the whole scheme. It is through these rules that the University attempted to ensure security of service for the teachers of Bengal ; but I regret to be compelled to acknowledge that the University has not up till now given effect to the Arbitration Board scheme. The School Code was made applicable to all non-Government schools in the Province, but, recently, the present Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate have decided to exempt the aided schools from the operation of the clauses about the Arbitration Boards "during the experimental period." The aided school teachers are to be left under the "protection" of the Department. "Protection" indeed, when even in an aided school if a teacher with ten years' service to his credit falls out with the authorities, he may be turned out on a month's notice on the alleged ground of economy, and when enquiries are made, the ground of economy is not substantiated but new charges are brought forward in order to justify the action of the Committee. I trust it may yet be possible to rectify matters. I may here mention that Government did not suggest the procedure adopted by the Syndicate as the only procedure acceptable to Government. Government proposed that in cases where an aggrieved teacher in an aided school appealed to the Inspector instead of to the Arbitration Board, he would not be allowed subsequently to appeal to the Board against the Inspector's decision. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate in their zeal to safeguard the control of Government over the aided schools now recommend that the Arbitration Board should take cognisance of the appeals of unaided school teachers only, the aided school teachers being left during the experimental period under the protection of the departmental staff. It is one thing to give the option to the teachers to appeal either to the Arbitration Boards or to the Education Department and quite another to limit them to the latter only.

Such a state of things seems very strange to me, for while under the School Code we are giving more and more powers to the teachers of "private" schools, the teachers of "aided" and Government schools are still where they were before the School Code was passed. Surely what is good for the teachers of "private" schools must also be equally good for the teachers of "aided" and Government schools. I am fully aware of the fact that in the first instance the School Code was framed for the management of non-Government schools, but I feel that with the march of progress, the time has come when the School Code, at least so far as it concerns the constitution and functions of the Managing Committee and the powers and duties of the Head Master, should be made applicable to Government schools also.

Next to security of tenure comes the question of the pay and prospects of the teachers. I do not overlook the fact that the great prizes in the way of income everywhere fall to those who attain high eminence in one of the distinctly practical walks of life. The more ideally minded man who looks upon the training of young minds as the main object of life, or at any rate of *his* life, will probably be prepared to make some sacrifice on the material side and will in many cases be content to do so gladly. But however self-denying the person may be, it is the duty of society to give him at least enough to provide him with the necessities of life. The salary that is paid to the vast majority of teachers in this country is abnormally low. The University has up to the present laid down the minimum salary of Head Masters at Rs. 70 and the lowest pay of any teacher at Rs. 25, although many of the schools as at present conditioned find it difficult to pay even Rs. 25 per month.

Equally important is the question of the starting of Provident Funds. Three years ago Government provided money in the Budget to help private schools to start Provident Funds. Unfortunately, Government allowed the money budgeted for to lapse not once but twice in

succession. It is indeed gratifying to hear that this year a beginning is expected to be made. It is only just and proper that the amount saved in the past and the present years should be re-allotted and be spent for the purpose for which they had been provided. Any one conversant with the Provident Funds for teachers in England would feel surprise as to why they have not as yet been introduced in this country. In England the State contributes from the public exchequer an amount equal to that paid by the teacher. I trust that the proposals for introducing such a scheme will materialise in the near future.

Considering the fact that the pay of the teachers is very low, the introduction of Provident Funds only will not solve the whole difficulty. Anybody who cares to inquire about the lot of teachers in this country will agree with me that it is not possible for a very large majority of them to save anything ; the position becomes very grave when the teacher is cut off in the prime of youth. I would suggest that the life of every teacher should be insured for an amount proportionate to the salary paid to him ; the premium in each case to be paid either by the school, or by the teacher and the school in equal shares. Even if it be not possible for all schools to pay this additional contribution, I for one would suggest the immediate starting of this scheme, the payment to be made for the time being from the Provident Fund account of the teacher. So far as the younger teachers are concerned, the premium payable will be very small ; for the older members of the staff there may be some difficulty, either because the premium will be heavy or because they will not be able to pass the medical test. But these considerations ought not to stand in the way of making a beginning—a start in the right direction. I know that in these days in no department of life is compulsion relished but what I propose is of such vital importance to the interests of teachers that I am sure that they, as a body, will subscribe fully to what I have suggested.

The starting of Co-operative Societies which you have been advocating for some time past would also be another definite and forward step for the amelioration of your condition.

Whenever any proposal to improve the pay and prospects of teachers is made, the suggestion, on the face of it quite innocent, is thrown out that the types of teachers ought to improve or in other words—'first deserve then desire.' Nobody can raise any objection, on the other hand would eagerly welcome any attempt to improve the qualifications of the teachers. But no right-thinking man would agree to the improvement of the teachers out of existence. A proposal has recently been made by the University on a suggestion from Government about the improvement of the qualifications of teachers of English in schools. This, I regard, as defective in one and very important particular. It is provided in the proposed rules that even an experienced teacher must resign his post unless the Inspector of Schools or some other similar authority exempts him from appearing in an examination. It is not fair to old and experienced teachers to ask them to pass a test on which would depend their right to continue in the office which they have been filling for years. The proper course, to my mind, is to establish training schools where every teacher may be asked to take a course of instruction only. During this period he would be placed on deputation by the school where he serves. The system of summer-schools in vogue in other countries may very profitably be introduced here. We must remember in this connection that a large majority of the Inspectorate consists of officers who themselves have had practically no teaching experience, yet are expected to set the standard of proficiency among the teachers. When the inspecting staff as a whole is recruited from experienced teachers, then and then only can the Inspectorate be expected to have the necessary qualifications to sit in judgment on the teachers of the schools. It is not on theoretical training alone that the useful-

ness of a successful teacher depends. Experience shows that the teacher who has had practical knowledge becomes very useful when he is given some theoretical training. Teaching is one of the most practical of sciences and it is by the experimental method, rather than by emphasizing the theoretical side only, that real improvement can be made in the teaching in schools. The laudable practice that has recently been started by Government to send every year a few school teachers to Europe for training has, up to the present, been confined to teachers of Government schools. I do not see any reason why the same opportunity should not be made available for teachers of "private" schools as well.

The attempt now being made to replace present-day teachers by a new band of "trained" teachers was brought up not because of the importance of the question itself but incidentally in connection with the Vernacularisation scheme. For the last six or seven years, the University has been vainly attempting to make the Vernacular the medium of instruction in the schools. Time and again Government has been raising all kinds of objection—at one time with regard to the desirability or practicability of the principal question itself and on other occasions with regard to the details of the scheme. Two years ago when Government agreed to introduce the Vernacular medium, on condition steps were taken by the University to ensure the efficient teaching of English, certain tentative rules, which have already been referred to, were framed by the University. Government has asked the University to have them incorporated in the Regulations. The only object of this proposal, to my mind at least, is to make these rules hidebound so that no modification in them can be made hereafter without the sanction of Government. To put it bluntly, Government either does not or cannot trust the University in the matter of the application of these rules. It seems surprising that even a Senate, which as at present constituted is an official-ridden body, is not trusted as it ought to be. Whatever may be the opinion

of the University, the official sitting in the Secretariat must have an opportunity of either accepting or rejecting the University point of view. His opinion has to be reckoned with not only about these new rules but also for determining the limits of the subjects for examination. "Incorporate everything in the Regulations" is the cry, but it is raised only because this gives Government the means to interfere even in purely academic matters. This is a position which would not be tolerated in any other country. Conditioned as we are, we have to be guided from the Secretariat in all conceivable matters, for according to some at least our period of tutelage is not yet over. In no other civilised country is the student from the very earliest period compelled to gain his knowledge through a foreign language. The sooner our Vernaculars are introduced as the medium of instruction in the schools, the better for the country. The daily waste of energy and intellect under the present system is appalling. In the new Matriculation Regulations other proposals of a far-reaching character had been made, for instance the introduction of manual training in the school curriculum. Government not having sanctioned the new Regulations, these very necessary innovations are also being delayed.

On this occasion I cannot but refer to one other aspect of the problem of Secondary Education in Bengal. Reference has been made, sometimes with a feeling of anxiety, sometimes with a feeling of alarm, to the increase in recent years in the number of recognised schools and of candidates for the Matriculation Examination. Even the highest officials of the Education Department openly state both by word and in print that there are too many high schools existent in Bengal in the present day and secondary education would be very much improved if many of these were immediately abandoned. We have to remember that looking at schools from the standpoint of the Inspecting Officer, there are some which may be regarded as "inefficient." I do not think it at all a difficult task to prove that, within their own limits, these so-called inefficient schools are doing very good work and are as

useful to the country as their more efficient congeners. No adequate provision has yet been made for primary education, neither has it spread all over the country as it ought to have done. These so-called inefficient schools, I contend, are proving a most useful means for stimulating a hankering after education among otherwise unapproachable bodies of men living in out-of-the-way villages of Bengal. Very few of them are "aided" schools, for the Department would refuse to help such institutions. They are therefore run partly out of the fee-income which is never large and partly out of contributions raised from the local public. In this connection it is perhaps necessary for me to point out that one cause of their "inefficiency" lies in the fact that these schools are located in such remote places that they can never expect to have a very large number of boys on their rolls. The result of course is that the fee-income is poor and they are "inefficient" in the departmental sense. I ask you to consider whether the man who puts his hand into his pocket does or does not feel an interest in education. The very fact that the public helps in the maintenance of these institutions conclusively proves, at least to my mind, that there is an earnest and ever-present desire among them for education. The proper remedy is not abolition of such institutions but their gradual improvement. In my opinion the Department should try to improve these schools by giving them small grants in the first instance and gradually increasing them with the increase in the improvements. As regards the increase in the number of candidates appearing in the different University examinations, we must not forget that the population of Bengal is over $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores and that the total number of examinees is infinitesimally small when compared with the total population.

I have so long been dealing with the facilities which ought to be provided for encouraging education, but every one here, after all, must confess that however good the machinery, however fine the buildings and furniture and however well-equipped

and well-kept the library, ultimately everything will depend on two things—the teacher and the material he will mould. Confining myself for the present to the student undergoing training, I am compelled to say that what matters most about him are his body and his mind and soul. Physical deterioration has slowly and insidiously made its way among students and adults of both sexes in this country. We have nothing to do here with the problem of improving adult health, but surely it is possible to take steps in time so that the school-going boy may not through ignorance lose that health without which his life and education would be more or less useless to him. Besides, taking care of the health of students ultimately means improvement of adult health and race betterment. It is therefore wise that we should go to the root of the matter by trying to save the coming generation from physical degeneration.

I consider it to be the duty of the teacher to encourage everything by which the strength and endurance of his students would be increased. I am not in favour of introducing costly western sports and games in our schools. My personal experience is that when sporting clubs modelled on western lines are started, a very small fraction of the boys, namely those who are good at games, derive all the benefit though all the students are taxed to meet the expenses. I therefore suggest that an earnest attempt should be made by teachers to introduce indigenous games and exercises. Physical exercise might also be taken with the help of drill and the use of such simple, cheap and easily procurable apparatus as Indian Clubs, Dumb-bells and Lathi. Exercise would not only tend to make the boys strong and healthy in body but it would also keep their minds clear and their bodies pure.

I have heard some people objecting to the introduction of physical exercise on the ground that many students reading in schools situated in villages have to walk long distances in order to attend their classes. It would not of course be desirable to insist on these boys taking exercise in school. To do so might

mean overtaxing their strength. The other objection that physical exercise is not calculated to do any good, but may on the other hand do harm to students who cannot always get a sufficient amount of nourishing food may be answered by my reminding you that it is too much to assume that every student is underfed. There are undoubtedly some students who do not get the right sort of food in proper quantities. Such cases can always be put into a separate group and if the exercises are graduated, as I think they ought to be, their bodies can, little by little, be made strong so that with the gradual improvement in the powers of assimilation consequent on the taking of exercise, there would be a corresponding improvement in their general health.

You know only too well the long hours during which students have to stay in school. I believe you will agree with me in thinking that boys should not be allowed to undergo any physical exertion after school hours without taking some food, for it would mean giving work to the body when it is already tired out with the day's labour. There is at present one school where tiffin consisting of cheap and easily procurable food-stuff such as parched rice, grated cocoanut, etc., is supplied to all students. Such articles of food are easily available and may be supplied free to those students who cannot afford to spend any money on tiffin. The number of such is not likely to be very large and giving them this help will not strain the finances of a school to any appreciable extent.

Speaking as an Indian to brother Indians, is it necessary for me to labour the point that after all nothing counts so much in this world, at least from our standpoint, as the most important part in us—the soul? Shall we teachers concern ourselves with giving intellectual training only and shall we be justified in thinking that we have done our duty towards our students when we have made an honest attempt to do so? Whenever I visit an educational institution, I always feel a curiosity to know whether anyone has thought of making any attempt, however humble, to give some sort of moral or religious

instruction to the students. As the subject has always interested me, I have interchanged views with many veteran teachers and the opinions with which I have been favoured have all gone to show that there is practically no organised attempt for imparting religious and moral instruction in schools and that here we have an admirable opportunity of doing most valuable services to our country. To train up thousands of young people into honest, God-fearing citizens, true lovers of their country, conscientious, not afraid of hard work, physical or mental, dutiful, brave, honest, and straightforward, not afraid of taking the consequences of mistakes committed by them instead of trying to shield themselves behind falsehood, courageous in doing the right thing and showing fear only when the question of doing wrong comes up—this is the glorious work entrusted to us—to build up our nation by training up men, not mere apologies for men. May God give us strength and ability to do our duty in this particular direction.

When I talk of moral and religious instruction, I do not mean instruction along sectarian lines. Broadly speaking, we have Hindu and Mahomedan students in our educational institutions in many of which a "period" is set apart on Fridays so that the Moslem students might have an opportunity of saying their prayers. Why I ask should not this period be utilised for the religious and moral instruction of the Hindu boys? Surely they require instruction in these matters as much as their Mahomedan classmates. I think it both easy and feasible to arrange matters in such a way that our Hindu boys can get moral instruction as often as their Moslem fellow students. Under the policy pursued by Government, religious instruction cannot be made a part of the University curriculum. The results of such a policy have been disastrous. This state of things has been characterised as "a national calamity," which indeed it is when we remember that in this country our culture ultimately rests on religion. Many of our students are without any tincture of religious belief. I do not mean

to suggest, that want of religion must always be associated with immorality in life, but experience has amply demonstrated the fact that when a man has to meet a crisis, to face unexpectedly a great temptation, nothing helps him so much to preserve his uprightness as religious training imparted and imbibed in youth. Whatever religion and moral training is to be given to our students will therefore have to come from the teachers. Whether the experiment would be successful or not would depend primarily on the teachers themselves. If the instruction imparted comes from their heart and is the result of their own spiritual experience, it is bound to create an effect on their students. On the other hand, if "head" knowledge on matters spiritual is sought to be conveyed and specially if the students note a divergence between theory and practice, and students, as we all know, show special aptitude to do so, not only would such an attempt prove a failure, but the teachers concerned would lose whatever respect they had formerly commanded as hypocrites and insincere men.

Last but not least is the most momentous question of the status in society of a class of persons whose life-work is nothing short of building up the character of the youth of this country destined at the end of the period of their training in schools and colleges to occupy the position of leaders in the liberal professions, in politics and in the social regeneration or moral uplift of the entire nation. Ill-paid, not adequately recognised with due reference to their social function, teachers are called upon in every country to discharge very onerous responsibilities. You gentlemen are, to my humble mind, men whose life in the truest sense of the word is what Haldane calls "The Dedicated Life." Great as is your responsibility, the greater should be the recognition of your selfless services to the country. I therefore feel that even in the matter of leadership in the country, the claims of the teachers of the youth of Bengal are at least on a par with those who at the present moment happen to occupy the position of

leaders in political thought. If you kindly permit me to enjoy the privilege of making a personal appeal, I would then conclude with a solemn and earnest request to my brothers belonging to the same profession with me, to so adjust themselves to the present-day needs that posterity may, with gratitude, remember that even in the most trying situation of a period of storm and stress you never failed to be true to yourselves, which eventually means being true to the highest interests of the country and the nation.

In conclusion, let me say that younger and less experienced as I am than many of you, I feel greatly honoured for being asked to place these few ideas before you. Most of these were imbibed by me at the feet of my late revered father. May these passing through a most unworthy channel not prove utterly fruitless.

PEACE

Peace is here, and sweetly lies
Slumbering on the fragrant lea,
His bed a riot of dewy flowers
So near, so dear to see.
Birds are singing o'er his head
Sweet, sweet they sing and soft,
Whilst fairy clouds scud thro' the sky
On dreamy wings aloft.
Still he slumbers, a silent lute
Lies near his heedless hand,
Not long ago his music thrilled
And sung to sleep the land.

LELAND J. BERRY

W. B. YEATS

IV

THIRD STAGE (*continued*).

The appearance in March, 1928, of new poems by Yeats under the suggestive title of "The Tower," with its implication of a vigilant survey of life from a detached height in a *meditative mood*, compels me to make a little addition to what I had written about the last stage of his development in the paper read in September, 1927. I do not find, however, any reason to **materially** alter my conclusions with which, I find, I may fit in what I have to say about his latest production. It will be remembered that I have already¹ noticed this new addition to his poetry and included it in the list of the works belonging to what I have described as his "Third Stage" or "Third Period." This latest volume of poems, "The Tower" (1928), contains, we are told, "part of an unfinished set of poems," those written at Yeats's country residence of Ballylee castle on legends, traditions and old stories already used by him in his prose works, "two songs for a chorus in a play with Christ's appearance to the Apostles after the Resurrection" for its theme (intended for a drawing-room performance), one poem on the Civil War of 1922, and a few **symbolic** pieces of which the symbols are explained by the poet in the Notes.

The influence of Neo-Platonism is easily discernible here.

"Youth and Age" (a quatrain, comp. 1924), "The Wheel," "The New Faces," "Among School Children," "A Man Young and Old"—are, with slight individual variations, practically treatment of the same theme having a bearing on the development I have attempted all along to trace.

¹ Vide *Calcutta Review* of May (1928), p. 161 and p. 157 with its footnote.

The key-note may be said to be struck in the lines—

“ Better to smile on all that smile, and show
There is a comfortable kind of old scare-crow ”,

and

“ The abstract joy,
The half-read wisdom of dæmonic images
Suffice the ageing man as once the growing boy.”

To this may be added the 4th stanza of “From Oedipus at Colonus”—

“ Never to have lived is best, ancient writers say ;
Never to have drawn the breath of life,
Never to have looked into the eye of day ;
The second best’s a gay good night and quickly turn away.”

The title-piece (comp. 1926) strangely begins—

“ What shall I do with this absurdity—
O heart, O troubled heart—this caricature,
Decrepit age, that has been tied to me
As to a dog’s tail?
Never had I more
Excited, passionate, fantastical
Imagination, nor an ear and eye
That more expected the impossible—”

* * *

“ It seems that I must bid the Muse go pack,
Choose Plato and Plotinus for a friend
Until imagination, ear and eye,
Can be content with argument and deal
In abstract things.” * *

Here, we observe, a new note is struck—showing the brilliant activity of “unageing intellect” which seems to get the better of emotion by which Yeats once set store.

Does it not strike us as something strange that peace and contentment towards which (as we have been noticing in this study of his poetry) the poet seemed to have been gradually and somewhat painfully working—after the temporary disillusion¹

¹ Vide pp. 152, 154-55, 157-58, 161 and 164 of the *Calcutta Review* for May, 1928.

and sadness that disturbed the balance of his soul—is once more allowed to be disturbed, however temporarily and slightly?

Not knowing what to do with old age, despite all its wisdom, he proclaims—while “pacing upon the battlements” of his tower resembling that in which “*Il Penseroso's* Platonist toiled on”—

“And (I) send imagination forth
Under the day's declining beam, and call
Images and memories
From ruin or from ancient trees,
For I would ask a question of them all.”

Yea,

“Images in the Great Memory stored,
Come with loud cry and panting breast
To break upon a sleeper's rest.”

and, to “question all, come all who can” is now his free and liberal invitation. As freely does he dismiss all, impatient to be gone, after having found an answer in **their eyes**,—only Hanrahan must be left with him, “for I need all his mighty memories.” From this “old lecher with a love on every wind” the poet's peremptory demand is

“Bring up out of that deep considering mind
All that you have discovered in the grave.”

And, further, if the imagination dwells more upon a woman lost than a woman won,

“Admit you turned aside
From a great labyrinth out of pride,
Cowardice, some silly over-subtle thought
Or anything called conscience once.”

In “Meditations in Time of Civil War”¹ he elucidates his

¹ Yeats lays great stress on meditation in this piece as well as in the title-piece and not on emotion pure and simple. Light is thrown on this attitude by a valuable remark in his “*Autobiographies, Reveries, etc.*,” made in the course of his interpretation of the life and art of Dante and Villon in accordance with his own speculations. “They and their sort alone earn,” he observes, “contemplation, for it is only when the intellect has wrought the whole of life to drama, to crisis, that we may live for contemplation, and yet keep our intensity” (p. 389).

new creed by falling back on the idea that "only an aching heart conceives a changeless work of art" and that "none could pass heaven's door that loved inferior art," and his fear is that his

"Descendants may lose the flower
Through natural declension of the soul,
Through too much business with the passing hour."

The whole is summed up in the two lines—

"Nothing but stillness can remain when hearts are full
Of their own sweetness, bodies of their loveliness."

It is not possible to quote the whole of Sec. III of the poem which gives the volume its name as it runs to 75 lines beginning with "It is time that I wrote my will."

Here he avers—

"I choose upstanding men,
That climb¹ the streams until
The fountain leap, and at dawn
Drop their cast at the side
Of dripping stone ; I declare
They shall inherit my pride."

He next defines this pride and proceeds to declare his faith—

"I mock Plotinus' thought
And cry in Plato's teeth,
Death and life were not
Till man made up the whole,
Made lock, stock and barrel
Out of his bitter soul,
Aye, sun and moon and star, all,
And further add to that
That, being dead, we rise,
Dream and so create
Translunar Paradise.
I have prepared my peace
With learned Italian things
And the proud stones of Greece.

¹ This reminds us of Browning's "Grammarian."

Poet's imaginings
 And memories of love,
 Memories of the words of women,
 All those things whereof
 Man makes a superhuman,
 Mirror-resembling dream."

Contrasting the present with the past he says in "Nineteen-Nineteen"—

"So the Platonic year
 Whirls out new right and wrong"

and in a half-cynical sorrowful way confesses—

"O but we dreamed to mend
 Whatever mischief seemed
 To afflict mankind, but now
 That winds of winter blow
 Learn that we were crack-pated when we dreamed."

Here we have the disillusionment of romance and idealism produced by the terrible experiences of the Great War and the post-war *malaise*; but Shelley, we cannot forget, in the face of the most discouraging realities, can hearten us by reminding all faint-hearted idealists that if winter comes spring cannot be far behind. Yet after mocking at the great, the wise, the good in this bitterness of the soul, the poet goes on—

"Mock mockers after that
 That would not lift a hand may be
 To help good, wise or great,
 To bar that foul storm out, for we
 Traffic in mockery."

This is, we exclaim, in the right spirit of the Second Part of Goethe's *Faust*.

Yeats evinced even in early life a genuine eagerness for *self-possession* even when his days and nights were given to impassioned recitations of poetry, hot political debates of the Young Ireland Society in York Street, socialist propaganda (at

the gatherings in the house of Morris), enthusiastic activities as an initiate to the Hermetic Society founded by MacGregor Mathers in Charlotte Street, noted for alchemical and magical experiments dominated by Liddle Mathers (who later on joined the Celtic Movement) or while he plunged furiously into the very eddies and cross-currents of the Young Ireland Movement (as recorded in the *Autobiographies, Reveries, etc.*, Book II, under the heading of "Ireland after Parnell"). From Blake he learnt to hate all mere abstractions and wild mysticism. Contact with Madame Blavatsky (in a house at Norwood when she had practically no followers) produced the same result, for, she too was a strong advocate of self-control and mastery over one's mind. This is one of the reasons why even as a great admirer of Shelley and while burning with an intense desire for Ireland's emancipation, he systematically refused to be a revolutionist like Shelley in his advocacy of radical changes (*cf. Autobiographies, Reveries, etc.*, Book V, "The Stirring of the Bones," pp. 433-444 relating to 1897-1898).

In this connection I have to note an important art principle by which a poet's personal emotion is merged as it were into something universal in appeal, making lyrical revelation of self less offensive than purely egotistic self-confession (say, of the Byronic type), without at the same time ceasing to unburden the laden heart of a sensitive person who has really felt and personally suffered and through suffering realised something unique which every man and woman in the world cannot be expected to do. In Yeats's view, it appears, powerful yet intimate and simple emotions, resembling those of all mankind in general, should be able to avoid the modern malady of psychological analysis of feeling. In his lyrical poetry, he tells us in his *Autobiographies, Reveries, etc.*, he made it a point to weave "personal emotion into a general pattern of myth and symbol" (page 187). He then adds that he sought next "to create that sensuous musical vocabulary that comes at need" and without which a poet fails to move his readers' heart. He

proposed to leave this new style as a legacy to later Irish poets. Here we detect a faint desire to found a "school" which, however, Yeats, we must have the courage to say, was hardly fit to achieve even though he happened to be the originator of the neo-Celtic movement and equally the central figure of a group of writers and admirers who formed round him something better than a mere coterie or clique.

Suggestive hints may be gathered from such lines as—

" And then I laugh till tears run down
And the heart thumps at my side,
Remembering that her shriek was love
And that he shrieks from pride."

* * *

" I could recover if I shrieked
My heart's agony
To passing bird, but I am dumb
From human dignity." ("A Man Young and Old.")

In "All Souls' Night" there is reference to "a discourse in figurative speech by some learned Indian on the soul's journey" and in his *Autobiographies*, speaking of Theosophy; Yeats refers to his conviction that "If wisdom existed anywhere in the world it must be in some lonely mind admitting no duty to us, communing with God only, conceding nothing from fear or favour" which forcibly reminds us of an Indian sage or a Moslem *Faquer* (or a Tibetan Mahatma) and the Theosophist's Master. Despite his insistence¹ in this last volume of 1928, on *isolation*, Yeats, we know, was made by nature gregarious, one fond of commerce with men (never gloomy or solitary) and even "ready to deny from fear or favour his dearest conviction that he loved proud and lonely things." We further know from his *Autobiographies*, etc., that in later years his mind gave itself to the gregarious Shelley's dream of a young man,—his hair blanched with sorrow, studying philosophy in some lonely tower or of his old man,—master of all human knowledge, hidden from human

¹ Cf. "All Souls' Night" in "The Tower," p. 103.

sight in some shell-strewn cavern of the Mediterranean shore (cf. *Hellas* for the Wandering Jew, *Ahasuerus* and *Autobiographies*, *Reveries*, etc., Bk I, Sec. XVIII).

Sec. XXI of his *Autobiographies* serves as a valuable commentary on the contents of some of the new poems in "The Tower" volume (published March, 1928). It indicates a development in Yeats from the early emotionalism of 1890 onwards to intellectualism and thence back again to a new emotionalism of what I have called the third stage of his poetic career. In this process of growth his mind and art pass from abstraction to pre-Raphaelitism and again from the concrete to a more developed type of abstraction and from Science and Philosophy to Poetry and Art.

To put this whole complex movement briefly, I may say that Yeats generalised a good deal yet felt ashamed of it, prayed for rescuing his imagination from abstraction and became, like Chaucer, thoroughly pre-occupied with life in its¹ abundance, fulness, variety and complexity, as a poet ought to be. For about a dozen years he was full even of remorse till his abstractions composed themselves into imagery, picture, dramatisation and brought him contentment. A similar artist's soul-tragedy is very skilfully and elaborately worked out, for example, in Mr. Middleton Murry's excellent study of Keats and Shakespeare.

Now, this remorse injured somewhat Yeats's early poetry by affecting it with just a touch of sentimentality (through his refusal to permit his intellect to have its due share in that poetry, for he then considered his intellect to be impure). Some of his important convictions may here be briefly stated to serve as our guide.

"Our intellects at 20 contain," he records, "all the truths we shall ever find" and what he calls "*The Mask*" is an "emotional antithesis to all that comes out of the internal nature;" and, again, that "as life goes on we discover that certain

¹ Cf. "Gift of Harun Al Rashid" (pp. 88-89 of "The Tower")—"But what if I," etc., to "And yet herself can seem youth's very fountain, being all brimmed with life."

thoughts sustain us in defeat or give us victory, whether over ourselves or others," and "it is these thoughts, tested by passion, that we call convictions."

"The world is but a bundle of fragments."

Subject-matter in art or literature is very important and the arts were not independent of one another (as Huxley, Tyndall, Duran, and Bastien-Lepage held).

Yeats believed that "in man and race alike there is something called *"Unity of Being"* using the term as Dante did when he compared beauty in the *Convito* to a perfectly proportioned human body. He believed that "in true love there is as much desire as in lust," only desire in true love "awakens pity, hope, affection, admiration."

"Abstraction is the enemy of this Unity of Being." Renaissance by its differentiation broke up Europe's homogeneity of thought and from Chaucer's day music became isolated from verse. From the 17th century painting was isolated from religion, machinery from handicraft, and modern class distinctions have produced isolation of man from man and in the arts creation of division among generations of men through technique, till

"Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned."

Hence there was in Yeats and his friends an eager groping for founding a new poetic art for himself and for the whole of Ireland and an earnest quest of unity like what existed from the 11th to the 13th century in Europe, to be achieved not by the eclectic method of epitomizing all human knowledge but by a philosophical outlook on the totality of life *vitalised by passion*.

These vague yet sure, though somewhat instinctive, first preludings in Yeats of the idea of forming a new intellectual and artistic movement was destined to form later on the basis of the Celtic Movement (after 1891). It is significant that young Ireland as it then was cared like young Bengal only for politics

as the means of national regeneration, leaving literature and the arts in a subservient position. Rabindranath has accomplished for Bengal something parallel to what Yeats in the 90's did for Ireland.

This rapid survey of speculations in Yeats is necessary for a proper appreciation of the real significance of intellectual inquisitiveness, outburst of indignation, note of deep sadness and personal disquietude caused by memories and associations, doubt and despondency, which pervade these new poems which stand so much apart from his earlier work. "Images" have a prominence in this volume and this feature will not disconcert readers acquainted with Yeats's speculations about images and their function, about Race Memory, age-long memorised Self, genius, personified spirits and passions, with which Sec. IV of Book III of his *Autobiographies*, *Reveries*, etc., entitled *Hodos Chameliontes*, abound.

The last poem "All Souls' Night" so full of reminiscences elaborately recorded in his *Autobiographies* and the immediately preceding one, "The Gift of Harun Al-Rashid" (written somewhat in Browning's manner) arrest our attention by the quality of their imaginative beauty and the exquisite charm of melody and metrical skill. We realise here how "Violent great hearts can lose their bitterness and find the honey-comb." We learn that

"The Soul's own youth and not the body's youth
Shows through our lineaments,"

and that though the great prince accepting the Bedouin saying "change the bride with spring," thinks that love has seasons, Kusta Ben Luka, the Bagdad philosopher (and the sender of an epistle to the Caliph's learned Treasurer), brought up in the Byzantian faith, must assert that "when I choose a bride I choose for ever," for, love

"Must needs be in this life and in what follows
Unchanging and at peace, and it is right
Every philosopher should praise that love."

The story tells us in the poem that a girl touched by the philosopher's life-history was moved to bestow on him a woman's care and, out of love for him or on account of the mystery that dazed his sight, she proposed one moonless night to expound "what's bowed his shoulder and made pale his cheek," while she was yet half awake and half asleep.

In that mystic hour "she seemed the learned man and he the child," till

"Truths without father, came, truths that no book
Of all the uncounted books that I have read
Nor thought out of her mind or mine begot
Self-born, high-born, and solitary truths,
Those terrible implacable straight lines
Drawn through the wandering vegetative dream,
Even those truths that when my bones are dust
Must drive the Arabian host."

We also know that

•
"The voice has drawn
A quality of wisdom from her love's
Particular quality. The signs and shapes;
All those abstractions that you fancied were
From the great treatise of Parmenides;

* * * *

Are but a new expression of her body
Drunk with the bitter sweetness of her youth.
And now my utmost mystery is out.
A woman's beauty is a storm-tossed banner;
Under it wisdom stands, and I alone—
Of all Arabia's lovers I alone—
Nor dazzled by the embroidery, nor lost
In the confusion of its night-dark folds
Can hear the armed man speak."

Charmed by the exquisite beauty of this mystic piece in which imagination is harmoniously wedded to music, we exclaim—

“ Can poet’s thought
That springs from body and in body falls
Like this pure jet, now lost amid blue sky
Now bathing lily leaf and fishes’ scale,
Be mimicry ? ”

Marvellous too is the metrical effect achieved by skilful handling of Alexandrines in the last poem of the volume or in “ Nineteen-Nineteen,” and of long and short lines in “ The Tower.”

Romantic melancholy is now deepened into humour born of pathos roused by grief which ever is at the core of things. A detached aloofness too now grows upon Yeats by virtue of which

(He has a) “ mind that in the common sound
From every quarter of the world, can stay,
Wound in mind’s pondering
As mummies in the mummy-cloth are wound.”

Memories of man, events, past imaginings, and æsthetic experiences reappear here in a vivid form, set over against actualities of the present, and even in this stage, possibly his last, we note that **moods** predominate.

If called upon to name one single outstanding quality or dominant note as significantly characteristic of Yeats as a poet of the new order and new age, I shall say that throughout the best part of his works shines an ardent steady light of the burning flame of spiritual fervour expressed in melodious language and in simple yet beautiful imagery directly connected with Ireland. Now it flickers with a faint dimness, now it blazes out with a dazzling glamour till the ordinary reader may feel that he is painfully groping for that clear brightness which common mortals need as an illuminating guide in the perplexing ways of life. Here Yeats is with another great

brother artist who is a pronounced mystic too, *viz.*, W. Blake. Such poets, it must be admitted, sometimes drive the majority of poetry readers by their heavy demands to Wordsworth whose sober shining glory is surely much easier to follow as a safer guide.

(To be continued)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

THE CHARIOT

In temple-chariot of this human-form
My Prince with lightning-lash has come to guide,
Thro' forests all aflame, mid thundering storm
The flashing chariot flies with fearless pride,
To cut the flanks of *Rakshas* ranks !

Yet oft he grows invisible; the soul
In haunted, lonesome awe sobs wantonly !
“ I AM ! ” the answer comes, “ dark doubt-thieves stole
Your vision ! Yonder golden portals see,
Bright, of the Sun, that's where we run ! ”

Desire's steeds his touch all-loving know,
And neigh, and chafe, yet dare not fondly shy !
The virgin soul clings to his arm : below
A yawning chasm, overhead the sky !—
He smiles “ I died to gain your side ! ”

CYRIL MODAK

HINDU PHILOSOPHY IN THE MAKING

A word or two are necessary by way of introduction. We propose to trace the stages of the development of philosophical thought in the 'Upanishads and not the chronology of the six systems of Hindu Philosophy, which sprang up later from them.

The dualistic conception of God is noticeable in the earlier stage of thought. This stage is lower than that of the pantheism and idealism that developed later. I do not, of course, mean thereby that there might not have been persons who could conceive of pantheism even then.

In this theistic stage of religion, people thought that God creates the individual soul and the world out of nothing. But in pantheism, the individual soul or the world is not a creation of God but manifestation of the Absolute. The identity, though it may not be mathematical identity, of the Absolute with the individual soul is maintained by the Chhandogya (छान्दोग्योपनिषत्) and Brihadāraṇyaka (बृहदारण्यक).¹

This was, however, incomprehensible to the popular theistic view, which distinguishes a plurality of souls, different from one another and from the Absolute—the creative source of the universe. This distinction between the Supreme Soul (परमात्मा) and the individual soul (जीवात्मा) is involved in the conception of Prajāpati (प्रजापति) evolved in the Mantra period of the Rig-veda. It is developed for the first time in the Kathopanishad (कठोपनिषत्) where God and the soul are contrasted as light and shade.²

In श्वेताश्वतर 4.6 and सुष्टक 3.1 also, we notice that the

¹ तत्त्वमसि श्वेतकीर्ती...—छान्दोग्य ६।८।७; यद्वा एतदक्षरं गार्गि अदृष्टं द्रष्टुं, अयुतं श्रोत्रं, असतं मनः, अविज्ञातं विज्ञातं, नात्यन्तं अतीतिं द्रष्टुं, नात्यन्तं अतीतिं श्रोत्रं, नात्यन्तं दक्षिणं मन्त्रं; उः आः, १।८।११।

² अतं पिवन्ती सुकृतस्य लोके ।
कायातपी ब्रह्मविदो वदन्ति ।

गुह्यं प्रविष्टो परमे पराङ्गे ॥
पञ्चाग्रयो धी च विनाशिकेताः ॥

same distinction between the individual (जीवात्मा) and the Supreme Soul (परमात्मा) is recognised. The passage हा सुपर्वा सयुजा सखाया, etc., is well-known. Prof. Deussen asserts that this conception is only a re-assertion of the old theistic view. The Absolute and the individual in these Upanishads are represented as two birds, living on the same tree—one feeding on the fruits (of action) and the other abstaining from eating and only looking on as a spectator. These passages have, of course, been explained in the light of pantheism by Śaṅkara and others, but this, I think, came much later. It cannot, however, be asserted that there were not thinkers in the Upanishadic period who could conceive such things. But our task is to trace the development of the general conception of Godhead in the days of the Upanishads.

Next came an age of conflict—that between theism and atheism. The latter was a natural consequence of the former. Theism distinguishes three realities : (i) the world, (ii) the creative power—God, and (iii) the individual soul (जीवात्मा). Recognition of the independent existence of nature and of individual soul exercises a prejudicial influence on the creative soul—(परमात्मा) or God. Thus, when separated from the living individual soul and nature, this परमात्मा or God becomes a mere abstraction altogether superfluous, because the creative power, attributed to him, might be transferred to nature and individual souls, separately or collectively, known respectively as Prakriti or Māyā (प्रकृति or माया) and Hiraṇyagarbha or Prajāpati (हिरण्यगर्भ or प्रजापति) in the later सांख्य and वेदान्त systems of philosophy. Thus the way was prepared for doing away with the superfluous Īśvara (ईश्वर) and for the development of atheistic theory, which in the post-Vedic age was represented by the atheistic systems of philosophy of the Cārvākas, the Jains, and the Buddhists, who were सभाववादिन् and कार्यवादिन् as well as the orthodox सांख्य school, which maintained कृतकार्यवाद.

The next stage was the stage of harmony. In this stage grew pantheism and subjective idealism—abstract and negative

pantheism and subjective idealism of Yājñavalkya (याज्ञवल्क्य). Before proceeding further, I wish to say something here about pantheism. Hindu pantheism means not only that all that is is God but that all that is is in God, in other words, that the phenomenal world has no separate independent existence of its own but is dependent on God or Brahman, who, Himself independent, transcends the changeable phenomenon. The universe is but a very very inadequate manifestation of God. As the spider is personally the efficient and, by virtue of its body (in which it is located), the material cause, as regards its thread, so God, by virtue of His nature, is the efficient and, by virtue of what He is located in, i.e., the aggregate of the phenomenal, the material cause. No effects or changes can entirely exhaust or completely manifest the nature of the cause. The cause is not therefore the sum-total of its effects but is something more. The changes appear in the cause ; they are sustained by it and they ultimately merge in it. The effects are all distinct (व्यावृत्त) from one another, but the identical (अनुगत) cause is what pervades them. He is beyond the spatial and temporal order of the world which cannot enter into the essence of His being—His immanent activity directing and controlling the process of the world. The divine end is working from within and fulfilling itself in and through the order of nature. The consequent generation is not "all is one" but "all depends on one."

Pantheism, as defined above, marks the third stage of thought. By way of protest against the atheistic doctrine of a प्रधान or असत्कार्यवाद, there is developed by याज्ञवल्क्य in the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्, in his disputations with his adversaries or with his patron Janaka of Videha, the boldest abstract and negative pantheism and subjective idealism, culminating in the assertion that Âtman is the only Reality and that nothing exists beyond it. We sum up the doctrine below.

(i) The only reality is the आत्मन् or the Self and it is thus the essence, the soul, the central principle of the universe, which exists in it only as a veil or mask, concealing its essential unity.

The unreality or the illusive character of the world and the individual soul is implied in the doctrine of the sole reality of ब्रह्मन् and in the oldest Upanishads. The doctrine that the world is an illusion (माया) produced by ब्रह्मन् as a magician (मायिन्), is expressly met with in the खेताखनरोपनिषत् (*cf.* मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यात् मायिन् तु महेश्वरम्—4.10) and in such passages of बृहदारण्यक, where द्वैत (duality—the distinction of Ego and Non-Ego : Self and non-Self) is spoken of as only apparent like the creations of our dream which is resolved, when real enlightenment is attained, into the unity of absolute cognition in which there is no distinction of subject and object.³

(ii) The Âtman is the subject of knowledge in us. This आत्मन् is no other than the knower of all knowing in us ; for this only is our real self : mental phenomena, which were often mistaken for आत्मन्, are as much an object to it as the external world.⁴

(iii) The Âtman, the pure Subject, is itself unknowable by reflection or any mental operation. All the inner mental states being foreign to it as an object to subject, it follows that the real Subject, the knower of all the states can never be made an object of knowledge like other objects.⁵ The Âtman as pure Subject is cognition in itself, lying behind the relation of the phenomenal self (जीवात्मा) and the objects known by it, the mental phenomena and the world of perception.⁶ Finally, we come to the last stage. This also was a natural consequence of the previous one. The subjective idealism of यादवस्मार्त, which denied the reality of the world, though it did not say

³ Cf. 4.5.15 of बृहदारण्यक—यच्च द्वि द्वैतमिव भवति तदितर इतरं पश्यति, etc.

⁴ Cf. तदा एतदक्षरं गार्गि ब्रह्मं ब्रह्म, etc.—3.8.11 of उः आः ।

⁵ Cf. विज्ञातारमरे केन विज्ञानीयात् ।

⁶ Cf. स एष नेति नेति इत्यात्मा, न हि गृह्यते, etc., 4.2.4 of उः आः । ब्रह्मसत्यवशाद्येवमात्मनस्तत्त्वमसि-चिन्मयपदिश्यमेकात्मप्रत्ययसारं प्रपञ्चोपशम शान्तं शिवमहत्तुं चतुर्थं मनन्ते, स आत्मा, स विज्ञेयः (मुण्डक) । 4 ।

यतो वाचो निर्वर्तते अप्राप्य मनसा सह । आह्वन्दं ब्रह्म विद्मन् न विभेति कदाचन । (ऐतरेय,

यज्ञान्तं तत्त्वान्तं नतं यस्य न वेद सः । अविज्ञातं विज्ञानाद्वा विज्ञातमविज्ञानताम् । (केन, 2/3.)

that it was false like *अश्विषाण* or *खपुष्य*, was gradually changed into concrete pantheism and absolute idealism, which became more popular, by the admission of the reality of the world in a qualified sense, by making it a part and aspect of the transformation of the *Âtman*. In this way, the theory of development of eternal aspects of *ब्रह्म* explains the origin and existence of the world *from* and *in* the *Âtman* and *for* the *Âtman*, and thus reconciles the existence of the world with the sole reality of *ब्रह्म*.

This stage of development is attained in the *छान्दोग्योपनिषत्* in “*सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्मः तज्जलान्*”—3.14.1, in “*यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, येन जातानि जौवन्ति, तत् प्रयन्ति, अभिसंविशन्ति, तद्विजिज्ञासस्व, तद्ब्रह्मेति*” of *तैत्तिरीय*. The idea is also found in *हृद्द्वारस्थक*, 2.1.10, which runs, “Just as a spider can retract its thread, etc.” or in the *अग्निस्फुलिङ्ग* example. The culmination of this synthesis of monism and dualism (*द्वैत* and *अद्वैत*) is found in *Svetâśvatara* (*श्वेताश्वतर*), where nature, the finite spirit, and *Iswara* (*ईश्वर*) are conceived as together forming Brahman, the totality of all, which contains them as its factors.⁷

This, in brief, is the history of the successive stages of development of Hindu Philosophy, as revealed in the Upanishads. From this, it will appear how India developed a philosophy of her own as early as the Vedic Period, how even then she dreamt that dream of peace, that dream of seeking after God that has made her different from the rest of the world. India's essential greatness consists in this. We must—it is our duty—uphold this first of all. Rightly has it been said, as Sir John Woodroffe puts it, that when a man loses faith in his own historic past, he cannot have any faith in, and respect for, himself.

KUNJALAL DATTA

⁷ Cf. शांति, द्वावजानीशानीशवता छे का भीतुर्भाग्याधुता, अनन्तशान्ता, विश्वरूपीशकता यं ब्रह्म विन्दते ब्रह्ममेतत्।

EVOLUTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LIVING AND NON-LIVING FROM THE STANDPOINT OF MĀYĀ-VĀDA

The old controversy over the question of evolution in which Huxley and Gladstone played such prominent parts has been revived after the trial of the school-master of Tennessee, sharply dividing American thought into Fundamentalism and Modernism. In England also the question has once more become a living issue after the last British Association presidential address (1927) by Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S., and the bold plea put in by the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Barnes, F.R.S.) in a Westminster Abbey sermon on September 25, 1927, for an entire reconstruction of theology on the basis of the Darwinian hypothesis. Here in India we are but lookers-on. The fanaticism of the Fundamentalist is inconceivable to us as Mosaic cosmogony, is no part of our creed. The doctrine of evolution or *Satkārya-vāda* or *parināma-vāda* has been a leading tenet with the Sāṅkhyas. The Advaita-vedāntists accept neither the atomism of the Nyāya-vaisheshikas nor the theory of creation of the crude Dualist, nor do they accept the Sāṅkhya doctrine of evolution. To them they are all unsatisfactory, and they have subjected all these theories of the universe (Jagat) to a vigorous criticism. They say that as no explanation of the universe (Jagat) is satisfactory, so it should be called *Māyā* or *Indrajāla*. To them it is hardly a problem at all, for it is *tuccha* (a matter of indifference). It has got to be renounced. The only thing that matters to them is Atman or Brahman. In the *Samādhi* or *turiya* state the world simply vanishes. This is the highest spiritual experience and Sankarācharya has very pithily recorded it in verse 485 of his *Viveka-chudāmaṇi*, beginning with the words : *Kva gatam, kena vā nītam* (where is it gone, who has absorbed it!). Because it vanishes therefore it is false.

It is the *vivarta* of Brahman. It is the rope mistaken for the snake. Why worry about that which is false? This is strictly the position of the Advaitist. According to Huxley, the position is one of "inverted agnosticism;" but the statement is not correct, for the Advaitist does not say that the world is unknowable in the sense in which God is unknowable to Herbert Spencer or Huxley. According to Huxley, God may or may not exist and even if He exists, He is unknowable. According to Herbert Spencer, He exists but is unknowable. They do not say that God is false. The Advaitist's attitude to the world is different. He says that it is false but *bhava-padārtha*, that is, it is not like the horn of the hare (absolutely non-existent) but it is like the rope mistaken for the snake, or in other words, it is false, though existent in a certain sense. The latest conclusion of Science also supports the doctrine of Maya in its own way, for Science now says that matter is immaterial.

2. Just as the old Vedantist rejected the evolution of the Sāṅkhyas, so the new Vedantist rejects the modern doctrine of evolution. The new Vedantist also rejects the attempt that is made by some well-meaning people at the reconciliation of creation with evolution when they say that the idea of evolution is not opposed to that of creation, but evolution should be regarded as a method of creation. He rejects the attempt, as no reason has been given why evolution should be so regarded at all.

3. Evolution is at best a hypothesis. It is not a name for the *cause* of the order of the external world. It merely describes the *process* or *effect*, or, in other words, it does not explain *why* but tries to explain *how*. "Variation just happens as Topsy 'grewed.'" Even the description of the process or answer to the question "how" is very halting and unsatisfactory, for variations are not always slight. There are so many chasms and gulfs that are simply un-bridgeable, so many 'missing links' that the wonder is that this disjointed world stands together at all. For these breaks and chasms a reference is invited to an article in the Nineteenth Century and After,

January, 1928, contributed by J. A. Fleming, D.Sc., F.R.S., President of the Victoria Institute or Philosophical Society of Great Britain. The title of the article is 'Truth and Error in the Doctrine of Evolution.' The term 'emergent evolution' has been invented to get over the difficulty presented by the breaks, but it does not explain anything whatever, for naming is not explaining. The Vedantist then may very well say that it is all *indrajāla* or illusion. He may very well say that it is all Māyā.

4. From the standpoint of Einstein's theory of Relativity also, evolution is an illusion. Let me quote the summary of the conclusion of Dr. Robb in *Evolution in the light of Modern Knowledge—A Collective Work* published by Blackie in 1925. The summary has been given in the *Times Literary Supplement*, August 27, 1925. It runs as follows :

"In one serious matter, however, a recent use of scientific material by philosophy has seemed to disturb the theory of evolution either in its general or in its restricted sense. Evolution implies a real past or present, and infers a real future. But if time is only one of four dimensions describing or determining an event, and if the time determinant for any event has any indefinite range of variation in accordance with the choice of the other determinants, *evolution must be an illusion of a particular observer.*" The italics are mine.

5. Darwin tried to explain nothing more than the origin of species by the hypothesis of evolution and he modestly confined himself to the phenomena of living organisms, but some of his imaginative successors try to explain everything by the term 'evolution.' In our country Sir J. C. Bose is bold enough to maintain that there is no such thing as Non-Living and so many of our uncritical countrymen think that he has made the path of evolution extraordinarily easy.

6. Evolution is a very large subject and I am not going to write an exhaustive dissertation on the theme. I propose nothing more than to examine very briefly the claim of Sir

Jagadis that " he has bridged the gulf between the things that are called Non-Living and the things that are called Living and its implication that evolution is a continuous process without any break, chasm or hiatus.

7. In 1857 Pasteur once for all demolished the mediæval theory of abiogenesis and triumphantly established the theory of biogenesis. If Sir J. C. Bose is right, then all this quarrel between biogenesis and abiogenesis is nothing but a fight with shadows, for according to him non-living phenomena simply do not exist, or, in other words, there is nothing in the world but the living. Sir J. C. Bose has been iterating and re-iterating this theory since the year 1900 in which he read his paper. On the similarity of effect of electrical stimulus on inorganic and living substances before the International Congress of Science, Paris, Sir J. C. Bose summarises his conclusion thus : " In all the phenomena described above there is no break of continuity. It is difficult to draw a line and say ' here the physical phenomenon ends and the physiological begins ' or ' that is a phenomenon of dead matter and this is a vital phenomenon peculiar to the living ; ' such lines of demarcation do not exist." Again, in his Friday Evening Discourse, Royal Institution, May, 1901, Sir Jagadis says that " electrical response is regarded as the criterion between the living and non-living ", and then, after showing that the so-called non-living also respond to the electric stimuli, concludes that " the physiological is, after all, but an expression of the physico-chemical, and that there is no abrupt break, but a continuity ". Then again in his latest discourse on the occasion of the tenth anniversary meeting of the Bose Institute on the 29th November, 1927, Sir J. C. Bose says : " In the pursuit of my investigations I was unconsciously led into the border region of physics and physiology and was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact emerging between the realms of the Living and the Non-Living ". And in the same address he makes the astounding pronouncement

that "the dust particle and the earth are thus instinct with sensibility and with an enlarged cosmic sense we may come to regard the million orbs that tread their path through space as something akin to organisms, having a definite history of their past and an evolutionary progress for their future. We then realise that they are by no means insensate clods, locked in rigour of death, but active organisms, whose breath perchance is luminous iron vapour, whose blood is liquid metal and whose food is a stream of meteorites."

8. It is difficult to say whether the picture of the march of evolutionary progress with the 'breath,' 'blood' and 'food' of the million orbs is poetry or science. The corrective of the extravagance of Sir Jagadis will be found, however, in the following words quoted from the *Times Literary Supplement*, August 27, 1925, page 550, column 2, para. 3 :

"Evolution in the restricted sense as a process towards the complex from the simpler, is the best description of what we know of the present and the past of organic life. The causative principle which has gained most assent and encountered the fewest difficulties is natural selection or the survival of the fittest, very much in the form propounded by Darwin and Wallace. But the reality of this agency and still more the extent of its operation are still matters in dispute. They have had their great historical justification, inasmuch as they led to knowledge of the process. Any transference of the conception of evolution from the organic to the inorganic is at the most a metaphor. There is no scientific justification for any extension to the inorganic world of a conception of evolution which implies any notion such as the survival of the fittest, or indeed of progress. If metaphor be useful with regard to the changes of the inorganic world, in the present state of knowledge it seems more reasonable to speak of a running down towards annihilation than of a running up towards perfection." These remarks are based on the monumental work "Evolution in the light of Modern Knowledge". The italics are mine.

9. Now from Sir J. C. Bose's picture of the march of evolutionary progress and his 'breath,' 'blood' and 'food' of the million orbs let me come to what according to him is regarded as *the criterion* of life.

10. If Sir J. C. Bose's premiss that *the criterion* of life is response to the stimuli, be true, then his conclusion that there is no such thing as Non-Living must also be true. If his premiss be false then his conclusion also must be false.

11. The main issue being *the criterion* of life, the most important question for us is : **What is the fundamental fact of life**, since the fundamental fact of life is only another name for its criterion ? For an answer to the question we must go to the physiologist who alone can speak with authority' on the point. It will be seen that physiology does not regard response to the stimuli as the criterion of life.

12. According to the physiologist "**the fundamental fact of life is the metabolism of living substance** which is continually and spontaneously undergoing decomposition, and building itself up anew with the help of the food-substances it takes in. These processes of decomposition and of reconstruction may be briefly designated as dissimilation (catabolism) and assimilation (anabolism) respectively" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition—Article, Physiology).

13. Now, Sir J. C. Bose in his anxiety to give importance to his own experiments and discovery has perhaps unconsciously not only avoided the main issue altogether but has raised a false issue which hopelessly vitiates his conclusion.

14. Let me briefly indicate the nature of Sir J. C. Bose's experiments and discovery in the words of *Nature*, July 31, 1926, page 158.

"He (Sir Jagadis) incidentally observed, in the course of his researches, that the metallic receivers of the electric waves showed 'fatigue' after prolonged service, and regained their activity after a period of rest and conversely, that they became inert after too long a rest but could be revived by an electric

shock. He was so struck by the close resemblance of these phenomena to those presented by living muscle and nerve under similar conditions that he proceeded to make a series of comparative experiments, the results of which were embodied in his book 'Response in the Living and Non-Living' (1902). It is there established beyond doubt that metals (but apparently no other form of non-living matter) possess to a certain degree the 'irritability' which had hitherto been regarded as peculiar to living protoplasm."

15. And what are the conclusions? Let me quote the words of the writer in *Nature* again :

"This leads to the remarkable conclusions that 'irritability' is not exclusively the property of living matter, that the '*negative variation*' response is **not a sign of life**." The italics are mine.

16. And what is the conclusion of Sir J. C. Bose?

Just the opposite. According to him, it is not only **a sign** of life but **the criterion** of life.

17. Sir J. C. Bose's experiments are all right. Only his logic is bad. His theory is therefore unacceptable.

18. The criterion of life, as I have already said, is metabolism. This metabolism is nowhere to be found in the existences known as non-living mechanisms. Great scientists have therefore called life unique. An eminent writer in *Nature* (May 21, 1927, page 740) has called life a "miracle", which is as much as to say that it is all *indrajāla* or Maya.

19. In a very sensible article entitled Biology and Personality contributed by Professor D. Fraser Harris, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S. (Edin.), to the *Hibbert Journal* of July, 1926, the learned professor, a specialist in Physiology, says that "the possession of affectability or response to a stimulus is not a characteristic only of living beings." The most characteristically vital act, he stoutly maintains, is metabolism. This is not only Science but also common sense. The wonder is that so cardinal a distinction should be ignored by Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose.

20. It is a matter of regret that the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, in his lecture on the phenomena of Life reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of January 1, 1928, has lent support to the theory of Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose. The comparison he has instituted in the course of the lecture between crystals and living beings is peculiarly sterile. When he says that inorganic crystals 'grow' and therefore growth is no test of life, he entirely misconceives the meaning of the word 'growth.' The growth involved in metabolism is radically distinct from the growth of crystals. "The comparison of living beings to crystals is one that has often occurred to the minds of biologists, because crystals, like organisms, have a specific form which they preserve, with minor modifications, as they grow; but the difficulties of this comparison are obvious, and until now have appeared insuperable. Crystals grow by accretions to their outer surface; organisms by the inter-position of new living molecules amongst those already existing. The additions to the body, like those to crystals, come from the surrounding medium, but the molecules added to a crystal exist as such in the mother liquor and are merely precipitated on the crystals' surface, whereas those that build up the organism are elaborated by the organism itself out of simpler ones which it takes in as food. The crystal is a mass of similar molecules, whereas the organism is composed of different chemical substances arranged in a definite manner so as to build up a structure which will work...
...a crystal is a relatively static form of material, whilst every particle of a living being, so long as it is alive is in a continual state of destruction and reconstitution and this reconstitution is effected from relatively simple materials. Nothing at all similar to the miracle of assimilation is to be found outside the domain of life." (*Nature*, May 21, 1927—Article, Mechanism and Vitalism).

21. Let us turn now from the conclusions of science of the modern West to the wisdom of the *rishis* of the Upanishads

and the *āchāryas* of the Vedānta. Sir Jagadis and Sir Bepin Krishna receive no support from the ancient sages of India any more than they do from the modern Western Science. When we compare the conclusions of the Western science of to-day with those of our Upanishadic *rishis* and Vedāntic *āchāryas*, we are struck with the wonderful agreement in their views on the phenomena of life, for the Vedānta clearly distinguishes between living organisms and non-living mechanisms. The former it calls *chetana* and the latter *achetana*. The Brahma-sūtras recognise a distinct life-principle and designates it as the *mukhya prāṇa*. "Badarayana, while combating the Sāṅkhyas, who ascribe the origin of the universe to one unconscious material principle—*Pradhāna*, has clearly indicated the differences between the *chetana* and the *achetana* classes. Āchārya Śaṅkara in his memorable Bhāshya to the sūtras has recognised this well-known distinction (Śaṅkara's Bhashya, 2-1-4). But he has by way of explanation pointed out that this distinction obtains in the sphere of *vyavahāra* or convention only; in the sphere of *paramārtha* or true knowledge there cannot be any such distinction" (*Jivātman in the Brahma-sūtras*, Calcutta University publication, 1921, page 52). Now *vyavahāric* knowledge belongs to science which is *aparāvidya* and Sir Jagadis speaks as a Scientist from the standpoint of evolution. He should therefore observe the distinction and by observing the distinction admit like other Scientists that evolution does not explain the emergence of life and thus prepare the ground for Māya-vāda. We shall then be able to understand the *pāramārthic* standpoint of Śaṅkarāchārya.

22. "The Chhāndogya Upanishad in a text (6-3-1) speaks of the three *vijas* or seeds of the living beings, viz., *andaja* (born of egg), *jīvaja* or *Jarāyuja* (born of uterus) and *udbhijja* (plants)" *Ibid*, page 53). There is no mixing up of *chetana* and *achetana* here.

23. The confusion between the living and the non-living owes its origin to a crude idea of evolution. In the words of

Sir Oliver Lodge, " Old doctrines of creation were crude ; new doctrines of evolution are equally crude." Some people are so obsessed by the unscientific idea of infinite progress that they crudely think that evolution gives them the philosophy of life they seek. But their mind should be completely disabused of the false impression they are labouring under. *They should think of individual destiny first.* The 'evolution' of Science has nothing whatever to do with infinite progress. The world, Science says, moves in a cycle. " I believe that is the essence of the physical universe, to follow a cycle, round and round :— The plant assimilating inorganic materials, elaborating them into food for animals, the animals returning them in the inorganic form, ready for the plant ; energy taking the potential form, then the kinetic, then the potential again, and so on alternately for ever ; water evaporated, rising as vapour, then falling as rain, getting back into the sea, and being evaporated again. Everywhere we find a cyclical process in the material universe." (*Huxley Lecture on Evolution* delivered by Sir Oliver Lodge, at Charing Cross Hospital on Thursday, December 3, 1925, and reported in *Nature*, December 26, 1925, pages 939, etc.)

24. It is in the fitness of things that Huxley's " Cosmic process " should receive confirmation, though in a much milder form, from Sir Oliver Lodge in his *Huxley Lecture on Evolution*. Even the " gloomy Dean " is frightened at the idea which he calls " radical pessimism," and in his anxiety to make out that Christianity is an optimistic religion which it is not, delivers a lecture on Scientific Ethics. Dean Inge is not consistent, for he has spoken of the cyclical movement elsewhere. It is a pity he should not be able to shake off completely his theological prejudice.

25. We, Hindus, need not be frightened at the depressing picture of the cosmic process, for we have been consistent believers in the cyclical movement of the world. This is the ABC of our philosophy and religion. We know the world

to be a vicious circle which cannot be explained, and because it is vicious, therefore it is false, and its right name is *Māyā*. In the words of Śaṅkarāchārya :

दिनयामिन्धौ सायं प्रातः, शिशिरवसन्तौ पुनरायातः ।

कालः क्रीडति गच्छत्यायुस्तदपि न मुञ्चत्याशा वायुः ॥

(Day and Night, Morning and Evening, Winter and Spring return again and again. It is thus that Time sports. It is thus that Life runs out. Still men are dupes of false hope.)

We do not see teleology anywhere, neither immanent finality nor teleology related to a transcendent Deity or a Being at once immanent and transcendent. It is dysteleology all through. 'The whole creation' is **not** moving to 'a far-off divine event,' in the words of the poet ; nor can it be said with Hegel that the ideal is real and the real ideal.

26. Is there no hope then ? The Advaitist says : Yes. There is Hope, though it will sound ' too like despair ' to many. It need not, however, so sound, for

स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् ।

(Even the least of this *Dharma* saves from great fear.)

The Advaitist says : The spiritual value is supreme and you **can** get out of the vicious circle. How to get out ? How to realise ? Through *Nirriti*, through the denial of the will to live, through the voice of Ought, another name for the ethical process, the very reverse of the process of the material universe. This belongs to the *Sāadhan adhyāya* of the *Brahma Sūtra*. What is the end, the goal ? The end is *Mukti*, *Brahma-nirvāṇa*, absolute freedom, absolute renunciation, absolute good, perfection. This belongs to the *Phalādhyāya* of the *Brahma Sūtra*.

27. It is the message of strength. Very brave hearts alone can receive it. Very brave hearts alone can say : I am That ; I am That. Very brave hearts alone can say : I am the

Infinite, the Eternal. I am the Infinite as I have struck off all fetters and destroyed limitations—and as the infinite cannot be two, so I am the Only One that exists, the *Ekamevādvitīyam*. *Om tat sat Om*! This is mysticism and this is also logic—and this is the roar of the lion of Vedānta, the highest philosophy and the highest religion.

KAMAKHYANATH MITRA

PARTED

I pray God guide thee along pathways fair
Throughout each day, from dawn to setting sun,
And bless with loving care thy every choice,
For tho' we are apart, and life is void of fun,
Whilst there are song-birds, I shall have your voice !

I pray God keep this love for ever in thine heart
To light thy way thro' moments dull with tears
To help thee on with song and azure skies,
For tho' we are apart, and life is dark with fears,
Whilst there is sunshine, I shall have your eyes.

I pray God leave one hope to still endure
One hope for each to hold till I return,
And with our faith and this great blessing from above,
Tho' we are apart, along life's pathway I shall learn,
Whilst there is life, I shall have your love !

LELAND J. BERRY

Reviews

Mémoires of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 127. Pageant of King Mindon. By Chas. Duroiselle, M.A. Price Rs. 7-6 as. or 12s. 6d.

In this issue of the *Mémoires*, the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma Circle, has reproduced a number of fine pictures from paintings in a Burmese folding book at Mandalay, which represent the pageant of King Mindon Min, the immediate predecessor of Thibaw, leaving his palace on a visit to a marble image of the Buddha. This remarkable specimen of Burmese art with its display of quaint dresses, gorgeous uniforms and finely delineated figures of elephants, certainly deserves preservation. A short note on the development of this art and a brief account of Burma in the days of Alompra, Badôpayâ and Mindon Min would have added to the interest of the general reader.

HISTORICUS

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 32. Fragment of a Prajñāpāramitā Manuscript from Central Asia. By Pandit B. B. Bidyabinod. Price Re. 1-12 as. or 3s.

This fragment of a work on "Transcendental Knowledge" comes from the land of the Daradas (in the north-west corner of Kashmir) which, together with the land of the Khasas and Kuchikas, has yielded priceless treasures of Indian culture. The document is written in upright Gupta characters of the calligraphic type and resembles, in subject-matter and phraseology, the *Satasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. While the student of Indian history in general and of Mahāyāna Buddhism in particular will be grateful to the department of Archaeology for publishing similar fragments, it is permissible to observe that the value of such publications will be increased by longer introductory notes giving the general reader some idea of the class of literature to which the particular texts belong and their importance in the culture history of this country.

HISTORICUS

The Commission and After. By a Liberal, Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1928. Price Rs. 3.

In this little book of one hundred and sixteen pages the author, who belongs to the Liberal school of politics, and apparently hails from Western India, gives a brief account of the *personnel* of the Simon Commission, the reception which the announcement of its constitution met with in India, and the attitude of British politicians, and particularly of the Labour party, towards Indian questions in general and the Simon issue in particular. He seeks to demonstrate the hollowness of the pleas urged in justification of the total exclusion of Indians—even of those who are members of Parliament—from the Commission, and points out the anomaly of "Parliament sitting in judgment over its own conduct" (p. 65). He sounds a note of warning against the harmful effects of "decennial inquests" (p. 96). Discussing the question of the future constitution of India, he exposes the sophistry of those who assert that Western institutions are not fit for India. He makes a good case against the doctrinaire believers in village autonomy as the panacea for India's ills, and draws pointed attention to the undoubted fact that "the country was most prosperous whenever there was a strong central government and that the moment that the central government lost its power and initiative the progress towards disintegration and decay became quick." The problem of the Feudatory States receives attention from the author who shows a predilection for the Montford plan of an Indian Privy Council for the transition period, "the members of which will be Rulers of Indian States, as well as their subjects and prominent men from British India." Speaking about "the position of India *vis-a-vis* the Empire," the author, while admitting that Indian participation in Imperial Conferences has hitherto yielded little fruit, says "the Empire is not static. It is continually moving and progressing. The relations between its various members are being continually readjusted on new bases with reference to the new and changing conditions of the world. We have Dominion Self-Government before us as our political goal. It would, therefore, be a mistake to cut ourselves off from the contact with progress in the Dominions by non-co-operating with the Imperial Conference."

Referring to the question of social reform which looms large owing to the publication of a certain work by an American woman, the author expresses his agreement with the view that the strongest forces working for social emancipation are to be found outside Government circles, and that political liberty is sure to be followed by social progress. Discussing the lines of future reform, the author refers to the activities of the All

Parties' Conference and expresses his preference for a qualified franchise, the abolition of communal electorates and "a geographical redistribution of provinces which would emphasise the unity of the country as a whole and keep forces of disintegration in check."

The book is a useful contribution to the literature on the subject but is disfigured by too many misprints.

HISTORICAL

I. **The Hindu Colony of Cambodia.** By Prof. Phanindranath Bose, M.A., published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1927. (*Demy 8vo.*, pp. 410.)

Here is another book of Prof. Bose, probably the last of his series of works, on the history of the Indian colonies in the Far East. It is to be recognised that he was the first to undertake this interesting work as early as 1917-18 and has continued it with an admirable steadiness. He has written on Champa, Siam and China, and has tried his best to make the history of the Indian influence on those countries accessible to laymen as well as to scholars of this country. I had occasion to point out that though his works cannot claim any originality yet they have rendered a valuable service in popularising the subject at a time when all the scholarly works on it were existing only in French. There was absolutely nothing in English which the average Indian reader could utilise.

The present work of Prof. Bose appears to me to be the best of all that he has published till now. It is well printed and well presented. In this work also he follows the order previously adopted by him. Up to Ch. XIV he gives a sketch of the political history of Cambodia and from Ch. XV onwards he tries to trace the cultural history of the country. Except in certain details the author follows faithfully the previous researches on the subject and has presented them correctly. The attempt is a success and we recommend it to all interested in the subject.

P. 37. Prof. Pelliot's "Monumental Book Le Funan" (BEFEO III). It is simply an article of about 55 pages.

P. 272. "We know Vāgīśvari to be the Buddhist goddess of Learning." Vāgīśvari does not seem to belong to the Buddhist pantheon.

P. 281. "The people of Cambodia did not pay so much attention to Viṣṇu." It is not correct.

Pp. 373-374. Angkor Vat was never a Buddhist Monastery—but a Viṣṇu temple.

P. 374. "The Indo-Chinese Museum of Trocadero."—Trocadero Museum is in Paris and does not exclusively contain Indo-Chinese antiquities.

II. **Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia.** By Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee, Ph.D. (London), D. Lit. (Punjab); published by the Calcutta University, 1928 (8 vo. pp. 303).

Here is another book on ancient Cambodia which has a more serious tone than the preceding one. As is evident from the author's preface he had the opportunity to work with some of the best specialists on the subject and his knowledge not only of the French but also of the Dutch language has enabled him to take a comparative standpoint. The work, it should be admitted to the author's credit, is a distinct improvement on all previous literature on the subject. It was M. Georges Maspéro who made the first attempt to write a systematic memoir based on inscriptions and documents available at his time. His book *L'Empire Khmèr—Histoire et documents* appeared in 1904 but since then an enormous amount of work has been done on the subject. During the last 25 years the French School of Hanoi has systematically carried on their work of excavation and preservation of ancient monuments in different provinces of Cambodia and in course of its work a large number of ancient inscriptions have been discovered and edited by MM. Finot, Cœdès and others. Meanwhile similar work in Champa and Java and valuable informations supplied by Cœdès and Ferrand on the forgotten empire of Çrivijaya have enabled scholars to modify their previous theories and widen their angle of vision. Dr. Chatterjee has profited by these recent researches and has spared no pains in making his book up-to-date.

Cambodia or, to call it by its original name, Kambuja, was under Indian influence for more than a thousand years. A sort of colonial empire was established there by the Indian immigrants and *Kṣatriya* dynasties of rulers, of apparently Indian origin, ruled the country for a long time. The early history of this colonisation is shrouded in mist. There are no inscriptions prior to the 6th century A.D. and the only sources of information for this period are the Chinese documents. Some legends relating to the early Indian colonisation, of Cambodian origin, are preserved in Chinese and a study of these legends and other documents has permitted scholars to ascertain that by the first century A.D. Cambodia already received a stream of Indian immigrants. It was one Kauṭṭīya who came from India first and founded the kingdom of *Fu-nan* (a name still undeciphered; and supposed to be the transcription of the Khmer word *Bhnam* meaning 'mountain'). The dynasty founded by

Kaundinya ruled till the first half of the 6th century A.D. when Kambuja, originally a vassal state, overthrew *Fu-nan* under Citrasena who on ascending the throne assumed the name of Mahendravarman. From this time onwards we hear of *Fu-nan* as a name of the past; Kambuja rises in power and flourishes almost uninterruptedly till the end of the 18th century A.D.

Dr. Chatterjee treats the history of these twelve hundred years. He follows the chronological order but it is the cultural history which he paints in a political *cadre*. The very title of his book is noteworthy—“*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*.” We are not absolutely justified in calling the ancient kingdoms of the Far-East categorically “Indian colonies.” Titles like that are probably justifiable in common *parler* but from a more sober standpoint they have no justification.

While treating the history of these Far-Eastern kingdoms we have no right to ignore the people of that sub-continent—the Austric people—who were the recipients of the Indian culture. If it be admitted that the people of the same ethnic group occupied the Gangetic valley before the arrival of the Aryans and the Dravidians we have to wait and see to what extent the Eastern Indian culture, which was brought to the Far-East in later times, was impregnated by the ideas of this ancient people. The Austric people, even in historic times, appear as hardy navigators and it is this people who used to traverse the whole Indian Ocean from the coast of Africa to that of Australia and from the coast of Indo-China to that of America. It still remains to be seen if the ancient ports on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, Takkola, Tamuk, *Che-li-ta-lo*, etc., ports from which the Aryan colonisers sailed to the Far-East, came into existence before the Aryanisation of that coast. Besides it has been pointed out that the names of some of these ports and those of the provinces like Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Triliṅga, Utkala, Mekala etc., cannot be explained either by Sanskrit or Dravidian morphology. The beginning of the colonisation of the Far-East cannot be explained until these problems are properly tackled.

The numerical strength of the Indian immigration to those countries, it should be pointed out, was never sufficient to cause radical changes in the outlook of the vast indigenous population. They accepted certain elements of the Indian culture, imposed on them, for developing their own. If a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in those countries it should not be assumed on that account that Sanskrit was the current language there. The Khmer language in Cambodia as well as Cham in Champa continued to exist as proper vehicles of the respective

cultures of those 'countries.' The languages developed under Sanskrit influence and borrowed some Sanskrit vocabulary but ultimately they supplanted Sanskrit. The Indian art and architecture were imported but as soon as their guardians, the rulers of Indian origin, disappeared there was nobody to continue their tradition. Their exotic character became the sole cause of their decadence and ruin. The indigenous architect went back to his wooden model while introducing some Indian element in it.

Indian immigrants consisted of merchants, religious missionaries and adventurers of noble families and these people in course of time succeeded in establishing a supremacy in those countries which lasted for over a thousand years. They intermarried with the aristocracy of the land and with its help ruled the kingdom. They built royal cities and palaces, temples and monasteries and recorded their vanity in Sanskrit inscriptions. Autocratic rulers as they were, their culture influenced to a certain extent different domains of the peoples' life. But with their extinction the Indian domination was gone. The history of those Indians as gathered from their inscriptions and as deciphered from their monuments is only a passing phase in the history of the land. Under these circumstances the only thing we can speak of, without any violation of truth, is "Indian cultural and political influence in those countries." Dr. Chatterji, well acquainted with these difficult problems, has chosen a modest title for his book.

Another important feature of Dr. Chatterji's book is the comparative standpoint he has taken. The ancient history of Kambuja and Champa, Āṣṭivijaya, Java and Bali are interconnected with each other. The Indian immigrants followed the same route and when settled in these countries entertained relations, with each other, which were at times hostile when interests clashed. Thus a comparison of the legends current in those countries (pp. 7-11) is of great interest to those who want to make further investigation on the early history of the Indian immigration. In presenting the data already known Dr. Chatterji has his own method of looking at things. He has added a new interpretation of certain facts in the concluding chapter of the book. The influence of Magadha and Bengal on the Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna in Āṣṭivijaya and Kambuja (pp. 253-259), the intercourse between Bengal and the Archipelago (p. 264) are important additions to our knowledge. The echo of the popular Bengali tale of Āṣṭa-Vasanta is of great interest and the influence of North-Indian architecture (specially of Magadha) in the Far-East will be a starting point for future research on the subject. The

synchronistic Table will be a great help to readers who want to have the important events of the history of Further-India in a nutshell, Dr. Chatterji has fulfilled his task in a successful manner and his book, written as it is in a simple and lucid style, will be of interest to the specialist as well as to the layman. His book is not encumbered by too many foot-notes which have now-a-days become a positive terror to the reading public.

Coming to details, we are sorry to notice that there are a series of mistakes in transcription of proper names. The corrigenda rectify only a few of them. We hope the author will correct them properly in the second edition.

P. 2, (bottom) *kiao* seems to be the correct form meaning only a *pratyanta-janapada*.

P. 22, *che* (siz. *she*) *li-pa-mo* seems to be Çrivarman.

P. 26, Dr. Chatterji forgets the name of another Buddhist monk of Fu-nan, Subhūti (*Siu-p-u-ti*) who went to China in 557-558 A.D. and translated the *Mahāyāna-ratnamegha Sūtra*, now lost (cf. Bagchi—*Canon Bouddhique* I, p. 431).

P. 162, The *Madhyavibhāga śāstra* is without doubt the work of that name attributed to Vasubandhu, now existing in two Chinese translations prepared by Hsuan-ts'ang in 661. A.D., and Paramartha in 557-569 A.D. Cf. Nanjio's Catalogue nos. 1244 and 1248. *Madhyantavibhāga śāstra*. The *Tattvasaṃgraha* with its commentary is a well known work, now published in the *Gaekwar Oriental Series*, Vol XXX, 1926. The work is attributed to Çantarakṣita (first half of the 8th century) and the commentary to his disciple Kamalaçila who was his junior contemporary.

P. C. BAGCHI

Hindu Mysticism.—By S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D (Cal.), Ph.D (Cantab.), Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.

This work from the pen of the author of "History of Indian Philosophy" is an attempt within the compass of about 170 pages to bring home to Western readers one aspect—perhaps the most salient aspect—of Indian thought, namely, its mysticism.

The author defines mysticism as "a spiritual grasp of the aims and problems of life in a much more real and ultimate manner than is possible

to mere reason." The essence of mysticism, then, is the perception that the highest truths cannot be revealed by reason. As I have pointed out in my book, "The Neo-romantic movement in contemporary philosophy," this perception characterises contemporary philosophy in the West. All the most important currents of present day thought—pragmatism, Bergsonism, voluntarism, the philosophy of values—owe there inspiration to the recognition that truth cannot be grasped in its totality by conceptual thought.

But mysticism does not represent merely a negative attitude. Its positive element, in fact, is more pronounced than the negative. It believes it possesses a positive consciousness which reveals to it the highest truth. Its attitude is the attitude of a discoverer not merely that of a critic or analyst. It is, in fact, its positive content, its certainty that it is in actual possession of the highest truth, that explains the tremendous hold that it has upon mankind.

Mysticism has mainly two forms. In the first form, it takes for its principle something which is pre-reflective, something which is of the nature of a bare feeling. Feeling, it is supposed, is absolutely unsophisticated. Thought on reflection spoils the purity of the original feeling and takes one away from reality. To get into the heart of reality, what is needed is to remove all excrescence of thought and restore feeling to its original purity. In the West, mediæval mysticism has been mainly of this pre-reflective type.

Indian mysticism has always been of the second kind. In India what the mystics sought was not the pre-reflective feeling but the post-reflective consciousness which only emerges after reflective thinking. To show its post-reflective nature, our author always cults the experience sought by the Indian mystics 'Supra consciousness.' "The mystic experience," says our author, "cannot be expressed in words or understood by conceptual thought: it reveals itself only to supra-conscious experience." This 'supra-conscious experience' is Bradley's "Experience with a capital 'E'," which, as Bradley is careful to point out, is higher and not lower than reflective consciousness. The Vedantist's *turiya condition* also refers to this 'supra-conscious' experience.

This 'supra-conscious experience' is the first round which moves the whole of Indian philosophy. Indian philosophy never believed in an abstract Reason dissociated from concrete experience. It is for this reason that it has always been able to maintain an intimate contact with the currents of life. Philosophy has never exhibited any antagonism to Religion, such as it has done in the West. In fact, the very idea of Philoso-

by opposing Religion or Religion opposing Philosophy is absurd from the standpoint of Indian thought. And it is for this reason that philosophy has always had such a controlling influence upon the minds of the people in India. To the Western mind such an influence seems very strange, for the simple reason that he is accustomed to the quarrels between Philosophy and Science and Philosophy and Religion.

In taking as the theme of his lectures the development of Indian mysticism, the author therefore has chosen a subject which brings out the most essential characteristic of Indian thought. No better subject could possibly be chosen to illustrate the main features of Indian thought, and the author has dealt with it with the easy mastery of an expert. For the Western student, it is difficult to conceive of a better present than this little volume of six lectures. The six lectures deal respectively with the Vedic mysticism, the mysticism of the Upanishads, Yoga mysticism, Buddhist mysticism, classical forms of devotional mysticism and popular forms of devotional mysticism. The six lectures are not arranged at random but they represent successive stages in the development of the mystic consciousness. From the beginnings of the mystic experience in the Vedas to its culminating point in the experience of the *bhakta* who completely surrenders himself to his Lord, saying "तया सर्वोक्तिं यदि स्थितेन यथा निवृत्तोऽस्मि तथा करोमि" we notice a continuous development.

One great thing mysticism has done. It has saved Indian philosophy from the barrenness of logicism such as at one time threatened to engulf philosophy in the West after the great wave of idealism that swept Europe in the early nineteenth century. Thanks to our mysticism, we in the East have found in truth not a rigid, lifeless logical formula but a gushing, sparkling, vitalising stream that irrigates the entire region of our life. If we had not had this conception of truth, we would not have said with our author, "what have you gained if you have never tasted in your life the deep longing for deliverance and supreme emancipation? And the spirit of the saints of ages whispers in my ears: what have you gained if you have not tasted the joys of self-surrender, if your heart has not longed to make of you a flute in the hands of Krishna, that master musician of the Universe, and if you have not been able to sweeten all your miseries with a touch of God?"

The best answer that India can give to the vile slanders of Miss Mayo is to send out to the world a dozen books of the type of Dr. Dasgupta's little volume.

SISIRKUMAR MAITRA

Ourselfes

THE LATE MR. SISIRKUMAR RAY.

It is with a heavy heart that we have to report the premature death of our Manager, Mr. Sisirkumar Ray, which melancholy event took place on the 5th of May, 1928. He had been ailing for about 6 days, and before we could realise the gravity of his condition all was over in a trice. A career of great promise has thus been cut off at the prime of life—Mr. Ray being only 34 at the time of his death. After taking his Master's Degree in History, he joined the staff of the *Bengalee* and subsequently was taken into the Post-graduate Department as the Inspector of the University Messes in 1917. When the Review was taken over by the University in 1921, he was appointed by Sir Asutosh to take up the duties of the Manager in addition to his work in the P.G. Dept. Mr. Ray proved a success ; nay, for a youth of his age, it was a tremendous success. Intelligent far above the average, sedulous and conscientious to a degree, he was well-informed and resourceful beyond compare. His winning manners and uniform courtesy contributed no less to the singular success he achieved as Manager of the Review ; and death has doubly revealed his worth, for we do feel that we shall not be able to replace a fine youngman of his character and abilities. To know him was to love him, and in the midst of this dire calamity, it is really a solace to contemplate that his death is being mourned by everybody in the University, from the highest official to the humblest menial. His simplicity, his vivacity and his attachment to his friends are traits we can never forget. He was married only in 1923 and he leaves behind him an old aged mother, a young widow and a child of only 8 months, with whom the greatest sympathy will be felt. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family. And while mourning with them his tragic and lamentable death, we record our high appreciation of the



SISIR KUMAR RAY

excellent services he has rendered to this University.

"The Bird of Time has but a little way
To flutter—and the Bird is on the Wing."

"Whether at Naishápúr or Babylon,
Whether the cup with sweet or bitter run, •
The Wine of Life keeps oozing drop by drop,
The Leaves of Life keep falling one by one."

* * * *

ASUTOSH ANNIVERSARY

The fourth death-anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was duly celebrated on the 25th May last at the Darbhanga Building by a large number of students, friends and admirers. Representatives of all important and influential sections of the residents of Calcutta and of the student community congregated at 5 p.m. over the Grand Stair-case round the marble bust to pay homage to the departed Great, whose inspiring memory, earnestly cherished in their loving hearts, the nation cannot afford to let die. The hall was fumigated with burning frankincense and the marble bust of Sir Asutosh was richly decorated with motely flowers. The function commenced with Principal G. C. Bose, of the Bangabasi College, a veteran educationist and, for years, a Member of the Senate, leading the prayer in all solemnity in which the grateful assemblage joined in silent chorus, signalling the conclusion by bowing down in reverence before the profusely garlanded figure.

We reproduce below, from the speech of Professor Radhakrishnan, an appreciation of the builder and reformer to whom Bengal owes a Teaching University :

Speaking at the Sir Asutosh Memorial meeting held at the

Calcutta University Institute on Friday, the 25th May, 1928, Prof. Radhakrishnan said :—

“ It is a great privilege to be able to participate in the events of this day and pay my humble tribute to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As the days pass, his services to the country will be appreciated in their proper perspective. Among the makers of modern India he is in the front rank. The historian of the Indian Renaissance will accord to him a place second to none among those who contributed to it. In days of great political excitement and obsession he had the vision to see that life was not all politics. We have the economic, social and cultural sides of the nationalist movement. The cultural is the vital part. It is the soul which will slowly gather for itself a body. Even though the body may be hidden, if the soul is alive, it can assume another body. If the soul is dead, nothing can save us.

NATIONAL SELF-RESPECT.

At a time when attempts were being made to instil into us the spirit of defeatism, he made the University of Calcutta an instrument for increasing national self-respect and self-confidence. He looked upon the Indian problem as of international significance; for the first time in the history of the world, a progressive European nation has come into continuous contact with a distinctive and disciplined Oriental people, and the effects of this are visible all round.

Two alternatives, both equally deficient, suggest themselves : crude invitation or cowardly withdrawal. The radicals under the impression that the Indian civilisation has failed us, has played us false, has exposed us to the invader and the spoiler, ask us to give it up and imitate the Western culture. But no nation can rise without a conscious contact with the past. We cannot borrow souls as we barter goods. Silent withdrawal is equally ineffective. Whatever be the value of

non-co-operation as a political weapon, in matters of culture it is utterly futile. We were never too proud to learn. Our hospitality and willingness to learn are well known. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee adopted as his practical policy what the founder of non-co-operation movement himself has said, that while we should expose ourselves to all the winds that blow, we should not be blown off our feet. He, therefore, made provision for the humanities, especially on the Indian side, and the sciences as well. He felt again that the hope of the future lay in international understanding. The nations we hate are the nations we do not know. Newman as a child saw the French prisoners of the Napoleonic wars pass through the streets of London when the onlookers lifted up their coats to see their tails—so simply and so seriously did the English crowds believe Frenchmen to be monkeys. Even if we do not believe our antagonists to be monkeys literally, we attribute to them racial qualities which are more animal than human. We had recently a sensational book about India justifying the removal of the Indian population from the earth's surface. I was reminded of Carlyle's pungent metaphor that nations like dogs seem sometimes to approach one another only to sniff at the shameful parts.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

Sir Asutosh demanded that we should learn the best of other nations and give to them our best. The servants and scholars of the Western countries like Vinogradoff, Oldenberg, Sylvain Lévi and Pope found a hospitable welcome in this University, and the best of our men were sent to foreign countries to represent our culture. Within the Calcutta University he brought together European and Indian, Hindu and Mahomedan, all interested in the higher pursuits of the mind. When we are devoted to politics and economics, which are competitive in

character, fellowship and good feeling are not easy; when we pursue the delights which are not diminished by sharing, co-operation and fellowship on a plane of equality become natural and moral. He did his best to free the University from all politics. The greatest tribute that we can pay to the memory of Sir Asutosh is to remember his ideals of self-respect, national efficiency and international understanding—ideals to which he clung in spite of occasional deviation and difficulties. Let our loyalty and love for him enable us to make the University a centre of cultural pursuits and not a cockpit of party strife. Let us free it from all pettiness and politics.”

* * *

PREONATH GHOSH AND GAGANTARA DASİ MEDAL.

Dr. Jogendranath Ghosh, L.M.S., has offered G. P. Notes to the value of Rs. 500 to create an endowment for the annual award of a medal (gold or silver) to perpetuate the memory of his parents the late Preonath Ghosh and Srimati Gagantara Dasi on the following conditions :—

(1) That the medal be called “Preonath Ghosh and Gagantara Dasi Medal” bearing the words “Awarded to..... year” on one side and the University Arms on the other.

(2) That the medal be publicly awarded every year at the Annual Convocation to the successful candidate who obtains the highest number of marks in English in the Honours Course at the B.A. Examination of the year, provided that he pursues his studies as a regular student for the degree of M.A.

(3) That the endowments and the names of the medallists be regularly published in the Calcutta Gazette as also in the University Calendar.

(4) That the medal be awarded for the first time on the result of the B.A. Examination of 1929, if possible.

‘The offer has been thankfully accepted by the University.

* * *

RESULTS OF THE I.A. AND I.Sc. EXAMINATIONS, 1928.

I.A.—

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Arts was 3,741, of whom 106 were absent, 5 were disallowed. Of the remaining 3,614 candidates 1,879 passed, of whom 697 were placed in the First Division, 920 in the Second Division, 259 in the Third Division, and 16 passed in one subject.

The percentage of passes is 52.

* * * *

I.Sc.—

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Science was 3,737, of whom 100 were absent and 4 were disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 3,604.

The number of candidates who passed the Examination was 2001, of whom 1,003 were placed in the First Division, 858 in the Second Division and 135 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who passed in one subject only was 12.

The percentage of passes is 55:
